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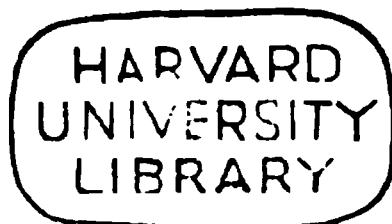
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THE  
**FOREIGN**  
**QUARTERLY REVIEW.**

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ART. I.—*Traité complet de Diplomatie, ou Théorie générale des relations extérieures des Puissances de l'Europe, d'après les plus célèbres autorités.* Par un ancien Ministre. Paris, 1833. 3 vol. 8vo.

THERE may be some doubt whether the author of this work has not assumed a character a little beyond that which properly belongs to him, when he tells us that he has been engaged as a minister in the diplomatic service of his court. But whatever may be his rank, position, or country, it is certain that he has presented the *diplomates* of Europe with a most useful *précis* of their functions. We wrong him, indeed, when we confine the utility of his book to those who are actually engaged in diplomacy. It is in truth calculated to be a more popular compendium than any that Germany has produced, of the principles of international law. We say Germany, because it is from German writers that the received epitomes have proceeded. In English, there is not one original treatise of note, or authority, either on diplomacy or on the law of nations. The authors of pamphlets and speeches on foreign policy use Martens's *Précis*\* as a book of reference, and quote Grotius and Puffendorff, Vattel and Bynkershoek. But, however systematically the first three of these works are arranged, we doubt whether any German jurist or English civilian sits down to read either of them, as a young lawyer reads Blackstone: and we are certain that no diplomatist from Downing Street looks to them for the general principles on which his business is to be conducted. For the defence of a measure on which his court has already determined, he finds, perhaps, by the help of an index, a passage which he triumphantly quotes; but the matter at issue must be one of an unusual character, if an equally judicious selection and ingenious application will not enable his antagonist to cite another, perhaps indeed the same passage differently construed, in support of the other side of the question. The enormous bulk, and the pedantic display

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\* *Précis du Droit des Gens Moderne de l'Europe, fondé sur les Traités et l'Usage.* Par G. F. von Martens. 3me édit.; revue et augmentée. Gottingue, 1821. There is an English translation by Mr. Cobbett, originally published at Philadelphia in 1795, and reprinted, with additions, in London, in 1802.

of learning, (for which the commentators are partly responsible,) the absence of illustration from the history of modern Europe, are chief among the forbidding features of Puffendorff and Grotius. It is possible that the apparent difficulty and laboriousness of a study of the law of nations, serves to aggravate that distaste of foreign affairs which we have\* elsewhere noticed. At all events, we are glad to have the business of a diplomatist, and the principles of international law, discussed in three pink volumes of lively French. We hope that some Englishman, instead of adding, by a translation of these volumes, to the discreditable stock of borrowed works, will be induced by them to frame a book still better calculated to render English readers familiar with public law and foreign policy. It may seem a superfluous task to excite, in the English people of this day, greater jealousy of those who administer public affairs; but it is really true, that while the most complicated questions of *internal* government are freely handled, and the decision of them frequently assumed by the people, that branch of administration in which nine-tenths of our national debt have originated, is either neglected as a matter of little moment, or shunned as a mystery beyond our comprehension.

The work before us embraces almost every subject with which a diplomatist has an official connection; from the highest points in the law of nations, to the smallest trifles in court etiquette. The arrangement is exceedingly awkward, especially in the want of a sufficient distinction between the formal and the essential.† All the topics, however, are handled agreeably and sensibly; we are deterred only by the apprehension of lengthiness from following him through the whole.

We must omit the graver questions of law, which rest with a government rather than with its agents; allowing ourselves, however, one word on the *principle* of that law. The authors who have written upon the law of nations have differed in the origin which they have assigned to the law; and it has been asked how a law can exist, which there is neither a legislature to enact nor a tribunal to enforce? Some persons, therefore, would altogether deny the existence of any set of rules binding upon the

\* Vol. viii. p. 33.

† The technical arrangement of Parts and Books is confused and almost unintelligible. In the preface the author professes to write in eight books, of each of which he gives the purport, but there is in the text also a division into Parts; and some great heads (see particularly vol. ii. p. 313,) have no distinction of Part, Book or Section. We mention this with a view to a second edition. There is also a lamentable want of references to authorities. This defect has obliged us to omit many of the author's illustrations.

conduct of nations ; while others pretend to find, in the science of the law of nations, an answer to every question which can arise.

Both parties are wrong. We will not lose ourselves in a metaphysical discussion of the origin of the moral sense, or of the natural foundation of the principles of equity, but we hold that the same law is binding upon men, united in nations, as upon each individual person : this is, among Christians, that law of God\* which is the foundation of honesty and of honour. The same motive, be it more or less derived from religion, which deters a man from wronging his neighbour, condemns him when he joins in an injury upon another state. Men should always remember that though they may act in a body, they will be judged hereafter man by man.

While confidently asserting this great principle, which is asserted also by our author in a subsequent chapter,† we admit that cases of real difficulty and doubt will occur every day. And the attempt is utterly vain to frame a systematic treatise, laying down distinct rules of conduct for every possible occasion.

In cases which do not involve moral right or wrong, customs continued and acknowledged may afford a rule equally reasonable and convenient: but Grotius, “celebrated as the founder of the science of the Law of Nations,”‡ fully acknowledges the obligations of religion, and recognizes moreover an international law, deriving its force from custom and tacit consent. Puffendorff, Vattel, and their school, assume natural right as synonymous with the law of nations; the work of Puffendorff is, in truth, a discourse upon moral philosophy.

We do not altogether agree with our author, in considering the theory of some German writers, of a positive law of nations founded upon treaties, as a new theory opposed to that of Puffendorff. The followers of custom, and the upholders of natural right, equally acknowledge the obligation of treaties; but a reference to the one and to the other is frequently required, for the due construction of a compact, as well as for the decision of cases to which no compact extends. The Law of God and Nature, Custom and Treaties, bear nearly the same relation to each other, as the Law of God and Nature, Common Law, and

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\* Upon this part of the subject, we have an English treatise by Robert Ward, entitled “An Inquiry into the Foundation and History of the Law of Nations in Europe, from the time of the Greeks and Romans to the age of Grotius. London, 1795.” See particularly chapters II. and III. Mr. Ward is better known as the author of the clever but somewhat prosy novels of *Tremaine* and *De Vere*; his history is a work of much thought and originality, and so full of pleasant illustrations as to have drawn from Mr. Canning the remark, that “Ward’s novels are dull, and his law-books lively.”

† Liv. ii. sect. 4.

‡ Vol. i. p. 59.

Statutes, in our municipal constitution. From the whole there results in both cases an obligation, to fail wherein is a moral offence.

It is in consistency with this view of the duties of men and statesmen, that our author places in the very front of his argument, a condemnation of cunning in politics and diplomacy.

"A crafty policy," he says, "however clever it may appear to the vulgar, often fails of its end. Cunning is the resource of a limited genius. No state ever perished from following the rules of justice: how many have ruined themselves by neglecting them!" Again: "In negotiations between powers, fairness\* triumphs more easily than cunning, *because the sagacity of the other party is not prepared for it.* Falsehood only knows how to contend with falsehood."—vol. i. pp. 36. 83.

The sentiment is just; but we recommend to our politicians a higher motive for sincerity. The "ancien ministre" betrays the "politique astucieuse" of the old school, when he recommends plain dealing, because an adversary is thereby deceived. Honesty so trickish will only be successful once; habitual and avowed, it will always triumph. We leave the word as we have written it; but a *triumph* is not precisely the object to be attained. To obtain from the other party, in a meeting upon private business, the utmost that can be achieved by dexterity, ought not to be the boast of a gentleman and man of honour. No diplomatist ought to lose sight of these characters: but there is this great difference between private and public negotiations, that a bargain for an estate, if not absolutely fraudulent, will be confirmed by the law; whereas there is no such security for the permanence of an arrangement between states. If they are states of corresponding strength, the first opportunity will be found for breaking an agreement, and even an inferior power may often find a protector against oppression.

A statesman, therefore, has not only to ascertain his legal rights, but to calculate his means of maintaining them. Hence, POLICY may often dictate forbearance, where law would justify exaction. It is necessary for a nation, for the maintenance even of undisputed rights, to manage and conciliate various interests, and to bring negotiation to the aid of force.

Our author gives us a Report,† in which Count Sebastiani, recently the Minister for Foreign Affairs to Louis Philippe, illustrates the importance of diplomacy from the history of modern Europe.

\* *La loyauté.* We have no word exactly corresponding with this.

† Vol. i. p. 64.



According to this document, the science of the law of nations and diplomacy assumed a regular form in the time of Francis I.; when Europe was threatened with the universal domination of the house of Austria. The French minister takes occasion to dilate on the great effects produced by the union of France and England, when our Elizabeth declared that *the fall of the French monarchy would be the fall of England*.\* At this time, negotiation was combined with force; diplomacy approached perfection; the disputes, especially those of the cabinet of Henry IV., are proofs of sagacity and good faith, and, in spite of the antiquated style, may pass for models. That king's ministers displayed great firmness, a wise policy, and a rare probity.† All this is very just, with the exception of "bonne foi," and "probité rare." After Henry was driven by his necessities, and by the scantiness of Elizabeth's support, into the Treaty of Vervins so much vaunted by Sebastiani, he continued to injure Spain through the revolted provinces, and never ceased to urge England to join with him in a clandestine continuance of those measures against Spain, from which his plighted faith bound him to abstain. We would not deny to Henry IV. some traits of personal heroism, or to Sully sagacity and adroitness; but, *pour probité, non*.

Richelieu's diplomacy is condemned as *machiavelian* and immoral; under Mazarin, the treaties of Westphalia constructed an edifice which lasted until the French Revolution, and the peace of the Pyrenees led to the will of Charles II. After the peace of Nimeguen (1679) commenced the personal diplomacy of Louis XIV., and the whole period from the treaty of Vervins to that of Utrecht exhibits the rapid progress of diplomacy, and the ability and influence of the diplomacy of France.

The importance of the peace of Westphalia is here much exaggerated. The treaties of Munster and Osnaburgh arranged multifarious interests in central Europe; but, although they were formally invoked in the second article of almost every subsequent treaty until very modern times, their provisions had not much influence upon war and peace in the eighteenth century. But certainly, the negotiations of Westphalia involved diplomatic discussion much beyond former examples, though out-done, as well in importance as in dispatch, by those which the present age has witnessed.

The diplomacy of Louis XIV., ending at Utrecht, is cited in illus-

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\* We do not know where this observation is recorded.

† Vol. i. p. 71.

tration of the intimate connection between diplomacy and force ;—  
 “ la force qui appuie, et l’adresse qui indique et prepare.” Except, perhaps, in the intrigues at Madrid, which preceded the death of Charles II., address had not, in our opinion, much to do in the wars which were terminated at Utrecht. The results, which, according to Sebastiani, were only partially favourable to France, were brought about by brave soldiers and accomplished generals. Where France obtained an advantage, otherwise than by her arms, she owed it less to the skilfulness of her diplomacy than to the laxity of her principles ; she excelled not so much in the art of making treaties, as in the readiness to break them.

The success of French diplomacy under Richelieu and Louis XIV., Sebastiani attributes to the support which it received from the French arms,—from force seriously menaced, and employed when requisite. Under Louis XV. diplomacy was extremely brilliant and sagacious, but rendered useless by the weakness of the government. The most memorable event of this period, was the Austrian alliance of 1756. It was not the fault of this diplomatic measure, that France did not interfere for Poland. If France had spoken boldly, Austria would have united with her against the partition ; again, under Louis XVI., and just before the revolution, France lost, through irresolution and timidity, the opportunity of injuring England by a vigorous support of the republicans in Holland.

These two periods of diplomacy well supported, and therefore successful, and diplomacy left to itself, and therefore useless, were followed by a third, in which Bonaparte held diplomacy in contempt, and lost thereby the power which his victories had obtained. Had Napoleon listened to the advice of Talleyrand after the battle of Marengo, and strengthened himself by alliances, and by patronizing the vanquished states, he would have had a great and lasting empire. But the conqueror neglected the advice of his prudent minister, offended Russia by a careless disclosure of views upon Turkey, and excited the resistance which finally overwhelmed him.

Thus far Sebastiani. We cannot doubt but that if Bonaparte had shown greater moderation, had he been contented with a dominion a little less extensive, he would have enjoyed it more securely. Yet, it is not that he despised diplomacy, but that the object of his diplomacy was bad. He was himself an expert diplomatist, and occasionally practised all the cajoleries of the art. After Austerlitz, and at Tilsit, he showed himself no mean negociator. Negotiations, it is said, would have saved his empire at Chatillon ; that is, *moderation and concession* might

have saved it. He wanted not diplomatic skill, but, as indeed Sebastiani himself finally decides,\* true political wisdom.

Sebastiani's fourth period, that in which we live, he deems eminently a period of diplomacy, and he hopes that the same results which have hitherto been brought about by the effusion of blood, will be henceforth accomplished by Policy† and Diplomacy. We too trust that diplomacy may stand in the place of war; but not to produce *the same* results. We believe that there is now, throughout Europe, a sincere desire of peace; in the times to which we have referred, there was an overwhelming desire of aggrandizement.

There would have been much more business for the diplomatist, if the number of independent states had continued as our author represents them in the fifteenth century, when there existed in Europe more than 2,000 sovereignties, either royal or seignorial, ecclesiastical or civil. Of these, 1414 were in Germany. Previously to the French Revolution, the number had been reduced to 249, of which 227 were in Germany, and 18 in Italy. The French Revolution and the conquests of Bonaparte reduced the number to 49. The arrangements consequent upon the peace of 1815 have restored the character of sovereignty to many states which had been abolished; and there are now rather more than sixty states in Europe, including 29 in Germany and 5 in Italy, which have not each a population of 500,000. Even of the larger states, many are quite incompetent to preserve their own independence.

The enumeration of independent states leads our author to the *European Balance*,‡ of which he affirms that, while it is the basis of their policy with those who desire peace, it serves as a pretext to those who are ambitious of aggrandizement. We abridge his sketch of the history of this principle, which has become, he says, an integral part of the Law of Nations.

During the greatness of the Roman Empire, and until after the death of Charlemagne, the law of conquest predominated. After the dissolution of the empire of Charlemagne, there was no longer any apprehension of an overwhelming power. Germany and Italy were torn to pieces by internal factions, and by disputes with the Court of Rome. France was weak, through the incoherence of its provinces, and domestic wars. Louis XI., under whom Burgundy was re-united to France, gave consistence

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\* P. 89.

† *Politique*; policy is perhaps not a perfectly accurate translation of this word.

‡ P. 257.

to this monarchy, but it was not until the days of Charles V. and Francis I. that the modern system of policy commenced. It had its origin in the rivalry of these two monarchs. The reduction of the power of the House of Austria began with the revolt of the provinces of the Low Countries. France and England gladly seized this opportunity of weakening Austria. Religious disputes, combined with political quarrels, led to the Thirty Years' War, and the treaties of Westphalia, whereby the House of Austria received a second shock. The rivalry between Austria and France was augmented by the successful ambition of Louis XIV. This was the true epoch of the origin of *the system of balance*. It was owing to the alarm which the house of Austria, and Holland, when it became an independent power, affected to feel at the power of France. England took little part in the quarrels of the continent. Elizabeth, in concert with Henry IV., and afterwards Cromwell, interposed, but his attention (it might have been said that of Elizabeth also) was principally fixed upon Holland and Spain. English policy fluctuated, until the hatred of William III. toward Louis XIV. occasioned the rivalry and even animosity of France and England. This rivalry broke forth under the mask of the balance, in the disputes about the succession of Spain, and at the death of the Emperor Charles VI. The peace of 1748 brought forward Prussia into the European system; the intervention of this new power, and of Russia, brought out of barbarism by Peter the Great, required a new casting of the system of balance. France and England were now the rallying points of the two parties. The French-Austrian Alliance of 1756,\* the Family Compact of 1761, and the various events which occurred, up to 1789, produced new combinations, and a variety of alliances and changes.

This sketch,† the author conceives, is sufficient to exhibit the principle of the system of balance. He admits, that no such general principle is recognized by public conventions, but he deduces it from the right, which each state has, to oppose every measure whereby one power would arrogate to itself exclusive domination: and since, he says, every power must

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\* Favier styled the Austrian Alliance unequal, because Austria was liable to attack from several powers, France from one power only. France had therefore the more burdensome obligation. Segur says, it is true that France was only liable to danger from Austria. France then makes a friend of her only formidable enemy, while Austria only delivers herself from one of many.

† But he tells us in a note in tom. ii. p. 440, that *L'étude politique des nations Européennes, et les résumés historiques des grandes négociations depuis la paix de Westphalie jusqu'à ce jour, formeront une partie supplémentaire.* We shall be anxious to see this supplement.

adopt its own views of the justice or injustice of the proceedings of another, it is impossible to lay down rules for judging of such proceedings. It would be, he adds, too great a limitation of the meaning of the word "balance" to confine it to the case of opposition to the aggrandizement of one power. It applies also to the prevention of the degradation of another. It was as essential to the safety of other states, to oppose the dismemberment of Austria at the death of Charles VI., as to oppose the union of France and Spain into one monarchy. The law of nature authorizes the formation of a league among nations inhabiting the same part of the world, to repress the disproportionate strength of any one which appears incompatible with the independence of the others. It is no matter of surprise then, that nations have laboured at the establishment of a balance, general, or applicable to particular parts of Europe; and that "a change in these different systems has been regarded as a justifying cause of war." However difficult it may be to calculate a just balance, the system is incontestably advantageous, in restraining, through the risks or the apprehensions of war, a power ambitious of preponderance.

These are our author's views. The readers of our eighth volume (p. 50—55) are aware that we cannot recognize in the history of Europe that systematic principle of *equilibrium* which some authors have imagined. Yet we suspect that, between us and the present author, there is no substantial difference, although our meaning is differently expressed; but we would observe that his illustrations support our opinion of the *occasional* character of the interference at least of England, in the wars of which the *balance of power* was the professed object. The inadequate and reluctant assistance which Elizabeth gave to the Dutch, sprang partly from the conformity of religion, partly from apprehensions of the particular danger arising to England from the Spanish predominance on the opposite coast, and very much from personal dislike between Elizabeth and the widower of her sister.

The interference of our William in the European wars is traced by our author himself to that King's hatred of Louis XIV; but it is well known that, notwithstanding this antipathy against Louis, which William naturally felt as Prince of Orange, he would at one time have acknowledged a Bourbon King of Spain, and would perhaps have not framed the Grand Alliance, if Louis had recognized his title to the English throne.

Continental readers will perhaps hardly concur in our opinion, that the support given by England to Maria Theresa is to be traced to the good faith which has usually characterized the

English policy. The Pragmatic Sanction had been guaranteed in 1731 \* without much deliberation, and in return for concessions supposed to be favourable to English interests now forgotten; and to the royal family of Spain, now our open enemy. From that time to the death of Charles VI., there had been no co-operation between England and the Emperor, who was left in the Polish War without support from the maritime powers. Nevertheless, not a moment was lost, after his death, even by the pacific Walpole, in promising to adhere to the engagements which had been contracted, upon by-gone inducements, nearly twenty years before.† The German politics of George II. were also supposed to influence the renewal of the connection with Austria.

It may be true, as our author remarks,‡ that any change in "the system of balance," has been considered as a justifying cause of war: but it would be difficult to name one contest, of which the derangement of the balance has been truly the operative cause.

The reasons upon which wars are justified, says our author, are often different from the motives in which they originate.§

The wars for the succession of Spain, and for the Pragmatic Sanction, were ostensibly founded on the rights of the Archduke Charles and Maria Theresa: the real motive of England was jealousy of France, and desire to preserve the balance of power. France too made a pretence of the rights of the Elector of Bavaria, but really sought to humble Austria. The Seven Years' War was justified by the violent measures of the French in Canada: the true motive was the destruction of the French navy. In like manner France was brought into the American war, not by vexations at sea, but by the wish to weaken England.||

All this is perhaps true, except that in the first two instances, that which is assigned as a secret motive was publicly avowed.

Wars also sometimes originate in less statesmanlike motives,

\* By the second treaty of Vienna, 16th March, 1731, the Emperor engaged to abolish the Ostend Company, and entered into the arrangements of the Treaty of Seville for the establishment of Don Carlos in Italy.—Martens, *Coll. des Traités*, vol. viii. pt. 2, p. 213; Koch. ii.

† Charles VI. died 20th October, 1740. The King's speech of November 18th announced his determination to adhere to his engagements.

‡ Vol. i. p. 265.

§ Vol. ii. p. 244.

|| In the "*Politique de tous les Cabinets*," by Favier and Segur, (iii. 172,) there is a curious opinion of Turgot, given in 1776, against assisting the American colonies. If, said he, the colonies should be subdued, it must be through the ruin of their resources, and England would lose the benefit of them. If they give way, and preserve their wealth, they will always be looking for independence, and oblige England to maintain a large force to keep them down.



as the love of Buckingham for Anne of Austria, and the desire of Louvois to divert Louis XIV. from his buildings.

Mr. Fox on one occasion said, that war was justifiable only when the national honour was involved. This doctrine, if not absolutely correct, approaches to correctness more nearly than at first appears. Of the objects of war, very few perhaps are equivalent to the evils which war produces; and if a nation consulted only the balance of profit and loss, it would often rather yield the disputed point than fight for it; but then comes in the point of honour. Concession is attributed to fear, and invites new encroachments. A nation which bears insults, will not be trusted; it loses its allies, and has no friend in the hour of danger. Thus explained, the honour of a nation is inseparably linked with its interests; and Fox's dictum is neither paradox nor novelty.

The point of honour, however, occurs in cases in which the interest would be questionable. A state may have distant possessions, which are to her no source of strength or riches; but she is bound by an honourable feeling towards these dependencies, to commence or continue a war, rather than surrender any of them to an enemy. It may be said, and with some reason, that this obligation belongs to the great duty of sovereignty; and we come to this, that in national as in personal affairs, honour includes everything that is good, as well as great.

Another case in which honour may impel us to go to war, when our immediate interests would counsel peace, is where we have bound ourselves to an ally; and this is a principal reason for avoiding permanent alliances or guaranties. Even here, a proportionate estimate of profit and loss would induce us to preserve, by good faith, our credit with other powers.

But we are getting too deep into the law of nations\* and state policy: we recur to what more immediately concerns the diplomatist, for whom this "Complete Treatise" is written.

Our author discusses some important questions under the head of *Droit des Traités*. Treaties, he says, are binding, unless the negotiator exceeds "*ses pouvoirs ostensibles*"—that is, we presume, the instrument which he exhibits at the foreign court as his authority for treating. This doctrine is not conformable to the practice of Europe. In the commission given to a plenipotentiary, which is called his "full powers," the sovereign usually

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\* If we had space to go into the law of nations, we should endeavour to vindicate, upon the very principles of this author, who nevertheless disapproves of it, the practice of England in regard to neutrals, and the manner in which her wars have been commenced—a fruitful source of misrepresentation with French writers.

undertakes to confirm whatever the minister does ; but it is perfectly understood that the undertakings of a plenipotentiary are only binding when conformable to his instructions. It may at first sight appear unreasonable and dishonest, to disavow the acts of one to whom you have given " full powers ;" but those powers would, indeed, be tremendous, if they enabled an individual, separated from his own countrymen, to bind them, to any extent and for any time, and to dispose, according to his fancy, of the resources of an empire. When it is added, that a stipulation unwillingly adopted by a government, against its own view of necessity or expediency, would give way to the first plausible pretence for repealing it, the modern practice will be found conducive to the general good.

It is, indeed, truly stated by our author, that a treaty is not binding until it is ratified ; and he construes the article for the exchange of ratifications, which is almost always to be found in a treaty, as implying, not that each sovereign will positively ratify the instrument, but that it shall have no validity until and unless it be ratified. We are rather inclined to hold, that a government is bound to ratify, except in the case already stated, of such an exceeding of power or departure from instructions, in the negotiator, as to justify his prince's disavowal. To justify this, there ought to be a manifest departure from the *decided* intentions of the prince. This is eminently one of the cases in which the principle of right and the sense of honour, which actuate a Christian and a gentleman, ought to sway the counsels of a prince. If the agent, on a fair construction of his instructions, was authorized to insert the article in the treaty, or the passage in the deed, the principal ought not to disavow him merely because he has himself changed his mind. Nor is he honestly at liberty to withhold his ratification, from any change that has occurred in the circumstances of the parties.

In our times there have been two celebrated instances of disavowed negotiators. In 1800,\* Count St. Julien signed preliminaries of peace with France, which the emperor refused to ratify, alleging that the count had exceeded his powers. And Count d'Oubril signed at Paris, in 1806, a treaty on the part of Russia, which the Emperor Alexander refused to ratify, as contrary to the letter and spirit of his instructions.†

For the case of a minister departing from his instructions, we are referred to Wolsey's negotiation with Maximilian for the marriage of Henry VIII. with the Duchess Dowager of Savoy ; when the

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\* Ann. Reg. 1800, p. 206.

† Ibid. 1806, p. 185.

rising priest anticipated the orders of his master for supplying a deficiency in his instructions.\*

A more recent example is in the consent of the Count d'Aranda to sign the preliminaries of 1783, notwithstanding that his master, Charles III. of Spain, had commanded him to insist upon Gibraltar. "Il est des momens," he said, "où il faut savoir offrir sa tête à sa patrie. J'accepte les deux Florides à la place de Gibraltar, et je signe la paix."†

Physical impossibility of execution, though allowed as a ground for not fulfilling a treaty, is justly said to require an indemnity. Moral impossibility was the pretext used by France, in 1740, for refusing to fulfil her guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction, when she pleaded a prior treaty with Bavaria. If used, it was indeed a pretext, as France had guaranteed the succession of Maria Theresa in 1735,‡ in spite of the remonstrances of Bavaria, and made no treaty with Bavaria until after the death of Charles VI.

It is urged by our author, that the earliest of two incompatible treaties ought to be preferred, and an indemnity given to the other party. But, in truth, a real indemnity can seldom be afforded; and the second treaty is (except in the case of a justifiable cause of war with the former party) a breach of faith, equally contrary to honesty and to the law of nations.

A minister ought to avoid committing his court to particular and permanent stipulations, which are very likely to lead either to perfidy or to misfortune.

Frederic the Great is quoted with approbation, who considered *guaranties* to be, "like works of filigree, more fit to please the eye than to serve any useful purpose." As applied to permanent guaranties, we concur in this opinion. A guaranty for the performance of a specific object, to be immediately accomplished, is very proper; but an undertaking permanently, or for an indefinite time, to secure to any prince or state the possession of any part of his territory, or any right given to him by treaty, is, in every case which we can imagine, highly imprudent, and useless also; because a state will seldom fulfil a guaranty given many years before, except in a case in which, without such ancient guaranty, she would have done the same thing. Or if, upon that regard for the point of honour which we have claimed for England, she does act upon her guaranty, without conceiving it

\* Hume, vol. iii. p. 427.

† Vol. ii. pp. 78, 79. See Coxe's *Bourbon Kings of Spain*, ch. 77, whereby it would appear that Lord Shelburne's government had entertained the notion of ceding Gibraltar.

‡ Flasseu, *Hist. de la Diplomatie Française*, vol. v. p. 125.

at the moment greatly for her interest, her aid will generally be languid, and she will get out of the scrape as soon as she can; perhaps after having done more harm than good to her ally.

The guaranty of a dynasty is the worst of all. From any pledge of this sort England has been free for many years, and even when stipulating for the exclusion of the Bonapartes, would not guarantee the throne of the Bourbons. The only specific guaranty given by England in the Treaty of Vienna, is that of the dominions newly transferred to Prussia from the King of Saxony.\* We know not why this exception was made to what appears to have been a general rule. Except that it will probably become a dead letter, some inconvenient and difficult questions might arise upon this stipulation. It is a joint guaranty by England, Austria, Russia and France. We should say generally, that one party to a guaranty may reasonably refuse to act upon it without the others,† because it may fairly be presumed that she would not have pledged herself, except upon the faith of the powerful co-operation of her allies. As to England, it is certain that she would not have herself engaged to maintain Prussia in the possession of the Saxon provinces. Now, allowing that she would be exonerated from her obligation, by the defection of her three continental allies, will she be exonerated by the failure of one or more of them? And how, if it is by one of these allies that the guaranteed territory is invaded? By France, for instance, and with the connivance of Russia? While Austria alone supports Prussia, is England bound to unite with Austria in defending the Prussian territories?—in other words, is she bound to enter into a war, arising probably out of matters with which she has little connection, because in the course of that war the integrity of the Prussian dominions is attacked? We are quite aware that the question would not really be decided as a technical question of international law. Grotius and Vattel would be quoted in speeches and manifestos; but the question of war or no war would be determined upon considerations of expediency. The guaranty would in fact be nothing but filigree. But we object to the creation of an occasion on which doubtful points in the law of nations must be agitated, and the good faith of England called in question. “As it is evident,” we agree with our *ancien ministre*, “that as such an obligation may have most serious con-

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\* Art. xvii. Martens, *Sup.* vol. ii. p. 389.

† We have taken our illustration from a treaty which was negotiated by a departed minister, because we are unwilling to mix anything like politics of the day in our present discussion. And perhaps the whole of the circumstances under which some recent guaranties have been given, may not be before the public. But we would just observe, that supposing the constitution and nationality of Poland to have been by implication,—for specifically they were not,—guaranteed at Vienna, England could not be called upon, single-handed, or even with France alone, to attempt by force to restore them.

sequences, the nation which contracts it ought not to determine upon it, except upon powerful considerations."

In laying down some fair rules for the interpretation of treaties, our author says nothing of the language in which they are drawn. Formerly the Latin language was used, and more recently the French: sometimes the language of each country is used in a separate copy, and this is by far the most fit practice, and was, we believe, always used by Mr. Canning. But it is very necessary that the translation should be well considered: we know of an instance in which a commercial treaty with one of the South American states was executed in Spanish and English. A question arose; the English quoted the treaty; the Americans affirmed a misquotation. It was found that the Spanish copy bore them out, and our civilians were of opinion that the Americans had a right to appeal to the instrument as it stood in their own language. The point was one of small importance, but enough to show the importance of our remark.

Our author tells us\* that the Latin language was used in the correspondence between European countries until the seventeenth century, when permanent legations came into use. It was then found, he says, that diplomatists, ignorant of the language of the several countries to which they were sent, found themselves excluded from conversation with unlearned men, and from the society of women. The French language was then adopted. "The elegance of Racine triumphed in Europe over the sublime vehemence of Shakspeare. The works of the French wits were read with avidity; every body tried to imitate the tone of French society; French became the language of courts." However proud we are of our Shakspeare, Bacon, and others who flourished at the commencement of the seventeenth century, we cannot think that the English language had at that time any chance of becoming the court language of Europe. Its copiousness, precision, and variety, were not then sufficiently known: our insulation, which even now keeps us more distinct from the continental countries than they are severally from each other, had not then been mitigated by the number of our travellers, and the intercourse of literature and science. It was the greater familiarity of other nations with France and Frenchmen, rather than a critical comparison of the merits of Shakspeare and Racine, that gave the advantage to the French language.

A great advantage it certainly is, to argue always in your own language, and to compel your adversary to learn it, and to make him answer you in the same language. England has lately taken care to limit this advantage, by a peremptory order to her foreign

agents, issued by Mr. Canning, to use no other than the English language in their *written* communications. Personal discussions are still almost always conducted in French; but all official notes, by which alone the country is bound, are now written in English.\*

Our author lays down a doctrine which is new to us, concerning those which he styles the *articles accessoires* of a treaty. These, he says, fall to the ground if the main treaty ceases; but the rupture of the accessory articles does not annul the principal articles. If by accessory articles, stipulations are intended relating to matters quite foreign to the main treaty, and not intended as part of the same compact, the doctrine is true; but such cases are rare, unless it be when the additional article contains no practical stipulation, but merely an undertaking to negotiate upon some separate point, commerce for instance, or boundary. When this is not the object of separate articles, their separation from the main treaty may be occasioned merely by their subject recurring at a later period of the negotiation, or it may arise from the wish to avoid the communication of them to all the parties to whom the treaty is to be imparted, whether it be to foreign powers, or to the national assemblies of any of the powers. The most remarkable instance of a separate article, in our modern history, is in that which was added to our treaty with Spain, of 5th July, 1814. By it, the King of Spain engaged not to enter into any engagement with France of the nature of the *Family Compact*, nor any other that might affect the independence of Spain, which might be injurious to the interests of his Britannic Majesty, or contrary to the strict alliance which was stipulated by the treaty.† The English government would not consent to make this a *secret* article, because they thought it right to communicate it to England's allies; but it was a *separate* article, and was not communicated to parliament with the treaty. We cannot doubt but that a breach of this article would have rendered null all the rest, and would have given England a just cause of war.

When Mr. Canning, during the debates on the march of the French army into Spain, in 1823, laid this article before parliament, he was under some apprehension of having participated in an irregularity, by withholding it for so long a period. The more modern practice has certainly been, to lay all ratified treaties before parliament, but it has only been adopted latterly, and was not the practice of the reigns of William, Anne, or the first two Georges. It was only when treaties required a vote of money,‡ or otherwise

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\* See Mr. Rush's ideas on the use of the French language, in our vol. xii. p. 212.

† State Papers, 1822-3, p. 76.

‡ "As the treaty with the Crown of Denmark is attended with an expense, I have ordered the same to be laid before you."—*Speech of George II., January 27, 1735.*



called for the aid of parliament, that there was an absolute necessity for communicating them.

It is well known that in ancient days the fulfilment of treaties was secured by hostages: these are now disused. The most recent instance of this in English history is that of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Some of the principal engagements on the part of England concerned America, and could not be executed contemporaneously with those which regarded Europe. England, therefore, sent the Earl of Sussex and Lord Cathcart as hostages into France, there to remain until the treaty should be fully executed.\*

The diplomatic character clothes a man with great privileges: he ought to make it a point of honour not to abuse them. The immunity of a foreign minister from civil and criminal process appears to have been sometimes asserted too largely.† In England, it has never been admitted that the diplomatic character enables a man to commit crimes of all sorts with impunity, or with no punishment beyond recall.‡ Our author mentions the case of a Dutch minister, at Hesse Cassel, accused of malversation there as executor of a will. On his refusing to account, he was arrested. It would seem that the Landgrave acknowledged that he had done wrong. Perhaps it would be impossible to make a distinction, which should allow of process against a minister, for acts not only entirely unconnected with his public character, but arising out of a voluntary assumption of a function; but if diplomatists are to be exempted from responsibility as executors, the best way would be to render them incapable of the office, or of any other which might lead to similar embarrassment.

Ambassadors are, for state offences, liable at least to transmission beyond the frontiers. Under Henry IV. of France, the secretary of a Spanish ambassador was tried for conspiring with a Frenchman to put the King of Spain, during peace, in possession of Marseilles. He was convicted, but Henry was contented with sending him back to Spain. In its remonstrance, the Spanish court did not rely so much upon the ambassadorial privilege, as upon the provocation given by Henry, in the assistance given to the Dutch, contrary to the treaty of Vervins.

It is curious that the French ambassador at Madrid was at the same time found intriguing against Spain.

The Regent Duke of Orleans arrested and sent to the frontier,

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\* Koch. vol. ii. p. 421.

† See Martens, *Précis*, b. vii. c. 5.

‡ Martens mentions the case of the Count de Guerchy, accused (in England) of poisoning. The count was ambassador here in 1763, and convicted the Chevalier d'Eon of a libel; but our periodicals take no notice of any accusation against the ambassador himself.

Cellamar, the Spanish ambassador, employed by Alberoni in plots for depriving him of the Regency. On hearing of his arrest, Alberoni attempted, but in vain, to detain the French ambassador, who had taken his leave. For this detention there was no pretence.

In noticing the immunities of diplomatists from certain duties, the author refers to the conduct of Lord Stuart and Prince Polignac, in voluntarily giving up the articles smuggled in their name in 1829. We fear that the abuse of the ambassador's privilege is still not entirely checked.

Upon the "*Droit d'Asile*," the author appears to be a little inconsistent. He lays it down\* that if a criminal takes refuge with an ambassador, who refuses to give him up, justice may take all measures to seize him "*dans l'hôtel même de la legation*;" but in blaming the forcible seizure of Ripperda in the house of Lord Stanhope, he says that "*il n'y a point de cas où la maison d'un ministre ne doit être un asile inviolable*."† He says truly that the Spaniards were in every way wrong, because there had been a special agreement with the king for Ripperda's remaining unmolested. Other cases mentioned do not throw much light upon the general question. There was too little of equality between Louis XIV. and Pope Alexander VII., to allow of any deduction from the violent measures taken against the pontiff in 1664; and the disputes between France and Spain in 1636 arose out of special conventions. In a dispute which occurred at Copenhagen there is a remarkable instance of the insolence which the minister of a great power may exhibit. The French ambassador, Chamilli, had unquestionably acted illegally in subjecting Danish subjects and soldiers to judicial interrogation. The Danish minister sent a strong but justifiable remonstrance. The Frenchman thus commenced his reply:—

"I have received the letter which you have taken the trouble to write to me, on the 24th ultimo, of which the style appears to be so *vandalish*, that I should easily persuade myself that you had taken it from some archive of the time of King Dan, if the little experience which you have yet had in your office would have permitted you to become acquainted with such remote times." ‡

The sequel of the letter did justice to this introduction.

This was too much even for the proud monarch whom Chamilli represented, and the insolent ambassador was recalled.

In considering the ways in which missions terminate, our author tells us that letters of credence expire, if a revolution deprives the sovereign of his throne, or if the form of government

\* Vol. ii. p. 176.

† Ibid. p. 201.

‡ Ibid. p. 195.

is entirely changed. But so long as a struggle is carried on by the adherents of an old government, foreign powers are not obliged to acknowledge the new. He instances the case of France in 1792.\*

An ambassador has no special privilege after death, entitling him to obsequies inconsistent with the general rule. “*Dès qu’un ambassadeur est mort,*” says a writer of the age of Louis XIV., “*il rentre aussitôt dans la vie privée.*” †

A minister abroad is likely to receive applications from his countrymen who conceive themselves aggrieved by the government under which they are residing. A foreigner cannot complain so long as he is placed on the same footing with the natives of the country in which he resides. The same rule is perhaps too weakly stated by our author, as applied to the administration of justice. Mr. Canning‡ was so clearly of opinion that an Englishman in France was bound to bear all that was good and bad in the government of his temporary abode, that whenever complaint was made to him, he consulted *French* lawyers as to the justice of the complaint; and having taken due precaution to ensure impartiality, abided by their opinion.

No state, we are told,§ is bound to give up persons, to whatever country belonging, accused, or even convicted, who take refuge in its territory; England, it appears, with France and Russia, have constantly refused such demands, when unauthorized by treaty. It is clear that the ends of general justice are often defeated by the adoption of this rule; and it would seem desirable to provide against the evil by special convention. An objection usually entertained arises from political offenders, in whose case, it is apprehended, one government might be led to take a part, perhaps against its own views, in the internal politics of another, and to aid in tyrannical measures.

This matter of giving up offenders is one to which there is nothing closely analogous in private life; and it may be most properly referred to that law of nations which is founded upon acknowledged practice.

Questions of etiquette require a still more delicate treatment. Though great punctiliousness is absurd, a diplomatist is not to allow the nation which he represents to be disparaged even in matters apparently trifling.

There is much under the head of “*Droit d’Egalité,*” || concerning the rank of nations and sovereigns; all which has however become of less importance, since the ministers assembled at the

\* Vol. ii. p. 205.

§ Vol. i. p. 285.

† Ibid. p. 208.

‡ Parl. Deb. 1823. vol. viii. p. 294.

|| Vol. i. p. 353.

Congress of Vienna adopted the prudent course of waiving all disputed points of ceremony; and signed their public acts in the alphabetical order which the French language assigned to their respective nations. It is mentioned that France, Spain, Austria, and Russia, have each claimed general precedence, which however has not been allowed to either of them. Portugal and Sardinia give place to England, Spain and France. Denmark yields to France only, and pretends to it over Sweden. It is remarkable that although republics generally give place to kings, Cromwell maintained for England the rank which she had occupied under her kings. Modern good sense has adopted a variety of expedients for avoiding disputes about matters of form and ceremony, generally upon the principle of *alternation*; and when there is a stiff *diplomate* and haughty sovereign whom this will not content, a protest usually satisfies the offended dignity.

In 1699 a dispute about etiquette had wellnigh left the emperor to negotiate the second partition treaty without the co-operation of France. The Marquis de Villars, the French ambassador, had been prevented, on a point of etiquette, from assisting at a court fête. He insisted upon an apology, would accept of none unless the Prince of Lichtenstein brought it to his own house, and was actually leaving Vienna, at the expiration of the period which he had prescribed, when the prince arrived by the order of the Emperor Leopold, and made the excuses, which were very haughtily received.

In recommending that diplomatists should join in court rejoicings, the author mentions the refusal of the Duc de Mortemart to assist at a *Te Deum* for celebrating the Russian victories over the Turks, because captured French banners were among the trophies exhibited in the churches; of this effect of natural feeling the Emperor Nicolas approved. On the other hand, when the pope's legate at Lisbon refused to illuminate on the marriage of the Queen of Portugal in 1760, he was peremptorily sent out of the country.

The 5th book† contains, under the head of “*Droit des Negotiations*,” further explanations of diplomatic etiquette. The *Ambassador*, it appears, is the only minister who is considered as the representative of his sovereign. The other classes are, 2. Envoys, ministers, and others, accredited to the sovereign; 3. Resident ministers; 4. *Chargés d'affaires*, accredited to the minister for foreign affairs. These are only agents. The rank of the several classes has been thus arranged by the courts of

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\* Vol. ii. p. 79.

† Vol. ii. p. 1.

Europe;\* which have also declared that the diplomatists should rank among themselves, in each class, according to the priority of arrival; and that among powers which give each other the alternation, the order of signature shall be decided by lot.

We advert to a question involving much higher considerations. May a diplomatist employ corruption in order to obtain friends or intelligence? The law of nations, says the *ancien ministre*, regards it as lawful, but he doubts whether it is politic for a continuance. We believe that it would neither be politic nor justifiable. We cannot altogether deny that there may be occasions on which bribery may be allowed; where there is a reasonable ground to suspect treachery, or a sudden and secret blow, it may perhaps not be dishonourable to verify the suspicions by corrupting individuals. It might be lawful, for example, for England, to purchase the secret articles of the Treaty of Tilsit. The French court in all times has been profuse in its encouragement of corruption. A curious account is given† to us of the expenditure of the Duc de Richelieu when ambassador at Vienna; but there is no evidence of any advantage derived from it. Prince Louis de Rohan, also ambassador at Vienna, is said to have expended immense sums, and to have mistaken doubtful facts for grave matters. A man who takes great pains to be informed of every occurrence will soon puzzle himself, and probably be exposed to intentional mystification. We have seen a letter from the late Lord Auckland, when minister at the Hague, about the year 1792, which mentions another, sent by post, and *meant to be intercepted*; this shows how little reliance is to be placed on documents irregularly obtained. The same minister got possession by bribery of all the papers of the French legation, for several hours, while the French minister was absent on a party of pleasure; but we believe that, generally speaking, English ministers deal sparingly either in corruption or artifice.

Louis XIV. bribed freely,—queens, courtiers, and chancellors. He tried hard to gain our Marlborough, and curiously graduated his offers, according to the degree of favour he should obtain in the terms of peace;—so much for Naples and Sicily, so much for Dunkirk, for Strasburgh, and so on.‡ Marlborough, though accused of avarice, and capable of treachery, was not to be swayed by French money.

At a later period the Comte de Vergennes, in reporting that

\* Protocol, 19 March, 1815, of the eight Powers who signed the Treaty of Paris, viz. Austria, France, England, Russia, Prussia, Spain, Portugal, and Sweden; and at Aix-la-Chapelle, 21 Nov. 1818.—Vol. ii. pp. 10, 11.

† Vol. i. p. 58.

‡ Coxe's Marlborough, vol. iii. p. 33.

he had accomplished his master's object, sent back the 3,000,000 livres which had been entrusted to him for the purpose.

A letter of Cardinal d'Ossat\* to Henry IV. is quoted as affording an instance of a necessary and justifiable falsehood. He had promised to the pope not to mention to any person the contents of a certain despatch which he had received from Henry. On the other hand, two other French agents were apprised that he had received despatches, and would communicate the contents to them. He was therefore under the necessity of denying to them that the despatch had arrived. This lie is represented by our author† to have been necessary, to defeat the artifices of the court at which D'Ossat resided; but it seems rather to have been his own countrymen whom he deceived, although he adroitly made use of the occurrence to obtain favour with the papal court. The justification, however, of the falsehood consists, not so much in its utility, as in the necessity under which D'Ossat lay, of either deceiving those who questioned him, or breaking his word. It is certain that there are occasions on which it is very difficult, if not impossible, to be scrupulously veracious and inviolably secret. We doubt whether there is any case in which a diplomatist, placed in this difficulty, ought to act otherwise than he would act as a private gentleman.

Our ancient *diplomate* strongly condemns the practice of violating the secrecy of the post;‡ a practice, however, which he represents as very general in reference to diplomatic correspondence. There are persons in every post-office who can restore the seal of an opened letter so as completely to conceal the violation; and it has sometimes happened that the seal of the envelope and that of the enclosure have been interchanged. There is little attempt at concealing the practice. A diplomatist once observed to the minister of the court at which he resided, that his despatches had been re-sealed, and that a private mark on the seal had been omitted. "True," it was replied, "you have better engravers at Dresden than we have." Even in London, the French ambassador complained to the Duke of Newcastle, that the despatches from his court had come to him sealed with the English seal. "By a mistake in the office," said the duke, with a smile.

We have an account, too long for insertion, of the system of espionage over the post carried on at Dresden from 1736 to 1750, by Siepmann and other councillors of state, and a considerable number of sworn agents, under the superintendence of Count Bruhl, minister of Augustus, King of Poland. All letters

\* Letter 12, Jan. 5, 1595; *Lettres d'Ossat*, vol. i. p. 329.

† Vol. ii. p. 63.

‡ Ibid. p. 85.

from Berlin were opened; and when the operation delayed them, their dates were altered, and those of the answers also. The cipher and interesting papers of the Prussian legation were obtained by false keys and bribes. At first the letters were re-sealed in the usual manner by taking the impression; then the seals of the principal correspondents were permanently imitated. But all this unsealing and re-sealing took too much time, and the envelopes were then torn off and the addresses copied by a Baron Scheel, while an engraver imitated the seals. Still it was difficult to retain the primitive form of the Prussian despatches; these despatches soon appeared in cipher, and the "besogne," as it was called, was at fault, until by bribery and false keys the cipher was obtained. These ministerial delinquencies, like those of humbler practitioners, are generally betrayed by some imprudence: Count Bruhl one day alluded, in the presence of the Prussian minister, to something which he could only have known by perusing a cipher-despatch from Berlin. In the evening, information of the suspected treachery went off to the King of Prussia, in a letter, however, which was also perused by the Saxon, and a new cipher was returned, to which he had not the key. The whole system became useless, and soon afterwards the Baron Scheel disappeared mysteriously. The Prussian king revenged himself soon afterwards by corrupting the private secretaries of the Saxon cabinet, who for many years supplied him with all that was important in the Saxon archives.

In a long chapter\* on the construction of ciphers, a curious instance is given of a mistake, of which the result was not unfavourable. The Brandenburg ambassador at Vienna advised his master, the Elector, Frederic III., to write with his own hand to the Emperor Charles VI., in order to expedite the negotiations for the erection of Prussia into a kingdom. In this ciphered letter, 110, which signified the emperor, was mistaken at Berlin for 116, which designated a certain Father Wolff, chaplain to the Imperial Embassy at Berlin; to him, therefore, Frederic applied. The Jesuit, much flattered, used all his influence with his order at Vienna to second the elector's wishes, and was successful!

We have enumerated enough of the functions of a diplomatist, to show that great and various qualifications are necessary for a successful ambassador. He ought unquestionably to possess acuteness, sagacity, and discretion, together with good manners. These ought to be sought, at whatever expense, and in whatever



class of persons. There may be reasons for selecting, as the king's representative to the more ancient monarchies, persons of high birth as well as good manners; but no sovereign would now venture to put to a foreign minister the question which Philip II. of Spain put to the President Jeannin, "Are you a gentleman?" "Yes," answered the Frenchman, "if Adam was." "Of whom are you the son?" "Of my virtues," replied Jeannin; by which rejoinder he is reported to have overcome the haughtiness of the Spanish monarch.\*

When in 1676 the ministers of the Emperor Leopold I. would have refused the title of *Excellence* to ambassadors who were not of noble birth, the great Elector, Frederic William of Brandenburg, announced that he regarded only the merits of his envoys, and did not trouble his head about their ancestors. We hope not to be accused of favouring the aristocracy too much, when we say, that a plebeian minister employed at a monarchical court ought to compensate by a decided superiority of talents, for a deficiency in that which, so long as kings and nobles endure, will reasonably be held in esteem. The disposition of a despotic monarch towards a foreign government may doubtless be influenced by the state of his feelings towards its representative: probably neither manners nor talents will turn a government from a decided purpose, manifestly for its interests; but when the sovereign hesitates between two courses, he may be turned by a trivial circumstance; and it would be very bad policy to run the risk of offending him, by a want of deference to his prejudices, be they reasonable or otherwise. It is remarkable that the "great commoner" of the last century, in recommending Mr. Stanley to the Duc de Choiseul, speaks of him as a man "*who is descended from an illustrious family, and entertains noble sentiments.*"† The present minister for Foreign Affairs in France‡ holds it of great importance that ambassadors should live with magnificence. The policy of the English government in this respect is daily becoming more niggardly; and it may well be questioned whether, not only upon the considerations urged by the Duc de Broglie, but with the view of ensuring a good supply of talents, the reduction of diplomatic allowances is an act of wisdom. This is quite clear; the tendency of such reductions is in favour of the policy of Philip II. rather than of that of Frederic William. If we are not willing to pay a good price for talents and integrity, wherever we may find them, we must be content to employ men who derive fortunes from their ancestors.

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\* Vol. ii. p. 17.

† Mr. Pitt to the Duc de Choiseul, 4 May, 1761; Parl. Hist. vol. xvi. p. 1035.

‡ Moniteur, 23 Feb. 1833.



It has sometimes been said that a man will be valued at the price which he puts upon himself; and haughtiness, if at all justifiable by the rank and character of him who displays it, is frequently triumphant. Our author mentions an instance in Lord Stair, English minister at Paris, who had refused to go further than the bottom of his staircase to meet the regent Duke of Orleans. In this instance of Lord Stair, his haughty demeanour was successful, as he acquired the confidence of the regent, and kept the two courts in intimate union.

Though the choice of a minister rests of course with the court which sends him, there are instances of refusal to receive particular persons.\* These are in times of peace; and it is said that an instance has occurred lately. We remember that when England appointed the late Lord Malmesbury to negotiate at Lisle, in 1797, the French government observed, that "another choice would have appeared to the Directory to augur more favourably for the speedy conclusion of peace." Lord Grenville's answer was, that Lord Malmesbury would proceed without delay to Lisle, "the remark of the Directory upon the choice which his majesty has thought fit to make of his plenipotentiary being certainly of a nature not to require any answer."†

The reception and influence of a minister at a foreign court may be affected by trivial and accidental circumstances. When Segur was ambassador to the Empress Catherine, he prepared a speech for his first audience, and gave, as is customary, a copy of it to the Russian Chancery, in order that her majesty might know how to reply. An agreeable conversation with Count Cobentzel, in the ante-room, drove his speech out of his recollection, and he was under the necessity of drawing upon his own resources. Catherine, though somewhat surprised, returned a ready answer; and Segur afterwards gave her to understand, that it was to her august appearance that his embarrassment was to be ascribed. She then told him of an ambassador who had been so much troubled at his audience as to get no further than "*Le roi mon maître*." When he had thrice repeated this exordium, the empress came to his aid, assuring him that she had long been assured of the friendship of his master; but the poor man could get no further, and Catherine continued to hold him in contempt. To show how little credit is to be given to cotemporary history, we may remind our readers that this identical story was told, a few

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\* A case is mentioned of a Mr. Goodricke, whom the Court of Sweden refused to receive in 1757, whereupon England broke off all diplomatic intercourse. We cannot trace this occurrence further.

† Parl. Hist. vol. xxxiii. pp. 913, 914.

years ago, as of a then recent occurrence at Paris, on the presentation of a noble duke.

Self-possession, no doubt, is essential to a diplomatist. When a living statesman, of high talents and character, was placed at the head of the Foreign Office in England, he solicited instruction from the late Lord Malmesbury. "Always keep your back to the light, and learn to take snuff"—was the brief recommendation of one of the ablest of our regular diplomatists. The objects were to conceal from his adversary the emotions of his countenance, and to obtain a few moments for deliberation before he spoke. The advice was good; but we attach most importance to the second part of it. The quickest man ought to give his thoughts time to cool before utterance. Neither in this, nor in any other particular, is there any essential difference between a diplomatic negotiation, and a conference in which a gentleman may be engaged, wherein the interests of a friend or a principal are concerned.

Our author's remarks on the styles of diplomatic writings are more judicious than remarkable.

In recommending a clear and precise style for diplomatic papers, he recommends particular attention to *punctuation*, and says, truly, that serious disputes may arise from the misplacing of a comma. Our readers may possibly be surprised at an objection, on our part, to high punctuation; but although we conceive that, in a printed book, frequent points are very useful, especially if it be likely to be read aloud, we would recommend to diplomatists, and all writers upon business, so to construct their sentences, even at the risk of inelegant lengthiness, as to make the meaning clear, however they may be printed or read.

We would willingly conclude this article with a notice of the more eminent diplomatists, but an adequate description of the memoirs and letters of French diplomatists alone would make a long article. Sully, Boderie, Jeannin, Bassompierre, D'Estrades, D'Avaux, De Torcy, at once occur to us. We will find room for a few striking occurrences and eminent persons in English diplomacy.

We have already mentioned Wolsey. One of the earliest pieces of regular diplomacy on our records, is the paper of instructions given by the elder Cecil to the younger, in the year 1597;\* when Robert Cecil, with two other commissioners, went over to dissuade Henry IV. from concluding the treaty of Ver-  
vins. These instructions, which form the last state-paper penned

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\* Strype's Annals, (Oxford,) vol. iv. p. 451.

by Lord Burghley, are able, and illustrative of the policy of Elizabeth, truly English in object, but somewhat mystified in mode.\* The despatches of Robert Cecil are also well worthy of perusal, either as helps to history, or as reports of conversations. Cecil treated with the king himself, but was not deterred by the rank of the negociator from taxing France roundly with a breach of treaty; he conducted himself with ability worthy of his father and his queen, with whose policy it was not inconsistent that some of his proceedings were avowedly to "win time."

The next of our regular diplomatists who obtained celebrity is Henry Wotton, well known to the readers of Isaac Walton. He was resident at Florence and Venice, and employed by James I. in the affairs of Bohemia. Some of his despatches in the *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ* savour of the formal style of his master. At Venice, it is said, "by a fine sorting of fit presents, curious and not costly entertainments, always sweetened by various and pleasant discourse; with which, and his choice application of stories, and his elegant delivery of all these, even in their Italian language, he first got, and still preserved, such interest in the state of Venice, that it was observed (such was either his merit or his modesty) they never denied him any request." Wotton's maxim for young travellers, in his celebrated letter to Milton, "*Il volto sciolto, i pensieri stretti*," (an open countenance, and a close breast,) betrays the experienced diplomatist and man of the world. But he is chiefly remembered by his entry in an album, at Augsburg in Germany: "*Legatus est vir bonus peregrè missus ad mentiendum reipublicæ causâ*." This unlucky piece of *banter* drew upon Wotton, some years afterwards, the wrath of the famous libeller, Scioppius, who maintained that the sentiment thus recorded was a principle of the Protestant religion, and the rule of conduct of Wotton's master, James I. Although Wotton made a satisfactory defence, it appears that James was so much displeased as never afterwards to employ him.†

Bulstrode Whitelocke was named ambassador to Queen Christina of Sweden, in 1653, just before the assumption of the protectorate by Cromwell; his appointment was preceded by a warm debate in Parliament on the question whether he was "a godly man." This embassy, which ended in the treaty of 1654, still in force, has been very fully and agreeably reported.‡ His speech to the queen, by command of his superiors the Commonwealth of England, is as complimentary as the representative of an emperor could have made it.

\* Birch's Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth.

† Walton's Lives, p. 878.

‡ Whitelocke's Swedish Embassy, London, 1772.

Sir William Temple's fame as a negociator is not confined to his own country. The triple league of 1668 is even now mentioned in Europe as his work. Though his cotemporaries speak of him as exceedingly vain, and his biographers ascribe to him that undefined disorder, *the spleen*, he was excellent as a negociator; chiefly through his well-known plainness and sincerity. By these qualities he gained the confidence of the republican De Witt, who trusted him in a way certainly not familiar to more accomplished diplomatists. The States desired a stipulation to which Temple had no power to accede;—

“ I told them at last,” he says,\* “ that I was sure the States would not think fit to lose the effect of the league proposed upon such a point as this, and that they intended only to have the advantage of seeing his majesty's resolution in answer to my letter, before they concluded, with resolutions, however, that this should not hinder at last; that I foresaw many things might arise in ten days' time, to break all our good intentions, and some more than I had told them, or could at present; that if they knew me, and how far I was to be trusted where I gave my word, I would propose an expedient to them; but being so new among them, I thought it was to no purpose: there I paused. They desired me I would propose, however, and so I did; which was, that we should proceed to draw up the whole project, and sign as soon as was possible; and that in case I afterwards received his majesty's leave, in answer of my Friday's letter, to insert those provisional articles, I would freely declare it to them, and insert them in a separate article, to be a part of the defensive league. They both looked awhile one upon another, and after a pause, Monsieur De Witt gave me his hand, and after a compliment upon the confidence he had taken in my face, and in the rest of my dealing since our first commerce, told me, that if I would promise them what I had said, *en homme de bien*, they would ask no further assurance of me.”†

Although he was not quite so successful at Nimeguen, where he was associated with that learned diplomatist and civilian, Sir Leoline Jenkins, he had other opportunities of exhibiting the advantages of straight-forwardness.

The Duke of Marlborough has always been deemed equally skilful in negociation as in arms. He scorned not to use flattery: his address to Charles XII. greatly exceeds in adulation that of the republican Whitelocke to Christina:

“ I present to your majesty a letter, not from the chancery, but from the heart of the queen, my mistress, and written with her own hand. Had not her sex prevented it, she would have crossed the sea to see a prince admired by the whole universe. I am in this particular more

\* Letter to Lord Arlington, Jan. 24, 1668-69.

† Temple's Works, vol. ii. p. 48, folio edit.

happy than the queen, and I wish I could serve some campaigns under so great a general as your majesty, that I might learn what I yet want to know in the art of war.”\*

Marlborough's conduct is, no doubt, an illustration of the connection between diplomacy and force.† And the same may be said of Sir George Byng's expedition to Sicily, contemporaneous with Mr. Stanhope's negotiation at Madrid. The correspondence‡ of Bolingbroke, preceding the peace of Utrecht, exhibits much ability; and is sometimes very entertaining, especially when Prior was his correspondent. The negotiations at Utrecht afford the last instance of the employment of a bishop in a diplomatic character; Dr. Robinson, who was Lord Privy Seal, being one of the negociators. Lord Strafford, who was the other, is said to have doubted whether, being the representative of a queen, he ought not to present himself in female attire. He appears to have been a touchy person, and Bolingbroke's letters to him contain judicious and conciliatory rebukes.

Bolingbroke, who fled his country, when impeached, after the accession of the House of Hanover, used these remarkable expressions in a letter to Lord Peterborough:§

“As to my conduct in the negotiation for a peace, I shall want no justification. I have, it is true, acted as boldly in the promoting that good work as your Lordship used to do when you thought the interest of your country at stake, and I tell you without any gasconade that I had rather be banished for my whole life because I have helped to make the peace, than be raised to the highest honours for having contrived to obstruct it.”

The reigns of George I. and II. are the English age of diplomacy, and produced some able diplomatists. Little, however, is known of their writings, beyond what Archdeacon Coxe has given to us. Sir Benjamin Keene|| appears to have deserved his praises. His despatches are full and interesting, and his views apparently correct. We would refer particularly to those in which he relates the part he took in the negotiations between Carvajal, minister of Ferdinand VI. of Spain, and the agents of Maria Theresa, one of whom was Farinelli, the singer, whom, according to her own account,¶ she flattered, in order to obtain his interest.

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\* Coxe's Marlborough, vol. ii. p. 194.

† See p. 6, *ante*.

‡ For a specimen, see the letter of Jan. 19, 1712-13; Bolingbroke's Correspondence, vol. iii. p. 306. The original instructions to the plenipotentiaries are not quite clear as to the point of the Duke of Anjou.

§ May 2, 1712; Corresp. vol. ii. p. 503.

|| Coxe's Kings of Spain, vol. iii. pp. 115, ch. 51.

¶ Coxe's Austria, vol. iii. p. 375.

Sir Robert Murray Keith is another diplomatist, justly celebrated by Coxe. He represented England at Vienna, in the interesting times of Maria Theresa and Kaunitz. His conversations\* with the Empress Queen, previous to the conclusion, or rather, perhaps, to the publication, of the French Alliance of 1756, are remarkable; not more for the light which they throw on the causes of the alliance, than as instances of energetic remonstrance to a sovereign and a female by an English minister. Every word, however, confirms Segur's view of the causes of the treaty of 1756, as resulting naturally from the union between England and Prussia; and the imperial complaint of a requisition to furnish troops under the defensive alliance with England, while she really wanted them for the safety of her dominions, illustrates our observations upon the improvidence of such alliances.

Lord Chatham was engaged in negotiations when secretary of state. His style is manly, as might have been expected; occasionally, perhaps, somewhat haughty.†

The curious in etiquette will observe that Mr. Stanley, in breaking off the negotiation, announces to the enemy the marriage of his royal master,‡ “as the state of war has no influence over the personal sentiments of the King of England with regard to their most Christian majesties.”

In reference to the American war, we will only mention the declaration§ against France which is attributed to the historian Gibbon. It is, indeed, not strictly an official declaration, but it is an elaborate answer to the French memorial; and in noticing in detail the complaints of France, which may now be confidently denominated *pretexts*, as opposed to real motives, it treats ably some important points of the law of nations.

To pass to more modern times, the late Earl of Malmesbury is the most eminent of recent diplomatists. His successful negotiation in Holland, in 1787, when the authority of the house of Orange was restored in spite of the opposition of the French, has been celebrated by his friend George Ellis.|| His letters from Paris and Lisle, in 1796 and 1797, are excellent specimens of a report, in which long and miscellaneous conversations are

\* Coxe's *Austria*, vol. iii. ch. 31.

† See particularly a letter to Mr. Bussy, 24 July, 1761; *Negotiations for Peace*, 1761; *Parl. Hist.* vol. xvi. p. 1018. See also *Ann. Reg.* 1761.

‡ It is not absolutely without justice that he is accused (vol. ii. p. 73) of a want of precision, as his answer to the French proposition for establishing certain *epochs*, for the *uti possidetis*. His letter was, and might fairly be, misunderstood.

§ *Annual Register*, 1779, p. 397.

|| *History of the Dutch Revolution in 1787*.

related. He possessed in so high a degree the talent of retaining in his memory detailed conversation, that the Empress Catherine on one occasion acquiesced in his recollection of a joint conference between them.

We had occasion to mention in a former volume\* the Declaration against Spain in 1796.† Other declarations issued during Lord Grenville's administration of the Foreign Office, are also worthy of perusal;‡ but the most celebrated document bearing the signature of that upright statesman, is the answer which he returned in January, 1800,§ to the overture made by Bonaparte when First Consul. On this occasion, England peremptorily refused to treat with the French government, by reason of the revolutionary and aggrandizing spirit which France had displayed during the war. Lord Grenville on this occasion spoke thus of the exiled family :—

“The best and most natural pledge of its reality, and permanence of a change of system, would be the restoration of that line of princes which for so many centuries maintained the French nation in prosperity at home, and in consideration and respect abroad : such an event would at once have removed, and will at any time remove, all obstacles in the way of negociation or peace. It would confirm to France the unmolested enjoyment of its ancient territory ; and it would give to all the other nations of Europe, in tranquillity and peace, that security which they are now compelled to seek by other means.”

Although in conformity with the uniform professions of Mr. Pitt, there was a disclaimer of interference with the form of government in France, there were, even among the friends of the administration, doubts of the wisdom of thus bringing forward the Bourbons.|| In truth it did neither good nor harm, but it was very obvious to the misrepresentation which it encountered. It is scarcely possible that good should result, and very probable that evil will follow, from the unnecessary introduction of an invidious topic.

In fact, we did at no distant period make peace with Bonaparte, to the exclusion of the Bourbons. The negotiations for this peace first brought forward Lord Liverpool as a diplomatist.¶

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\* Vol. viii. pp. 393, 394.

† We have been told, on high authority, that the belief which we entertained in common with many cotemporaries, that Mr. Canning was the principal author of this manifesto, is not founded.

‡ Oct. 29, 1793, *Parl. Hist.* vol. xx. p. 1597 ; Dec. 27, 1796, *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxii. p. 1436 ; Oct. 28, 1797, vol. xxiii. p. 903.

§ Jan. 4, vol. xxxiv. p. 1198.

|| See *F. Q. R.* viii. 36.

¶ We have only the French account of these negotiations, published at Paris, and re-published in London in 1803.



There is nothing so remarkable in his notes as clearness and good sense. Each party began with pretensions it was obliged to abandon. Lord Liverpool managed his concessions without discredit. The great fault lay in the definitive treaty, which in truth was *not* definitive, and ought to be a warning to all negotiators. It was eminently a case for a first and second treaty, because there were many arrangements to be made with other powers. The second and definitive treaty ought not to have been signed, and the conquests restored, until all these arrangements (chiefly concerning Malta) had been complete.

In the negotiations which preceded the rupture, there were some notes which obtained great applause. One\* in particular, answering M. Otto's complaints of the English newspapers, and the hospitality exercised towards the Bourbon princes, was generally and deservedly praised.

Lord Whitworth's reports of his conversations with Bonaparte, in whose behaviour there was "a total want of dignity as well as of decency,"† are very curious and amusing.

Mr. Pitt never having been officially engaged in diplomacy, we have not much of his writing upon foreign affairs. His paper upon the terms of peace, in 1805, has been formerly noticed;‡ it has the perspicuity which belongs to a clear understanding. The part which he took in the Foreign Office, during the incumbency of Lord Mulgrave, has been the subject of an amusing anecdote.§ It is not improbable that he was the author of the note in which Bonaparte's overture was rejected in 1805.|| It is clear and simple.

Mr. Fox was more accustomed to diplomacy. We cannot enter into a criticism of his negotiation of 1806;¶ but we would observe that, except in the commencement, which was somewhat theatrical, his despatches assumed the character of those which he had been accustomed to condemn. His style, however, was much more familiar and easy\*\* than Lord Grenville's; though not at all more successful in inducing France to abandon her extravagant pretensions. One cause of the familiarity of Mr. Fox's despatches is probably the almost constant omission of the king's

\* 28 August, 1802. Parl. Hist. vol. xxxvi. p. 1271.

† P. 1310.

‡ Vol. viii. p. 42.

§ A foreigner attached to the Foreign Office is said to have described with some humour, Lord Mulgrave's writing, scratching, re-writing, and re-scratching his *brouillons*; and finally exclaiming, "I must go to Mr. Pitt."

|| Ann. Reg. 1805, p. 616.

¶ Parl. Deb. vol. viii. p. 92.

\*\* See particularly Nos. 7 & 9.



name. One of his letters\* is a good specimen of an official rebuke. Lord Grey, we presume, was the author of the manifesto which followed the rupture of there negociations.† But we say nothing of living statesmen.

Of Lord Castlereagh's character as a diplomatist we have already given our opinion.‡ His style assuredly cannot be commended; but we repeat that his diplomatic communications were in substance such as became an English minister, and that their occasional inelegance never interfered with the clearness and the manliness of their purport.

If his papers have neither the stateliness of Lord Grenville's, the simplicity of Mr. Fox's, nor the vigorous acuteness and precision of Mr. Canning's, they answered their purpose well; more especially where it was, to deprecate objection, and reconcile various interests.

The declaration against America,§ is a good specimen of a paper losing force through its length, and occasional awkwardness of construction, yet efficient through the truth of its recitals, and the correctness of its arguments. In the unsuccessful communications which preceded it, as well as his other negociations with the United States, Lord Castlereagh preserved his character for moderation and firmness.

We now come to Mr. Canning, and certainly the diplomatic papers of which he was the undoubted author leave it indifferent whether he had much share in the Declaration of 1796. It is impossible to read any one of these without recognizing a vigorous understanding, and a mind of acute perception. He to whom the instruction is addressed knows at once what he is to say and do, and why; the hostile critic, or the opposing party, must encounter facts and arguments with contradiction, having no pretence for evading them. His manifestoes, his instructions, and his communications with the ministers of other powers, are equally eminent. The Declaration against Russia|| in 1807 is a masterly specimen; and has the more merit because the manifesto¶ on the part of Russia was a paper of much ability. Nothing can be better than the instructions addressed during his first administration to Lord Granville Leveson Gower, after the conclusion of the treaty of Tilsit;\*\*\* and those which he issued

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\* No. 26, addressed to Lord Yarmouth, on the premature production of his powers. Lord Yarmouth's answer shows that he had not acted heedlessly.

† Oct. 21, 1806, p. 209. In the Annual Register of this year (p. 800) is a most interesting picture of wrongs sustained from France, in a manifesto issued by Prussia, at Erfurt, October 9th.

‡ Vol. viii. p. 40.

§ Jan. 9, 1813. Parl. Deb. vol. xxiv. p. 363.

|| Parl. Deb. vol. x. p. 118.

¶ Page 218.

\*\*\* Papers relative to Russia, Parl. Deb. x. 110. See particularly Nos. 9 & 10.

on the invasion of Spain in 1823 \* are excellent. Sagacity and firmness are both conspicuous in his correspondence with Austria and Russia,† when those powers, really bound to France, were affecting the character of mediators.

During his second administration, a period of peace, his communications were personal, or through British ministers abroad; but the papers which have been published, and his speeches in parliament upon foreign affairs, leave no room to doubt, that the same excellencies pervaded his diplomacy; a masterly exposure of mystification in others, and a clear assertion of his own policy.

He sometimes brought into use his habitual playfulness. In a negociation of minor importance, some Dutch ministers had sent him an unreasonable *projet*. He began the next conference by thanking them for their amusing joke, successfully refused to treat the proposition seriously, and thus got rid of it.‡

Englishmen have always been in the habit of depreciating the representatives of their nation abroad. They are always said to be outwitted by the clever Frenchman, the wily Italian, or the politic German. It would be difficult to establish, by facts, the justice of this depreciation. It will *not* be established in any instance, unless it be shown that a continental diplomatist has by dexterity, deceit, or persuasion, obtained some concession hurtful to the interests of England. It is *not* established simply by showing that an English minister has yielded a point, which by perseverance he might have maintained. The question is, whether reasonably, and with a view to the permanent interests of his country, he ought to have maintained it. We do not believe that English diplomatists, either of these or of former days, would suffer in comparison with those of other nations.

It appears to be now the plan of government, to make a regular profession of diplomacy, with promotion, having regard to length of service and seniority: but not to give the higher appointments exclusively to these professional diplomatists. We believe this to be a judicious course.

There are few diplomatists who may not get some useful hints from the book which we have here reviewed; and we trust that we, too, have done them a useful service in pointing out some documents and passages of history connected with their pursuits. It may be true that neither diplomatist nor statesman can often recur to an occurrence of former days, as a sure rule for his con-

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\* Parl. Deb. W. S. vol. viii. p. 904. See particularly, Nos. 2, 6, 11, 13, 17, 20, 25, 43.

† Papers relative to Russia and Austria, vol. x. p. 100, 110, 195.

‡ His poetical dispatch in cypher has been noticed in vol. ix. pp. 272, 273.

duct on a new occasion; but the whole mass of facts belonging to a particular branch—defensive alliances for instance, or guaranties—does furnish principles which are almost universally applicable. There are indeed smaller matters in which precedents are almost as operative in diplomacy as in law. And it is at least unseemly, not to be familiar with the illustrations used by the *diplomate* with whom you treat.

We do not recommend the imitation of any particular diplomatist: we have instanced several, perhaps of equal, but certainly of various qualifications. The man of plain and simple manners cannot hope to fascinate like him who can render everything he does agreeable; but he may obtain equal success through a confidence in his sincerity. Even a lofty and repulsive bearing may be successful, if it be not artificial. The great rule is, in manners, to be *natural*, in purpose, to be *honest*. If he follow this rule, we will match the English diplomatist with all the polished craft of the world.

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ART. II.—*Histoire Pittoresque de la Convention Nationale, et de ses Principaux Membres.* Par M. L . . . . Conventionel. 4 vol. 8vo. Paris. 1833.

THE French Revolution is a subject on which neither history nor public opinion have been able as yet to pronounce an impartial verdict; nor is it perhaps possible that the opinions of mankind should ever be unanimous, upon the varied events which marked its course. The passions excited were so fierce, the dangers incurred so tremendous, the sacrifices made so great, that the judgment not only of contemporary but of future generations must be warped in forming an opinion concerning it; and as long as men are divided into liberal and conservative parties, so long will they be at variance in the views they entertain in regard to the great strife which they first maintained against each other.

There are some of the great events of this terrible drama, however, concerning which there appears now to be scarcely any discrepancy of opinion. The execution of the king and the royal family—the massacre of the Girondists—the slaughter in the prisons, are generally admitted to have been, using Fouché's words, not only crimes but faults; great errors in policy, as well as outrageous violations of the principles of humanity. These cruel and unprecedented actions, by drawing the sword and throwing away the scabbard, are allowed to have dyed with unnecessary blood the career of the Revolution; to have needlessly exasperated parties against each other; and by placing the leaders of the movement in the terrible alternative of victory or death,

rendered their subsequent career one incessant scene of crime and butchery. With the exception of Levasseur de la Sarthe, the most sturdy and envenomed of the republican writers, there is no author with whom we are acquainted, who now openly defends these atrocities; who pretends, in Barrère's words, that "the tree of liberty cannot flourish unless it is watered by the blood of kings and aristocrats;" or seriously argues that the regeneration of society must be preceded by the massacre of the innocent and the tears of the orphan.

But although the minds of men are nearly agreed on the true character of these sanguinary proceedings, there is a great diversity of opinion as to the necessity under which the revolutionists acted, and the effects with which they were attended on the progress of freedom. The royalists maintain that the measures of the Convention were as unnecessary as they were atrocious; that they plunged the progress of social amelioration into an ocean of blood; devastated France for years with fire and sword; brought to an untimely end above a million of men; and finally riveted about the neck of the nation an iron despotism, as the inevitable result and merited punishment of such criminal excesses. The revolutionists, on the other hand, allege that these severities, however much to be deplored, were unavoidable in the peculiar circumstances in which France was then placed: they contend that the obstinate resistance of the privileged classes to all attempts at pacific amelioration, their implacable resentment for the deprivation of their privileges, and their recourse to foreign bayonets to aid in their recovery, left to their antagonists no alternative but their extirpation; that in this "mortal strife" the royalists showed themselves as unscrupulous in their means, and would, had they triumphed, been as unsparing in their vengeance, as their adversaries; and they maintain, that notwithstanding all the disasters with which it has been attended, the triumph of the Revolution has prodigiously increased the productive powers and public happiness of France, and poured a flood of youthful blood into her veins.

The historians of the Revolution, as might have been expected, incline to one or other of these two parties. Of these the latest and most distinguished are Lacretelle on the royalist side, and Mignet and Thiers on that of the Revolution, the reputation of whose works is now too well established to require us to enter here into an appreciation of their merits or defects, or to be affected by our praise or our censure. The work now before us, which is confined to the most stormy and stirring period of the Revolution, does not aspire, by its form, to a rivalry with all or any of those we have just mentioned. It consists of a series of

graphic sketches of the National Convention, drawn evidently by one well acquainted with the actors in its terrific annals, and interspersed with a narrative composed at a subsequent period, with the aids which the memoirs and historians of later times afford. As such, it possesses a degree of interest equal to any work on the same subject with which we are acquainted. Not only the speeches, but the attitudes, the manner, the appearance, and very dress of the actors in the drama are brought before our eyes. The author seems, in general, to speak from his own recollections; the speeches which he has reported are chiefly transcribed from the columns of the *Moniteur*; but in some instances, especially the conversations of Danton, Robespierre, Barrère, and the other leaders of the Jacobins, we suspect that he has mingled his historical reminiscences with subsequent acquisitions, and put into the mouths of the leading characters of the day, prophecies too accurate in their fulfilment to have been the product of human sagacity. Generally speaking, however, the work bears the impress of intimate acquaintance with the events and persons who are described; and although from being published without a name, it has not the guarantee for its authenticity which known character and respectability afford, yet, in so far as internal evidence is concerned, we are inclined to rank it with the most faithful narratives of the events it records which have issued from the press. Its general accuracy, we are enabled, from a pretty extensive comparison of the latest authorities, to confirm. We shall give some extracts, which, if we are not greatly mistaken, will justify the tone of commendation in which we have spoken of it.

The period at which the work commences is the opening of the Convention, immediately after the revolt on the 10th of August had overturned the throne, and when a legislature, elected by almost universal suffrage, in a state of unprecedented exasperation, was assembled to regenerate the state.

Robespierre and Marat, the Agamemnon and Ajax of the democracy, are thus ably sketched :

“ Robespierre and Marat—enemies in secret, to external appearance friends—were early distinguished in the Convention; both dear to the mob, but with different shades of character. The latter paid his court to the lowest of the low, to the men of straw or in rags, who were then of so much weight in the political system. The needy, the thieves, the cut-throats—in a word, the dregs of the people, the *caput mortuum* of the human race, to a man supported Marat.

“ Robespierre, albeit dependant on the same class to which his rival was assimilated by his ugliness, his filth, his vulgar manners, and disgusting habits, was nevertheless allied to a more elevated division of it: to the shopkeepers and scribes, small traders, and the inferior rank of lawyers. These admired in him the *politesse bourgeoise*; his well-

combed and powdered head, the richness of his waistcoats, the whiteness of his linen, the elegant cut of his coats, his breeches, silk stockings carefully drawn on, bright knee and shoe buckles ; every thing, in short, bespoke the *gentlemanly* pretensions of Robespierre, in opposition to the *sansculottism* of Marat.

"The shop-keepers and the lower ranks of the legal profession never identify themselves with the populace, even during the fervour of a revolution. There is in them an innate spirit of feudality, which leads them to despise the canaille and envy the noblesse : they desire equality, but only with such as are above themselves, not such as would confound them with their workmen. The latter class is odious to them ; they envy the great, but they have a perfect horror for those to whom they give employment ; never perceiving that the democratic principle can admit of no such distinction. This is the reason which made the *aristocratic bourgeoisie* prefer Robespierre ; they thought they saw in his manners, his dress, his air, a certain pledge that he would never degrade them to the multitude ; never associate them with those whose trade was carried on in the mud, like Marat's supporters. Amidst these divisions, one fixed idea alone united these opposite leaders ; and that was, to give such a pledge to the Revolution as would render it impossible to doubt their sincerity, and that pledge was to be the blood of Louis XVI."—vol. i. p. 28.

Roland and his wife, the beautiful victim of Jacobin vengeance, are thus portrayed :

"Roland was a man of ordinary capacity, but he obtained the reputation of genius by means of his wife, who thought, wrote, and spoke for him. She was a woman of a most superior mind ; with as much virtue as pride, as much ambition as domestic virtue. Daughter of an engraver, she commenced her career by wishing to contend with a queen ; and no sooner had Marie Antoinette fallen, than she seemed resolute to maintain the combat, no longer against a person of her own sex, but with the men who pretended to rival the reputation of her husband.

"Madame Roland had great talent, but she wanted tact and moderation. She belonged to that class in the middling ranks that scarcely knows what good breeding is ; her manners were too brusque ; she trusted implicitly to her good intentions, and was quite indifferent in regard to external appearances, which, after all, are almost every thing in this world. Like Marie Antoinette, she was master in her own family ; the former was king, the latter was minister ; her husband, whom she constantly put forward, as often disappeared in her presence, which gave rise to the bon mot of Condorcet : ' When I wish to see the minister of the interior, I never can see any thing but the petticoat of his wife.' This was strictly true : persons on business uniformly applied to Madame Roland instead of the minister ; and whatever she may have said in her Memoirs, it is certain that unconsciously she opened the portfolio with her own hand. She was to the last degree impatient under the attacks of the tribune, to which she had no means of reply, and took her revenge by means of pamphlets and articles in the public journals. In these she kept up an incessant warfare, which Roland sanctioned with his name, but in which



it was easy to discover the warm and brilliant style of his wife."—i. 38.

These observations exhibit a fair specimen of the author's manner. It is nervous, brief, and sententious, rather than eloquent or impressive. The work is calculated to dispel many illusions under which we, living at this distance, labour, in regard to the characters of the Revolution. They are here exhibited in their genuine colours, alike free from the dark shades in which they have been enveloped by one party, and the brilliant hues in which they are arrayed by the other. In the descriptions, we see the real springs of human conduct on this elevated stage; the same littlenesses, jealousies, and weaknesses which are every day conspicuous around us in private life.

The Girondists in particular are stripped of their magic halo by his caustic hand. He displays in a clear light the weakness as well as brilliant qualities of that celebrated party: their ambition, intrigues, mob adulation, when rising with the Revolution; their weakness, irresolution, timidity, when assailed by its fury. Their character is summed up in the following words, which are put into the mouth of Lanjuinais, one of the most intrepid and noble-minded of the moderate party.

"The Girondists are in my mind a living example of the truth of the maxim of Beaumarchais: 'My God! what idiots these men of talent are!' All their speeches delivered at our tribune are sublime; their actions are inexplicable on any principles of common sense. They amuse themselves by exhausting their popularity in insignificant attacks, and waste it by that means in such a manner that already it is almost annihilated. They destroyed themselves when they overturned the monarchy; they flattered themselves that they would reign afterwards by their virtue and their brilliant qualities, little foreseeing how soon the Jacobins would mount on their shoulders. At present, to maintain themselves in an equivocal position, they will consent to the trial of the king, flattering themselves that they will decide his fate—they are mistaken: it is the Mountain, not they, that will carry the day. The Mountain is so far advanced in the career of crime that it cannot recede. Besides, it is indispensable for it to render the Gironde as guilty as itself, in order to deprive it of the possibility of treating separately: that motive will lead to the destruction of Louis XVI."—i. 142, 143.

These observations are perfectly just; whether they were made by Lanjuinais or not at the period when they are said to have been spoken, may be doubtful; but of this we are convinced, that they contain the whole theory and true secret of the causes which convert popular movements into guilty revolutions. It is the early commission of crime which renders subsequent atrocities unavoidable; men engage in the last deeds of cruelty to avoid the punishment of the first acts of oppression. The only rule which can

with safety be followed, either in political or private life, is *uniformly* to abstain from acts of injustice; never to do evil that good may come of it; but invariably to ask, in reference to any proposed measure, not merely whether it is expedient, but whether it is just. If any other principle be adopted—if once the system is introduced of committing acts of injustice or deeds of cruelty, from the pressure of popular clamour, or the supposed expediency of the measures, the career of guilt is commenced, and can seldom be arrested. The theory of public morals, complicated as it may appear, is in reality nothing but a repetition, on a greater scale, of the measures of virtue in private life; crime cannot be committed with impunity in the one more than the other, with this difference, that if the individuals who commit the wrong escape retribution, it will fall on the state to which they belong.

One of the most important steps in the progress of the Revolution, and from which so much evil subsequently flowed, was the failure in the impeachment of Marat by the Girondists in 1792. Marat's defence on that occasion, which is here given, is a choice specimen of the revolutionary talent which then exercised so powerful a sway.

“ I am accused of having conspired with Robespierre and Danton for a triumvirate; that accusation has not a shadow of truth, except so far as concerns myself.—I am bound in duty to declare that my colleagues, Danton and Robespierre, have constantly rejected the idea alike of a triumvirate or a dictatorship.—If any one is to blame for having scattered these ideas among the public, it is myself; I invoke on my own head the thunder of the national vengeance—but before striking, deign to hear me.

“ When the constituted authorities exerted their power only to enchain the people; to murder the patriots under the name of the law, can you impute it to me as a crime that I invoked against the wicked the tempest of popular vengeance?—No—if you called it a crime, the nation would give you the lie; obedient to the law, they felt that the method I proposed was the only one which could save them, and assuming the rank of a dictator, they at once purged the land of the traitors who infested it.—

“ I shuddered at the vehement and disorderly movements of the people, when I saw them prolonged beyond the necessary point; in order that these movements should not for ever fail, to avoid the necessity of their recommencement, I proposed that some wise and just citizen should be named, known for his attachment to freedom, to take the direction of them, and render them conducive to the great ends of public freedom.—If the people could have appreciated the wisdom of that proposal, if they had adopted it in all its plenitude, they would have swept off, on the day the Bastille was taken, five hundred heads from the conspirators. Every thing, had this been done, would now have been tranquil.—For the same reason, I have frequently proposed to give instantaneous



authority to a wise man, under the name of tribune, or dictator,—the title signifies nothing; but the proof that I meant to chain him to the public service is, that I insisted that he should have a bullet at his feet, and that he should have no power but to strike off criminal heads.—Such was my opinion; I have expressed it freely in private, and given it all the currency possible in my writings; I have affixed my name to these compositions: I am not ashamed of them; if you cannot comprehend them, so much the worse for you.—The days of trouble are not yet terminated; already a hundred thousand patriots have been massacred because you would not listen to my voice; a hundred thousand more will suffer, or are menaced with destruction; if the people falter, anarchy will never come to an end. I have diffused those opinions among the public; if they are dangerous, let enlightened men refute them with the proofs in their hands: for my own part, I declare I would be the first to adopt their ideas, and to give a signal proof of my desire for peace, order, and the supremacy of the laws, whenever I am convinced of their justice.—

“Am I accused of ambitious views? I will not condescend to vindicate myself; examine my conduct; judge my life. If I had chosen to sell my silence for profit, I might have now been the object of favour to the court.—What on the other hand has been my fate? I have buried myself in dungeons; condemned myself to every species of danger; the sword of twenty thousand assassins is perpetually suspended over me; I preached the truth with my head laid on the block.—Let those who are now terrifying you with the shadow of a dictator, unite with me; unite with all true patriots, press the Assembly to expedite the great measures which will secure the happiness of the people, and I will cheerfully mount the scaffold any day of my life.”—vol. i. pp. 75, 76.

We have given this speech at length, because it contains a fair sample of revolutionary logic, and displays that mixture of truth and error, of generous sentiments and perverted ambition, which characterized the speeches as well as the actions of the leaders. Marat was well acquainted with his power before he made these admissions; he knew that the armed force of the multitude would not permit a hair of his head to be touched; he already saw his adversaries trembling under the menaces which encircled the hall, and the applause of the galleries which followed his words; he had the air of generous self-devotion, when in truth he incurred no real danger. The principles here professed were those on which he and his party constantly acted. Their uniform doctrine was, that they must destroy their enemies, or be destroyed by them; that the friends of the Revolution were irrevocably engaged in a strife of life or death with the aristocracy; that there was no alternative in the struggle—it must be victory or death. Such were the maxims of the Jacobins, and we should greatly err if we ascribed them to any peculiar or extraordinary ferocity or wickedness in their character. They sprung entirely from their early commission of unpardonable offences, and the recklessness with which

they perpetrated acts of violence and spoliation, the moment that they obtained supreme power. The conclusion to be drawn from this is, not that the progress of innovation and social amelioration inevitably leads to wickedness, but that the commission of one crime during its progress necessarily occasions another, because it is in the commission of the second that impunity for the first is alone looked for; and therefore, that the only way during such trying times to prevent the progress from terminating in disaster, is steadily to adhere to the principles of justice and humanity; and if violence is once unavoidable, to revert to the temper and moderation of happier times, the moment that such a return is practicable.

The Jacobin Club, the Dom-daniel where all the bloody scenes of the Revolution were hatched, must ever be an object of interest and curiosity to future ages. The author's picture of it is so graphic, that we shall give it in his own words, for fear of weakening their force by translation; it will also serve as a fair specimen of his style.

“ Le club des Jacobins était véritablement le double de la puissance souveraine, et la portion la plus énergique: on ne pouvait assez la redouter, tant sa susceptibilité était extrême et ses vengeances terribles. Il se montrait inquiet, pusillanime, méfiant, cruel et féroce; il ne concevait la liberté qu'avec le concours des prisons, des fers, et à demi-noyée dans le sang. Tous les maux, tous les crimes, toutes les résolutions funestes, qui pendant trois années desolèrent la France, partirent de cet antre d'horreur. Les Jacobins dominèrent avec une tyrannie épaisse, vaste et lourde, qui nous enveloppa tous comme un cauchemar permanent. Inquisition terrible, violente, et néanmoins cauteleuse, il se nourrissait d'épouvante calculée, de fureurs, de dénonciations, et de l'effroi général qu'il inspirait. Les plus importants parmi les révolutionnaires tirèrent de la toute leur force, et en même temps ne cessèrent de flagorner, d'aduler ce club, et cela avec autant de persistance, que de bassesse: à tel point la masse du club avait du pouvoir, et à tel point celui qu'obtenaient des particuliers devait remonter à lui, comme à son origine unique.

“ Jamais un homme d'honneur, jamais la vertu parée de ses qualités précieuses ne purent être soufferts dans cette société: elle était antipathique avec tout ce qui n'était pas entaché d'une manière quelconque. Un voleur, un assassin, y trouvait plus d'affinité que le volé ou le victime. Le propos célèbre, *Qu'as tu fait pour être pendu, si l'ancien régime revenait?* pouvait s'appliquer également à la morale, qu'à la politique. Quiconque se présentait avec une vie exempte de reproches devenait suspect nécessairement: mais l'impur inspirait de l'intérêt, et se trouvait en harmonie, ou en point de contact avec les habitués de ce cloaque. Le club se réunissait à l'ancien couvent des Jacobins, dans la Rue St. Honoré, au local de la bibliothèque: c'était une salle vaste de forme gothique. On orna le local de drapeaux tricolores, de devises anarchiques,

de quelques portraits et bustes des révolutionnaires les plus fameux. J'ai vu, bien antérieurement au meurtre de Louis XVI., deux portraits, ceux de Jacques Clement et de Ravillac, environnés d'une guirlande de chêne, en manière de couronne civique: au-dessous leur nom, accompagné de la date de leur regicide, et au-dessus il y avoit ces mots, *Ils furent heureux—ils tuèrent un roi.*"—tom. i. pp. 110—112.

It may be imagined from these and similar passages that the author is a royalist: but such in reality is not the case. He is equally severe on the other parties, and admits that he himself acquiesced in all the savage measures of the Convention. The Jacobins in fact have become equal objects of detestation to all parties in the Revolution: to the royalists, by the cruelties which they exercised—to the republicans, by the horror which they excited, and the reaction against the principles of popular government which they produced. The description of them by Thiers and Mignet is nearly as black as that given by our author.

It is a curious speculation what it is during revolutionary troubles that gives an influence to men of desperate character. Why is it that when political institutions are undergoing a change, the wicked and profligate should acquire so fearful an ascendancy? That thieves and robbers should emerge from their haunts when a conflagration is raging, is intelligible enough,—but that they should then all at once become omnipotent, and rule their fellow citizens with absolute sway, is the surprising phenomenon. In considering the causes of this catastrophe in France, much is no doubt to be ascribed to the corrupt and rotten state of society under the monarchy, and the total want of all those habits of combination for mutual defence and support, which arise from the long-continued enjoyment of freedom. More however, we are persuaded, is to be ascribed to the general and unparalleled desertion of their country by the great majority of the nobility and landed proprietors, and their imprudent—to give it no severer name—union with foreign powers to regain their privileges by main force. If this immense and powerful body of men had remained at home, yielded to the torrent when they could not resist it, and taken advantage of the first gleams of returning sense and moderation, to unite with the friends of order of every denomination, it is impossible to doubt that a great barrier against revolutionary violence must have been erected. But what could be done by the few remaining priests and royalists, or by the king on the throne, when a hundred thousand proprietors, the strength and hope of the monarchy, deserted to the enemy, and appeared combating against France under the Austrian eagles? *There* was the fatal error. Every measure of severity directed against them or their descendants, appeared justifiable to

a people labouring under the terrors of foreign subjugation; if they had remained at home and armed against the stranger, as the worst mediator in their internal dissensions, the public feeling would not have been so strongly roused against them, and many of the worst measures of the Revolution would have been prevented. The comparatively bloodless character of the English civil war in the time of Charles I. is in a great measure to be ascribed to the courageous residence of the landed proprietors at home, even during the hottest of the struggle; and but for that intrepid conduct, they might, like the French noblesse, have been for ever stript of their estates, and the cause of freedom stained by unnecessary excesses.

Our author visited Dumourier when he returned to Paris, to endeavour to stem the torrent of the Revolution.—On that occasion, the general addressed him in these remarkable words.—

“ ‘If the men of honour in the country would act as I do, these miserable anarchists would speedily be reduced to their merited insignificance, and France would be delivered; but they fear them, and the terror which they inspire constitutes their whole strength. I shall never permit them at least to extend their power over my determinations.’

“Dumourier was right; it is the weakness of honest men which in every age has constituted the strength of the rabble.”—vol. i. p. 128.

He mentions a singular fact, well known to all who are tolerably acquainted with the history of the Revolution, which remarkably illustrates the slender reliance which during the fervour of a revolution can be placed on the support of the populace.—

“The Girondists trusted to their patriotism, to the pledges they had never ceased to give to the popular cause; they constantly flattered themselves that the people would keep their qualities in remembrance; and experience never taught them that the people, ever ungrateful and forgetful of past services, have neither eyes nor ears but for those who flatter them without intermission. They had another reason for their confidence, in the enormous majority which had recently re-elected Petion to the important situation of mayor of Paris.—No less than 14,000 voices had pronounced in his favour, while Robespierre had only 23, Billaud-Varennes 14, and Danton 11. The Girondists flattered themselves that their influence was to be measured in the same proportion; that error was their ruin, for they continued to cling to it down to the moment when necessity constrained them to see that they stood alone in the commonwealth. Bailly, the virtuous Bailly, that pure spirit who had the misfortune to do so much evil with the best intentions, had only two votes.”—vol. i. p. 130.

Thus the Girondists, only a few months before their final arrest and overthrow by the mob of Paris, had fourteen thousand votes, while Robespierre and Danton, who led them out to the slaughter,

had only thirty-four. Whence arose this prodigious decline of popularity in so short a time, and when they had done nothing in the intervening period to justify or occasion it? Simply from this, that having latterly endeavoured to repress the movement, that instant their popularity dissolved like a rope of sand, and they were consigned in a few months to the scaffold by their late noisy supporters.

This respectable writer adds his testimony to a fact now generally admitted, that the well-known novel of *Faublas* gave a correct picture of the manners of France at the outset of the Revolution. In such a corrupt state of society, it is not surprising that political change should have led to the most disastrous results; nor can any thing be imagined much worse than the old regime.

“Louvet de Courtray, born at Paris in 1764, was the son of a shopkeeper, and made his debut, not as an advocate, but as a shopman in the employment of Brault, the bookseller. He there acquired a taste for literature, which he soon made known by his well-known novel of *Faublas*. The Revolution commenced, and despite its agitation, the ‘Amours and gallant Adventures of the Chevalier de Faublas’ soon obtained a deserved reputation. You find in that book a faithful picture of the manners of the age—its levity, its follies; the mode of life of good company is there accurately depicted; and if decency is little respected, it is because it met with as little respect at the period when the hero of the story was supposed to be living.”—vol. i. p. 145.

But we must hasten to yet more interesting scenes. The appearance of the Duke of Orleans when he voted for the death of the king is thus described.

“Egalité, walking with a faltering step and a countenance paler than the corpse already stretched in the tomb, advanced to the place where he was to put the seal to his eternal infamy; and there, unable to utter a word in public unless it was written down, he read in these terms his fearful vote:

“‘Exclusively governed by my duty, and convinced that all those who have resisted the sovereignty of the people deserve death, my vote is for DEATH!’

“‘Oh, the monster!’ broke forth from all sides; ‘how infamous!’ and general hisses and imprecations attended Egalité as he returned to his seat. His conduct appeared so atrocious, that of all the assassins of September, of all the wretches of every description who were there assembled, and truly the number was not small, *not one* ventured to applaud him: all, on the contrary, viewed him with distrust or maledictions; and at the conclusion of his vote, the agitation of the assembly was extreme. One would have imagined from the effect it produced, that Egalité, by that single vote, irrevocably condemned Louis to death, and that all that followed it was but a vain formality.”—vol. ii. p. 48.

One of the most instructive facts in the whole history of the Revolution, was the *unanimous* vote of the assembly on the *guilt*

of Louis. Posterity has reversed the verdict: it is now unanimously agreed that he was innocent, and that his death was a judicial murder. That the majority, constrained by fear, misled by passion, or seduced by ambition, should have done so, is intelligible enough; but that seven hundred men should unanimously have voted an innocent man guilty, is the real phenomenon, for which no adequate apology can be found even in the anxieties and agitation of that unhappy period. Like all other great acts of national crime, it speedily brought upon itself its own punishment. It rendered the march of the Revolution towards increasing wickedness inevitable, because it deprived its leaders of all hope of safety but in the rule of the multitude, supported by acts of universal terror.

The result of the vote which, by a majority of forty-seven, condemned Louis to death, is well described:

“When the fatal words were pronounced, an explosion of satanic joy was expected from the tribunes: nothing of the kind occurred. An universal stupor took possession of the whole assembly, damping alike the atrocious hurras and the infernal applause. The victory which had been obtained filled the victors with as much awe as it inspired the vanquished with consternation; hardly was a hollow murmur heard; the members gazed at each other in death-like silence; every one seemed to dread even the sound of his own voice. There is something so overpowering in great events, that those even whose passions they most completely satisfy, are restrained from giving vent to their feelings.”—vol. ii. p. 61.

The death of the king, and its effect on the people, is very impressive:

“The sight of the royal corpse produced divers sensations in the minds of the spectators. Some cut off parts of his dress; others sought to gather a few fragments of his hair; a few dipped their sabres in his blood; and many hurried from the scene, evincing the most poignant grief in their countenances. An Englishman, bolder than the rest, threw himself at the foot of the scaffold, dipped his handkerchief in the blood which covered the ground, and disappeared.

“In the capital, the great body of the citizens appeared to be overwhelmed by a general stupor: they hardly ventured to look each other in the face in the streets: sadness was depicted in every countenance: a heavy disquietude seemed to have taken possession of every mind. The day following the execution they had not got the better of their consternation, which appeared then to have reached the members of the Convention, who were astonished and terrified at so bold a stroke, and the possible consequences with which it might be followed. Immediately after the execution, the body of Louis XVI. was transported into the ancient cemetery of the Madeleine: it was placed in a ditch of six feet square, with its back against the wall of the Rue d'Anjou, and covered with quick-



lime, which was the cause of its being so difficult afterwards, in 1815, to discover the smallest traces of his remains.

“The general torpor, without doubt, paralysed many minds, but shame had a large effect upon others. It was certainly a deplorable thing to see the king put to death without the smallest effort being made to save him from destruction; and on the supposition that such an attempt might have led to his assassination by the Jacobins, even that would have been preferable to the disgraceful tranquillity which prevailed at his execution. I am well aware that all who had emigrated had abandoned the king; but as there remained in the interior so many loyal hearts devoted to his cause, it is astonishing that no one should have shown himself on so rueful an occasion. Has crime then alone the privilege of conferring audacity? is weakness inseparable from virtue? I cannot believe it, although every thing conspired to favour it at that period, when the bravest trembled and retired into secrecy.”—vol. ii. pp. 13, 14.

The Girondists were far from reaping the benefits they expected from the death of the king; Lanjuinais's prophecy in this respect proved correct: it was but the forerunner of their own ruin.

“The death of Louis, effected by a combination of all parties, satisfied none. The Girondists in particular, as Lanjuinais had foretold, found in it the immediate cause of their ruin. Concessions made to crime benefit none but those who receive them: they make use of them and speedily forget the givers. This was soon demonstrated; for no sooner was the trial of Louis concluded by his death, than the Jacobins commenced their attacks on Roland, the minister of the interior, with such vehemence, that on the day after the king's execution he sent in his resignation.

“The Girondists did every thing in their power to prevent him from proceeding to this extremity: his wife exerted all her influence to make him retain his situation, offering to share all his labours, and take upon herself the whole correspondence. It was all in vain: he declared that death would be preferable to the mortifications he had to undergo ten times a day. What made his friends so anxious to retain him was their conviction that they could find no one to supply his place. They clearly saw their situation, when it was no longer possible to apply a remedy. The Mountain, strong through their weakness, overwhelmed them: already it broke through every restraint, and the system of terror, so well organized after the revolution of the 10th August, was put into full activity.”—vol. ii. pp. 153, 154.

It has never yet been clearly explained how Robespierre rose to the redoubtable power which he possessed for sixteen months before his death. His contemporaries are unanimous in their declarations that his abilities were extremely moderate, that his courage was doubtful, and his style of oratory often tiresome and perplexed. How, if all this be true, did he succeed in rising to the head of an assembly composed of men of unquestioned ability,

and ruled by the boldest and most audacious orators in France? How did he compose the many and admirable speeches, close in reasoning, energetic in thought, eloquent in expression, which he delivered from the tribune, and which history has preserved to illustrate his name? Supposing them to have been written by others, how did he maintain his authority at the Jacobin Club, whose nocturnal orgies generally took a turn which no previous foresight could have imagined, and no ordinary courage could withstand? How did he conduct himself in such a manner as to destroy all his rivals, and, at a time when all were burning with ambition, contrive to govern France with an authority unknown to Louis XIV.? The truth is, Robespierre must have been a man of most extraordinary ability; and the depreciatory testimony of his contemporaries probably proceeded from that envy which is the never-failing attendant of sudden and unlooked-for elevation. The account of the system he pursued in order to raise himself to supreme power, is pregnant with instruction.

“It was at this period (March, 1793) that Robespierre began to labour seriously at the plan which was destined to lead him to the dictatorship. It consisted, in the first instance, in getting rid of the Gironde by means of the Mountain; and secondly, in destroying by their aid every man of the ancient regime, capable by his rank, his talent, or his virtue, of standing in his way. It was indispensable to reduce to his own level all the heads above himself which he suffered to exist, and among those which it was necessary to cut off, he ranked in the first class those of the Queen and of Egalité. Having done this, his next object was to destroy the Mountain itself: he resolved to decimate it in its highest summits, in such a manner that he alone would remain, and nothing oppose his governing France with absolute sway. Robespierre at the same time assailed with mortal anxiety all the military reputations which might stand in his way; and, in the end, death delivered him from every general from whose opposition he had anything to apprehend.

“That this frightful plan existed, is but too certain; that it was executed in most of its parts, is historically known. That it did not finally succeed, was merely owing to the circumstance that the Jacobins, made aware of their danger before it was too late, assailed him when he was unprepared, and overturned him in a moment of weakness.”—vol. ii. pp. 192—195.

Fouquier-Tinville, the well-known public accuser in the revolutionary tribunal, is drawn in the following graphic terms:—

“Fouquier Tinville, a Picard by birth, born in 1747, and procureur in the court of the Chatelet, exhibited one of those extraordinary characters in which there is such a mixture of bad and strange qualities as to be almost inconceivable. Gloomy, cruel, atrabilious: the unsparing enemy of every species of merit or virtue; jealous, artful, vindictive: ever ready to suspect, to aggravate the already overwhelming dangers of innocence, he appeared impervious to every feeling of compassion or equity;



justice in his estimation consisted in condemnation; an acquittal caused him the most severe mortification; he was never happy but when he had sent all the accused to the scaffold: he prosecuted them with an extreme *acharnement*, made it a point of honour to repel their defences: if they were firm or calm in presence of the judges of the tribunal, his rage knew no bounds. But with all this hatred to what generally secures admiration and esteem, he showed himself alike insensible to the allurements of fortune and the endearments of domestic life: he was a stranger to every species of recreation: women, the pleasures of the table, the theatres, had for him no attractions. Sober in his habits of life, if he ever became intoxicated, it was with the commonest kind of wine. The orgies in which he participated had all a political view, as, for example, to procure a *feu de file*; on such occasions he was the first to bring together the judges and juries, and to provoke Bacchanalian orgies. What he required above every thing was human blood.

“ A *feu de file*, in the Jacobin vocabulary, was the condemnation to death of all the accused. When it took place, the countenance of Fouquier Tinville became radiant; no one could doubt that he was completely happy; and to attain such a result he spared no pains. He was, to be sure, incessantly at work: he went into no society, hardly ever showed himself at the clubs: it was not there, he said, that his post lay. The only recreation which he allowed himself was to go to the place of execution, to witness the pangs of his victims: on such occasions his gratification was extreme.

“ Fouquier Tinville might have amassed a large fortune: he was, on the contrary, poor, and his wife, it is said, actually died of starvation. He lived without any comforts: his whole furniture, sold after his decease, only produced the sum of five hundred francs. He was distinguished by the appearance of poverty and a real contempt of money. No species of seduction could reach him: he was a rock, a mass of steel, insensible to every thing which usually touches men, to beauty and riches: he became animated only at the prospect of a murder which might be committed, and on such occasions he was almost handsome, so radiant was the expression of his visage.

“ The friend of Robespierre, who fully appreciated his valuable qualities, he was the depository of his inmost thoughts. The Dictator asked him one day, what he could offer him most attractive, when supreme power was fully concentrated in his hands. ‘ Repose,’ replied Fouquier Tinville, ‘ but not till it is proved that not another head remains to fall: incessant labour till then.’ ”—vol. ii. 216, 217.

On reading these and similar passages regarding the Reign of Terror, and the characters which then rose to eminence, one is tempted to ask, is human nature the same under such extraordinary circumstances as in ordinary times; or is it possible, that by a certain degree of political excitement, a whole nation may go mad, and murders be perpetrated without the actors being in such a state as to be morally responsible for their actions? In considering this question, the conclusion which is irresistibly im-

pressed on the mind by a consideration of the progress of the French Revolution, is, that the error lies more in the head than in the heart, and that it is by the incessant application of false principles to the understanding, that the atrocious actions which excite the astonishment of posterity are committed. Without doubt there are in all troubled times a host of wicked and abandoned men, who issue from their haunts, stimulated by cupidity, revenge, and every evil passion, and seek to turn the public calamities to their individual advantage. But neither the leaders nor the majority of their followers are composed of such men. The *political fanatics*, those who do evil that good may come,—who massacre in the name of humanity, and imprison in that of public freedom,—these are the men who are most to be dreaded, and who, in general, acquire a perilous sway over the minds of their fellow citizens. When vice appears in its native deformity, it is abhorred by all: it is by assuming the language and working upon the feelings of virtue that it acquires so fatal an ascendant, and that men are led to commit the most atrocious actions, in the belief that they are performing the most sacred of duties. The worst characters of the Revolution who survived the scaffold, were found in private life to have their humanity unimpaired, and to lead peaceable and inoffensive lives. Barrère is now, or was very recently, at Brussels, where his time is devoted to declaiming on the necessity of entirely abolishing capital punishments; and yet Barrère is the man who proposed the famous decree for the annihilation of Lyons, beginning with the words “*Lyons faisait la guerre à la liberté; Lyons n’est plus;*” and constantly affirmed, that “*le vaisseau de la Revolution ne peut arriver au port que sur une ocean du sang.*”

The origin and composition of the famous Committee of Public Safety, and the manner in which it gradually engrossed the whole powers of the state, and became concentrated in the persons of the Triumvirate, are thus given:

“It was on the 6th April, 1793,” says our author, “that the terrible Committee of Public Safety was constituted: which speedily drew to itself all the powers in the state. It did not manifest its ambition at the outset: it was useful at starting: it exhibited no symptoms of an ambitious disposition, but that prudent conduct ceased after the great revolt of 31st May. Then the Convention, its committees, and in an especial manner that of General Safety, fell under the yoke of the Committee of Public Safety, which performed the part of the Council of Ten and the Three Inquisitors in the Venetian state. Its power was monstrous, because it was in some sort concealed: because amidst the multitude of other committees it veiled its acts; because, renewing itself perpetually among men of the same stamp, it constantly destroyed the personal responsibility of its members, though its measures were ever the same.”

“ The Committee of Public Safety terminated by being concentrated, not in the whole of its members, but in three of their number. Robespierre was the real chief, but half concealed from view; the two others were Couthon and St. Just. There was between these monsters a perfect unanimity down to the moment of their fall : in proportion as the Mountain was divided and its chiefs perished, the alliance between them became more firmly cemented. I have every reason to believe that they had resolved to perpetuate their power in unison, and under the same title which Bonaparte afterwards adopted at the 18th Brumaire. Robespierre, Couthon and St. Just were to have formed a supreme council of three consuls. The first, with the perpetual presidency, was to have been entrusted with the departments of the exterior, of justice, and of the finances : Couthon was to have had the interior; and St. Just the war portfolio, which suited his belligerent inclination.”—p. 229.

One of the most singular circumstances in all civil convulsions, when they approach a crisis, is the mixed and distracted feelings of the great majority, even of the actors, in the anxious scenes which are going forward. A signal instance occurred on occasion of the revolt of 31st May, which overturned the Girondists, and openly established the supremacy of the armed force of Paris over the National Convention. This eventful crisis is thus powerfully described by our author :—

“ The assembly, in a body, rose to present itself at the great gate to go out upon the place de Carousel. We were all uncovered, in token of the dangers of the country : the president alone wore his hat. The officers of the assembly preceded him : he ordered them to clear a passage. Henriot, at that decisive moment, breaking out into open revolt, advanced on horseback at the head of his aides-de-camp. He drew his sabre and addressed us in a tone, the arrogance of which was deserving of instant punishment—‘ You have no orders to give here,’ said he, ‘ return to your posts, and surrender the rebellious deputies to the people.’ Some amongst us insisted : the president commanded his officers to seize that rebel. Henriot retired fifteen paces, and exclaimed : ‘ Cannoniers, to your pieces !’ The troops that surrounded him at the same time made preparations to charge us. Already the muskets were raised to take aim, the hussars drew their sabres, the artillerymen inclined their lighted matches towards their pieces. At this spectacle, Herault de Sechelles, the president, was disconcerted, turned about, and we followed him. He went to all the other gates, followed by the same escort : traversed the gardens of the Tuileries, and the place de Carousel, in vain seeking to escape : at every issue a barrier of cannon and bayonets opposed his exit.

“ At the same time,—who would believe it ? the greater part of the troops, with their hats on the point of their bayonets, were shouting : ‘ Vive la Convention Nationale !’ ‘ Vive la Republique !’ ‘ Peace—Laws—a Constitution !’ Some cried out : ‘ Vive la Montagne !’ a still smaller number, ‘ A la mort Brissot, Gensonné, Vergniaud, Guadet !’ A few

voices exclaimed, 'Purge the Convention! let the blood of the wicked flow!'—pp. 379, 380.

Yet though the opinions of the national guard, the armed force of Paris, were thus divided, and a minority only supported the violent measures of Henriot and the insurgents, this minority, by the mere force of unity of action, triumphed over all the others, and made their unwilling fellow-soldiers the instruments in imposing violence on the legislature, and dragging its most illustrious members to prison. Such was the French Revolution; and such is the ascendancy which in all extreme cases of public agitation is acquired by audacious, united wickedness, over irresolute, divided virtue.

It is interesting to examine the line of conduct adopted by the moderate members of the assembly after this crisis, which prostrated the legislature before the municipality and armed force of Paris. The author gives us the following account of the principles by which he himself and the majority of the members were actuated:—

"Overwhelmed with consternation as all men of property were by the audacity of the revolutionists, and convinced of our impotence at that time, (for virtue has but feeble nerves, and none of that vigour which was manifested, not only by antiquity, but even by our fathers,) I asked myself, I am not ashamed to confess, whether a public sacrifice to the country would ultimately be more advantageous than a silent, cautious opposition, which in the end might unite to itself all whom the fury of the Mountain had spared. My answer was, that every one must carry on war according to his means; and, as in our case, an open resistance would have been followed by a speedy overthrow, I resolved to assume the appearance of absolute indifference, which might leave me at liberty to aid many unfortunate persons, and keep alive the hope of finally overturning that abominable tyranny.

"Having formed this resolution, I immediately proceeded to act upon it. I was present at the assembly; I quitted it without any one being sensible of my presence. I lived on terms of tolerable intimacy with Danton, Tallien, the younger Robespierre, so that by the aid of their hints and indiscretions, I was prepared for every storm which was approaching.

"This line of conduct, which was pursued at the same time by Durand, Garau, Dupuis, Demartin, and a number of others, perfectly succeeded. We were soon forgotten, while the remnants of the Jacobin faction assailed each other without mercy; we were passed over in silence for fifteen months, and that happy state of oblivion proved our salvation; for all at once, changing our tactics, and declaring against Robespierre, our unexpected vote gave his opponents the majority, and soon drew after it the whole assembly. In less than an hour after it was given, we became an authority which it was necessary to consult, and which, continually increasing, because it had struck in at the for-

fortunate moment, speedily made itself master of that supreme authority which the Jacobins were no longer in a condition to dispute.

“ I know that our conduct is blamed, and was blamed by many persons. A number of knights of the saloon exclaim against it : I will only ask, which of them, with all their boasting, did anything useful at the fall of Robespierre ?

“ It is necessary in difficult times to distinguish obstinate folly from measured energy ; there would be no wisdom in attempting to overthrow the pyramids of Egypt by striking them with the hand : but in beginning with the upper tier, and successively pulling down all those which compose the mass, the object might be accomplished.”—vol. iii. p. 78.

This passage involves a question of the utmost moment to all true patriots in periods of public danger from civil convulsion ; which is, what should be their conduct when they are openly assailed by an anarchical faction ? The answer to this is to be found in the situation of the parties, at the time when the collision takes place. If supreme authority, that of the armed force, has not passed into the hands of the anarchists, every effort should be made to retain it in the possession of the holders of property ; but if that is impossible, the conduct pursued by these members of the Convention at that period is not only the most prudent, but in the end the most useful. To “ stoop to conquer ” is a maxim often as applicable to political as to private life ; and when the majority of a nation are so heated by passion as to be incapable of appreciating the force of reason, it is only by waiting for the moment when they have begun to feel the consequences, that a favourable re-action can be anticipated.

The Reign of Terror is thus described :—

“ The Reign of Terror was a terrible epoch, when the patriotic party acted with indescribable fury, and resistance to it appeared only in the feeblest form ; a frightful struggle, during which punishment was daily inflicted in the name of freedom ; when the people were governed with the most despotic forms, and equality existed only for the vilest of assassins. Those who have not lived through it can have no idea of what it really was ; those who do remember it are monsters if they do not do their utmost to prevent its recurrence : any government, of whatever kind, and from whatever quarter, should be embraced in preference. Eternal curses on the man who should bring it back to his country !

“ Yes, I repeat it : that era has no resemblance to any other. I have seen the despotism of Napoleon ; I have witnessed the terror of 1815 ; paltry imitations of those tremendous years ! France in 1793 and 1794 was furrowed in every direction by the revolutionary thunder ; the most insignificant commune had its denouncers and its executioners. Ridicule was frequently joined to atrocity. Recollect that village of the Limousin, from the top of whose steeple the tricolour flag suddenly disappeared. A violent disturbance was instantly raised ; search was made for the daring offender, who could not be found, and in conse-

quence a dozen persons were instantly arrested on suspicion. At length the fragments of the flag were discovered suspended from the branches of a tree, and it was found that a magpie had made its nest with the remains of the national colour. Oh, the tyrannical bird! they seized it, cut off its head, and transmitted the *procès verbal* to the Convention. We received it without bursting into laughter: had any one ventured to indulge himself in that way, he would have run the risk of perishing on the public scaffold.

"The Jacobins were not ashamed to propose to us, and we passed into a law the decree, which awarded 50 francs to every girl who should any how become a mother. This abominable demoralization flowed naturally from the manners of that period. They made a Goddess of Reason, whose altar was the scaffold. They there sacrificed to crime by massacring virtue; nothing sacred or respectable remained: things arrived at length at such a point, that the denunciation of the innocent was recommended as a duty to sons, friends, and servants; in a word, there was no degree of degradation to which we did not descend."—vol. iii. pp. 42, 43.

It is well known that when the Duke of Orleans was sent to the scaffold, he was detained nearly ten minutes opposite to the Palais Royal, for no intelligible reason which has yet been divulged. The following explanation of that circumstance, which our author says he received from Tallien, is new to us; we give it as we find it, without either vouching for or discrediting its truth.

"It was not without full consideration that Robespierre formed his plan in regard to the Duke of Orleans, which consisted in this:—two presidents were to be established for France; the one to preside over the war department, the other over the interior; the one was to execute, the other to direct. The first of these places was destined, not for Egalité, but for his son, whose character was unsullied; the second was to be occupied by Robespierre himself. But to cement this alliance, Robespierre insisted as a *sine qua non* that the daughter of Egalité should be given to him in marriage. The proposition was made by Couthon, and Egalité consulted his son upon it, whose resolution was decidedly opposed to the alliance. It was accordingly refused, with every affectation of regret on the part of the Duke of Orleans; and thereafter Robespierre's indignation knew no bounds. The proposition, however, was afterwards renewed through Tallien, who had many pecuniary connections with Egalité, but with no better success. He evinced an invincible repugnance to such a son-in-law. 'In that resolution,' said Tallien, 'I clearly saw the prince of the blood; he was deaf to all the offers and considerations of advantage which I pointed out.'

"After Tallien had received this positive refusal, he returned to his constituent, who was immediately seized with a violent fit of rage, and swore to avenge the affront by the destruction of the whole family. Every one knows how, in consequence, he forced Dumourier to throw off the mask, and from that incident deduced the flight of young Egalité from the kingdom, and the arrest of his father. After he was imprisoned,



Robespierre let him know that his fate would be different if he would re-consider his refusal. The answer was still in the negative; the rage of the Jacobin then knew no bounds, and he decided upon the prompt execution of his intended father-in-law. At the last moment, a new proposal was made, according to Tallien's statement; and if Egalité, when the fatal car was stopped opposite the Palais Royal, had made a signal to indicate that he now acquiesced, the means of extricating him from punishment by means of a popular insurrection were prepared. He still refused to make the signal, and after waiting ten minutes, Robespierre was obliged to let him proceed to the scaffold. I give the story as Tallien related it to me, without vouching for its truth; but it is well known that this was not the only alliance with the royal family which Robespierre was desirous of contracting, and which would have covered with still greater infamy the Bourbon race."—vol. iii. 179, 180.

There is no character so utterly worthless, that some redeeming point or other is not to be found in it. The Duke of Orleans has hitherto been considered as one of the most abandoned of the human race; and the eye of impartial history could find nothing to rest on, except the stoicism of his death, to counterbalance the ignominy of his life. If the anecdote here told be true, however, another and a nobler trait remains; and the picture of the first prince of the blood standing between death and an alliance with the tyrant of his country, and preferring the former, may be set off against his criminal vote for the death of Louis, and transmit his name to posterity with a lesser load of infamy than has hitherto attached to it.

The worship of the Goddess of Reason has past into a proverb. Here is the description of the initiatory "festival" in honour of the goddess.

"The day after the memorable sitting when the Christian religion was abolished, the Festival of Reason was celebrated in Notre Dame, which became the temple of the new divinity. The most distinguished artists of the capital, musicians and singers, were enjoined to assist at the ceremony, under pain of being considered suspected and treated as such. The wife of Monmoro represented the new divinity; four men, dressed in scarlet, carried her on their shoulders, seated in a gilt chair adorned with garlands of oak. She had a scarlet cap on her head, a blue mantle over her shoulders, a white tunic covered her body; in one hand she held a pike, in the other an oaken branch. Before her marched young women clothed in white, with tricolour girdles and crowned with flowers. The legislature with red caps, and the deputies of the sections brought up the rear.

"The cortège traversed Paris from the hall of the Convention to Notre Dame. There the goddess was elevated on the high altar, where she received successively the adoration of all present, while the young women filled the air with incense and perfumes. Hymns in honour of the occasion were sung, a discourse pronounced, and every one retired,



the goddess no longer borne aloft, but on foot or in a hackney coach, I forget which.

"The most odious part of the ceremony consisted in this, that while the worship of the goddess was going on in the nave and in the sanctuary, every chapel round the cathedral, carefully veiled by means of tapestry hangings, became the scene of drunkenness, licentiousness and obscenity. No words can convey an idea of the scene; those who witnessed it alone can form a conception of the mixture of dissoluteness and blasphemy which took place. Prostitutes abounded in every quarter; the mysteries of Lesbos and Gnidos were celebrated without shame before assembled multitudes. The thing made so much noise that it roused the indignation of Robespierre himself; and on the day of the execution of Chaumette, who had presided over the ceremony, he said that he deserved death if it was only for the abominations he had permitted on that occasion."—vol. iii. p. 195, 196.

The concluding months of the Reign of Terror are thus vividly depicted:—

"I have now arrived at the solemn period when the evil rapidly attained its height, by the usual progress of human events, which perish and disappear after a limited period, though not without leaving on some occasions bloody marks of its passage. The revolutionary excesses daily increased, in consequence of the union of the depraved perpetrators of them. One would have imagined that these monsters had but one body, one soul, to such a degree were they united in their actions. The Mountain in the Assembly, the Committees of Public Safety and of General Safety without its walls, the Revolutionary Tribunal, the Municipality of Paris, the Clubs of the Jacobins and the Cordeliers; all, according to their different destinations, conspired successively to bring about the death of the king, the overthrow of the monarchy; then all the acts of popular despotism; finally, the overthrow of the Girondists, who, notwithstanding their faults, and even their crimes, were, fairly enough, entitled to be placed comparatively among the upright characters of the Convention.

"This combination of wicked men had filled France with terror; by them opulent cities were overturned; the inhabitants of the communes decimated; the country impoverished by means of absurd and terrible regulations; agriculture, commerce and the arts destroyed; the foundations of every species of property shaken; and all the youth of the kingdom driven to the frontiers, less to uphold the integrity of France, than to protect themselves against the just vengeance which awaited them both within and without.

"All bowed the neck before this gigantic assemblage of wickedness; virtue resigned itself to death or dishonour. There was no medium between falling the victims of such atrocities or taking a part in them. An universal disquietude, a permanent anxiety settled over the realm of France; energy appeared only in the extremity of resignation; it was evident that every Frenchman preferred death to the effort of resistance, and that the nation would submit to this horrid yoke as long as it pleased the Jacobins to keep it on.

“ Was then all hope of an amelioration of our lot finally lost?— Unquestionably it was, if it had depended only on the efforts of the virtuous classes; but as it is the natural effect of suffering to induce a remedy, so it was in the shock of the wicked among themselves that our only hope of salvation remained; and although nearly a year was destined to elapse before this great consummation was effected, yet from the beginning of 1794, men gifted with foresight began to hope that heaven would at length have pity on them, throw the apple of discord among their enemies, and strike them with that judicial blindness which is the instrument it makes use of to punish men and nations.”—vol. iii. p. 230.

The first great symptom of this approaching discord was the quarrel between Danton and Robespierre, which terminated in the destruction of the former. It was impossible that two such characters, both eminently ambitious, and both strongly entrenched in popular attachment, could long continue to hold on their course together; when their common enemies were destroyed, and the adversaries of the Revolution scattered, they necessarily fell upon each other. It is the strongest proof of the ability of Robespierre that he was able to crush an adversary who had the precedence of him in the path of popularity, who possessed many brilliant qualities of which he was destitute; whose voice of thunder had so often struck terror into the enemies of the Revolution, and who was supported by a large and powerful party in the capital. It is in vain, after such an achievement, to speak of the insignificance of Robespierre's abilities, or the tedium of his speeches. This great contest is thus described—Robespierre is addressing the assembly on occasion of the impeachment of his rival.

“ ‘ The Orleans party was the first which obtained possession of power; its ramifications extended through all the branches of the public service. That criminal party, destitute of boldness, has always availed itself of existing circumstances and the colours of the ruling party. Thence has come its fall; for ever trusting to dissimulation and never to open force, it sank before the energy of men of good faith and public virtue. In all the most favourable circumstances, Orleans failed in resolution; they made war on the nobility to prepare the throne for him; at every step you see the efforts of his partisans to ruin the court, his enemy, and preserve the throne; but the fall of the one necessarily drew after it that of the other.—No royalist could endure a parricide.

“ ‘ A new scene opens.—The opinion of the people was so strongly opposed to royalty, that it became impossible to maintain it openly. Then the Orleans party dissembled anew; it was they who proposed the banishment of the Bourbons. That policy, however, could not resist the energy of the partisans of the Revolution. In vain did Dumourier, the friend of kings and of Orleans, make his calculations; the policy of Brissot and his accomplices was soon seen through.—It was a king of the Orleans family that they wished; thenceforward no hope of peace to the republic till the last of their partisans has expired.

“ ‘ Danton ! you shall answer to inflexible justice. Let us examine your past conduct. Accomplice in every criminal enterprize, you ever espoused the cause which was adverse to freedom ; you intrigued alike with Mirabeau and Dumourier, with Hebert and Herault de Sechelles. Danton ! you have made yourself the slave of tyranny ; you opposed Lafayette, it is true, but Mirabeau, Orleans, Dumourier, did the same. It was by the influence of Mirabeau that you were appointed administrator of the Department of Paris. Mirabeau, who meditated a change of dynasty, felt the value of your audacity, and secured it ; you then abandoned all your former principles, and nothing more was heard of you till the massacre in the Champ de Mars. What shall I say of your cowardly desertion of the public interest in every crisis, where you uniformly adopted the party of retreating.’ ”

“ At the conclusion of this incomprehensible tirade, he proposed that Camille Desmoulins, Herault, Danton, Lacroix, Philippeaux, convicted of accession to the conspiracy of Dumourier, should be sent to the revolutionary tribunal.

“ Not one voice ventured to raise itself in favour of the accused. Their friends trembled and were silent. The decree passed unanimously, and with every expression of enthusiasm. The galleries imitated us : and from those quarters, from whence so often had issued bursts of applause in favour of Danton, now were heard only fierce demands for his head. This is the ordinary march of the public mind during a revolution. Fervid admiration of no one is of long duration : a breath establishes, a breath undoes it. In France this change was experienced in its turn by every leader of the Mountain.”—vol. iii. p. 338.

The final struggle which led to the overthrow of Robespierre has exercised the talents of many historians. None have given it in more vivid terms than our author :—

“ The battalions of the sections, who had been convoked by the emissaries sent into the different quarters of Paris, arrived successively at the Tuileries around the National Assembly. Tallien said to the chief of the civic force—‘ Depart, and when the sun rises, may he not shine on one conspirator in Paris.’ ”

“ The night was dark ; the moon was in its first quarter ; but the public anxiety had supplied that defect by a general illumination. The defenders of the National Convention followed the line of the quay, bringing with them several pieces of cannon ; they marched in silence. Impressed with the grandeur of their mission, they sustained each other’s courage without the aid of the vociferations and exclamations which are the resource of those who march to pillage and disorder.

“ The place in front of the Hôtel-de-Ville was filled with detachments of the national guard attached to the cause of the insurgents, companies of cannoniers and squadrons of gendarmerie, and with a multitude of individuals, some armed, others not, all inflamed with the most violent spirit of Jacobinism, or perhaps in secret sacrificing to fear.

“ Leonard Bourdon, who was uncertain whether he should commence hostilities by at once attacking the different groups assembled on the

place, before coming to that extremity resolved to despatch an agent of the Committee of Public Safety, named Dulac, a courageous man, but not apt unnecessarily to expose his life. Dulac did so, and read to the assembled crowd the decree of the Convention which declared Robespierre and his associates *hors la loi*. Immediately, the greater part of those who were assembled came over and arranged themselves with the forces of the Convention. Bourdon, however, still hesitated to advance, as the report was spread that the Hôtel-de-Ville was undermined, and that, rather than surrender, the conspirators would blow it and themselves in the air. Bourdon therefore kept his position and remained in suspense.

“ Meanwhile every thing in the Hôtel-de-Ville was in a state of the utmost agitation. Irresolution, contradictory resolutions prevailed. Robespierre had never wielded a sabre ; St. Just had dishonoured his ; Henriot, almost drunk, knew not what to do. The municipal guards, a troop well accustomed to march towards crime, were stupified when they in their turn became the objects of attack. All seemed to expect death, without having energy enough to strive to avert it by victory.

“ At this crisis Payen read to the conspirators the decree of the Convention which declared them *hors la loi*, and included in the list the names of all those in the galleries who were applauding their proceedings. The *ruse* was eminently successful, for no sooner did these noisy supporters hear their names read over in the fatal list, than they dropped off one by one, and in a short time the galleries were empty. They soon received a melancholy proof how completely they were deserted. Henriot in consternation descended the stairs to harangue the cannoniers, upon whose fidelity every thing now depended. All had disappeared ; the place was deserted, and in their stead Henriot perceived only the heads of the columns of the national guard advancing in battle-array.

“ He reascended with terror in his looks and imprecations in his mouth ; he announced the total defection of the troops ;—instantly terror and despair took possession of that band of assassins ; every one turned his fury on his neighbour ; nothing but mutual execrations could be heard. Some tried to hide themselves, others to escape. Coffinhal, maddened by a transport of rage, seized Henriot in his arms, and exclaiming, “ Vile wretch, your cowardice has undone us all ! ” threw him out of a window. Henriot was not destined to die then ; a dunghill on which he fell so broke his fall as to preserve his life for the punishment which he so richly merited. Lebas took a pistol and blew out his brains ; Robespierre tried to imitate him ; his hand trembled, he only broke his jaw, and disfigured himself in the most frightful manner. St. Just was found with a poignard in his hand, which he had not the courage to plunge in his bosom. Couthon crawled into a sewer, from whence he was dragged by the heels ; the younger Robespierre threw himself from the window.”

The scene here described is, perhaps, the most memorable in the history of modern times ; that in which the most vital interests of the human race were at stake, and millions watched with trem-

bling anxiety—the result of the insurrection of order and virtue against tyranny and cruelty. It is a scene which, to the end of time, will warmly interest every class of readers; not those merely who delight in the dark or the terrible, but all who are interested in the triumph of freedom over oppression, and are solicitous to obtain for their country that first of blessings—a firm and well regulated system of general liberty.

Happen what may in this country, we do not anticipate the occurrence of such terrible scenes as are here described. The progress of knowledge—the influence of the press, which is almost unanimous in favour of humane measures—the vast extent of property at stake in the British islands—the habit of acting together, which a free government and the long enjoyment of popular rights have confirmed, will in all probability save us from such frightful convulsions. If the English are ever to indulge in unnecessary deeds of cruelty, they must belie the character which, with the single exception of the wars of the Roses, they have maintained in all their domestic contests since the Norman Conquest.

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ART. III.—*Calliope, ou Traité sur la véritable Prononciation de la Langue Grecque: dédié aux Savants Hellénistes de l'Europe.*  
Par C. Minoïde Mynas, Ex-Professeur de Philosophie et de Rhétorique en Macédoine.\* Paris, 1825, 8vo.

THE pronunciation of words and syllables has sometimes been discussed with as much fervour as the rights of kings and subjects. The genuine power, or ancient sound, of certain letters of the Greek alphabet, consonants as well as vowels, has been the occasion of much learned controversy during the space of three hundred years; nor can we venture to affirm that this controversy, begun by Erasmus in 1528, has been terminated by Mynas in 1825.

A knowledge of this noble language began to be more generally diffused after the final extinction of the Greek empire, an event which took place about the middle of the fifteenth century. It is not however to be supposed that the language was previously unknown in some of the more learned countries of Europe. Various scholars must from time to time have been attracted to Constantinople, some by liberal curiosity, others by the hope of gain; nor is it to be doubted that learned Greeks occasionally met with sufficient encouragement to carry their learning to a foreign market. Petrarca acquired a knowledge of the Greek

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\* A Greek Grammar, by the same author, has been already briefly noticed in our second volume, p. 709.

language from Barlaam, a Calabrian monk, who afterwards became bishop of Squillace.\* The native country of his preceptor, it is well known, had anciently been peopled by Greek colonies, and was long described by the name of *Magna Græcia*. Here, as well as in Sicily, some knowledge of the language continued to be preserved for many ages; nor was it excluded from the offices of their churches till the latter part of the fifteenth century, when Xystus IV. enjoined the exclusive use of the Latin tongue. About this period many learned Greeks had found their way into Italy, and had begun to disseminate a knowledge of their language and literature. In the year 1452, Constantinople fell into the barbarous hands of "our ancient allies the Turks;" and, after "that untoward event," many unfortunate scholars were compelled to wander into distant regions; but even at an earlier period several of them had settled in Italy, and had there contributed to the revival of ancient learning. Of Chrysoloras, Gaza, Georgius Trapezuntius, Bessarion, Argyropulus, Chalcondylas, Lascaris, Marullus, and Musurus, the names are familiarly known to those who are moderately acquainted with the literary history of the fifteenth century.† It was by the aid of such instructors that the language now began to be generally studied; and it is sufficiently obvious that the pronunciation thus taught must have been the ordinary pronunciation of the teachers.

How far the ancient pronunciation had been corrupted during the declining ages of the empire, it is not so easy to determine. In the present controversy this is a very material question; but the solution of it depends on a minute examination of many scattered and slender notices, nor can we perhaps pass the limits of probability, and arrive at any degree of certainty. The Greek is distinguished from almost every other language by its durability. If we suppose Homer to have flourished 900 years previous to the birth of Christ, we shall find that more than 2350 years intervened before the subversion of the eastern empire; and during that very extended period the language did not undergo any changes which materially affected its character. It has been remarked by the learned Dr. Taylor, "that there is less dissonance or disagreement between the Greek of the first ages and of the last, between the writers of the fourth century before the Christian era, and the fourth or fifth below it, than there is between two Roman authors of the same century."‡ Georgius Gemistus, or

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\* Gradenigo, *Ragionamento istorico-critico intorno alla Letteratura Greco-Italiana*, p. 130. Brescia, 1759, 8vo.

† See the learned work of Dr. Hody, *De Græcis illustribus Linguae Græcæ Literarumque Humaniorum Instauratoribus*. Lond. 1742, 8vo.

‡ Taylor's *Elements of the Civil Law*, p. 510.



Pletho, who was appointed to a judicial situation in the Peloponnesus, at a date so recent as the year 1441, has left various works which exhibit no very wide departure from the early standards of composition; and the same remark may likewise be applied to other writers who belong to this last age of ancient Greek literature.

The pronunciation which generally prevailed during the earlier part of the sixteenth century, was in some countries denominated the Reuchlinian, from its having been adopted by Reuchlin, who died in the year 1521, after having been chiefly instrumental in the introduction of classical learning into Germany.\* It essentially coincided with the pronunciation of the modern Greeks. In the copious grammar of Scot, first printed in the year 1593, we still find the same system recommended. To the letter  $\beta$  he assigns the name of vita, to  $\zeta$  of zita, to  $\eta$  of ita, to  $\theta$  of thita. According to this system, the vowels  $\eta$ ,  $\iota$ ,  $u$ , and the diphthongs  $ei$ ,  $oi$ , have no variety of sound, but ought to be pronounced as the French pronounce the letter  $i$ . Thus  $\tau\eta$ ,  $\tau\iota$ ,  $\tau u$ ,  $\tau ei$ ,  $\tau oi$ , have one and the same sound. These however are not the only particulars in which the two systems differ from each other.

Reuchlin's mode of pronunciation was almost entirely supplanted by that of Erasmus, who recommended his innovations in a dialogue written with his usual talent. Of the manner in which he arrived at this improvement, a very extraordinary account has been transmitted to us by the elder Vossius, on the authority of Ravensberg, who alleged the authority of his preceptor Rutgerus Reschius.

"I heard Rutgerus Reschius, who was professor of Greek in the Busleiden College and my revered preceptor, relate that he was in the Liliensian seminary at the same time with Erasmus, who occupied an upper room, and himself a lower one; that Henry Glareanus happened to arrive at Louvain from Paris, and was invited to dine in the college; and when Glareanus was asked what news he brought with him, he answered (which was a story he had made up on the way, because he knew Erasmus to be over-fond of novelties and wonderfully credulous,) that certain native Greeks had arrived in Paris, who were men of great learning, and who used a pronunciation of the Greek language entirely different from that which prevailed in these parts; as, for instance, instead of calling  $\beta$  vita, they called it beta; for ita, they said eta, &c. As soon as Erasmus heard this account, he wrote his Dialogue on the true pronunciation of the Greek and Latin languages, that he might appear to be the discoverer of this new method, and offered the work to Peter, a printer at Alost, in order to have it published; but the printer declined doing so, either because he was engaged in other works, or

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\* J. H. Maii Vita Jo. Reuchlini Phorcensis, primi in Germania Hebraicarum Græcarumque, et aliarum bonarum Literarum Instauratoris. Durlaci, 1687, 8vo.



because he could not undertake to publish it so soon as was desired, and Erasmus then sent the work to Froben at Basel, by whom it was printed and immediately published. Erasmus having, however, discovered that a trick had been practised upon him, never afterwards used that pronunciation himself, nor did he direct his friends to adopt it. In proof of these facts, Rutgerus used to show, in Erasmus's own handwriting, a manuscript system of pronunciation, drawn up for the use of Damian de Goez, a Spaniard, which was not at all different from that adopted in all places where the language is used, both by the learned and the unlearned.\*

Dr. Jortin, in reference to this last suggestion, has properly stated, that "though Erasmus might comply with common custom, yet he lays down nearly the same system in his note on John, xiv. 26, which he had defended in his book *De Pronuntiatione*." The entire story, although it seems to rest on competent authority, cannot be viewed without strong suspicion. Credulity and artifice are too unscrupulously imputed to Erasmus, and some of the particulars here stated are manifestly incorrect. We are left to conclude that this work was composed at Louvain, was transmitted to Basel, and there printed by Froben; whereas the dedication proves that the author was then residing at Basel, and some pieces inserted in the same volume mention Froben as already dead.† From the rapidity with which he is represented as preparing his dialogue, it might be supposed to be a very slight and fugitive production: it however extends to 218 pages, nor could it be dispatched with such rapidity as the narrative implies. Whatever may have originally led the author to doubt the correctness of the common mode of pronunciation, it is evident that his investigations are conducted in a legitimate manner, and that his opinions do not rest on any random foundation.

This work of Erasmus excited no small degree of attention, and in a short period his followers became very numerous. In the year 1529 Jacobus Ceratinus published a tract entitled *De Sono Literarum præsertim Græcurum, Libellus*, in which he incidentally supports the same system. Here however the controverted points are but slightly touched. The reformed pronunciation was speedily adopted in the university of Cambridge, where it was taught and inculcated by Cheke, Smith, and Ascham,‡ three distinguished restorers of learning in England. At that period the chancellor of the university was Stephen Gardiner, the well-

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\* Vossii Aristarchus, lib. i. cap. xxviii. We have adopted Mr. Pickering's translation of the passage. See his Essay on the Pronunciation of the Greek Language, p. 21.

† De recta Latini Græcique Sermonis Pronuntiatione Des. Erasmi Roterodami Dialogus. Ejusdem Dialogus cui titulus Ciceronianus, &c. Basil. 1528, 8vo.

‡ See Aschami Epistolæ, p. 248, edit. Elstob, and Dr. Johnson's Life of Ascham.

known bishop of Winchester, who with a fierce and tyrannical spirit united no mean talents and learning. Being as little disposed to tolerate innovations in literature as in religion, he admonished Cheke, who was then the Greek professor, to observe the old pronunciation; and, not satisfied with a mere admonition, he interposed the authority of a formal edict, dated in the month of May, 1542, and commanding all the members of the university to pronounce the Greek letters in an orthodox manner. And as laws without penalties are unavailing, he awarded the pain of expulsion from the senate against any regent who should publicly call in question or disregard the pronunciation which he had thus sanctioned: candidates, guilty of the same offence, were to be refused their degrees; scholars were to be deprived of their places; and as for the mere youngsters, their audacity was to be restrained by a little private castigation. “*Puerilem denique temeritatem, si quid publice ausa fuerit, domi apud suos castigari curato.*” But even for bishops and chancellors it is hard to withstand the progress of knowledge and speculation. In his attempt to maintain the old standard of Greek pronunciation, the lordly prelate of Winchester was ultimately as unsuccessful as in his attempts to maintain the old standard of faith. Cheke defended the new system with firmness as well as ability; Gardiner supported his own decision in a scholar-like manner; and their controversial epistles, being combined in a volume, were published at Basel in the year 1555. The Greek professor was ably seconded by his learned friend Dr. Smith, who was then professor of the civil law, and afterwards, like Cheke, obtained the honour of knighthood, and became secretary of state. In 1542 he prepared an epistle to the chancellor, *De recta et emendata Linguae Græcæ Pronuntiatione*, which was printed at Paris after an interval of twenty-six years.

On the same subject Beza published a short tract about the same period.\* He adheres to the system of Erasmus, which he maintains with erudition and judgment. He was followed by another writer, Adolphus Mekerchus, who has too freely availed himself of his predecessor's labours, and whose work, *De veteri et recta Pronuntiatione Linguae Græcæ Commentarius*, was printed at Bruges in 1565, and again at Antwerp in 1576. The name of the author, who is likewise a strenuous advocate for the

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\* *Alphabetum Græcum*. Addita sunt Theodori Bezæ Scholia, in quibus de germana Græcæ Linguae Pronuntiatione disseritur. *Oliva Roberti Stephani*, 1554, 8vo. Beza has subjoined some observations on the Greek accents, which are reprinted, without any mention of the author, as an appendix to the work of Mekerchus, *De veteri et recta Pronuntiatione Linguae Græcæ*. Mr. Primatt has inadvertently quoted them as the production of the latter. (*Defence of an accented Pronunciation of Greek Prose*, p. 66, 407.)

reformed pronunciation, was rendered more familiar to English scholars by the strong commendations of Dr. Warner. Mekerchus, it may be incidentally stated, recommends the reading of every syllable of verse in a manner that approaches to scanning. The same method was very zealously enforced by the English writer last mentioned.\*

Gregory Martin prepared a brief but acute answer to this publication of the learned Belgian. It was not however printed till the year 1712, when it was appended to Dr. Hudson's edition of *Moeris Atticista*. H. Stephanus, whose knowledge of the Greek language has seldom or never been surpassed in modern times, published in 1578 his *Apologeticum pro veteri ac germana Linguae Græcæ Pronuntiatione*, in which he adheres to the system of Erasmus. The next writer who interfered in the controversy is a strenuous adherent of the opposite party. This is Erasmus Schmidt, professor of the Greek language and of mathematics in the university of Wittenberg, who, in the year 1615, published his *Discursus de Pronuntiatione Græca antiqua, contra Neóφυτον*. After a long interval, this literary warfare was renewed by J. R. Wetstein, Greek professor in the university of Basel.† He is likewise a decided opponent of what he describes as the new system; and in the opinion of Dr. Jortin, no incompetent judge, he "hath pleaded his cause so well, that he will at least lead a candid examiner into a state of suspense, and make him pronounce a *non liquet*."‡

About the middle of the ensuing century the controversy was again revived. Havercamp had recently published his ample and curious collection,§ when Reiffenberg, under the Arcadian name of Sarpedonius, prepared his dissertation against the pronunciation followed and recommended by the modern Greeks.|| Their

\* Warner's *Metronariston*; or, a New Pleasure recommended, in a Dissertation upon a Part of Greek and Latin Prosody. Lond. 1797, 12mo.

† Joh. Rodolfi Wetstenii pro Græca et genuina Linguae Græcæ Pronuntiatione contra novam atque a viris doctis passim propugnatam pronuntiandi rationem Orationes Apologeticæ, &c. Basileæ, 1686, 8vo.

‡ Jortin's *Life of Erasmus*, vol. ii. p. 140.

§ *Sylloge Scriptorum qui de Linguae Græcæ vera et recta Pronuntiatione Commentarios reliquerunt*. Lugd. Bat. 1736-40, 2 tom. 8vo. This collection of Havercamp includes all the tracts which have hitherto been enumerated, with the exception of Wetstein's. He mentions one publication which we have not had an opportunity of seeing; namely, "Samuelis Gelhudii de veteri et vera Linguae Græcæ Pronuntiatione Tractatus."

|| Mirtisbi Sarpedonii, Pastoris Arcadis, de vera Atticorum Pronuntiatione ad Græcos intra Urbem Dissertatio, qua cum ex historia, tum ex veterum Græcorum Latinorumque testimoniis, perspicue ostenditur, quam longe hodierna Græcorum Pronuntiatio a veteri discesserit. Romæ, 1750, 4to.

cause was with equal zeal defended by Placentini\* and Velasti,† the former a monk of the order of St. Basil, the latter a Jesuit born in the island of Chios. They both defended that accentual pronunciation which they had acquired in their youth, and which sets all quantity at open defiance. After another interval of many years, Anastasius Georgiades, a Greek physician, who is said to have taken his degree at Vienna, espoused the same cause:‡ on the pronunciation of the Greek letters, he published a work, which was briefly answered by Reuven.§ In this state of their affairs, the Greeks obtained very material aid from a new quarter, whence it could not well have been expected, namely, from the shores of Massachusetts. Mr. Pickering, a learned lawyer, who relieves his professional toils by more genial avocations, has published an elaborate essay, for the purpose of vindicating the mode in which the Greeks of our own age pronounce the language of their classical ancestors.|| It appears to us, that he has discussed the subject with ability as well as learning; and with respect to some particular points at least, that he has employed arguments which it is not very easy to answer. The subsequent paragraph contains some general inferences which merit consideration.

“How cautious then ought we, as foreigners, to be in condemning the invariable usage of a people thus circumstanced, in such a question as the pronunciation of their language. We perceive that the most eminent scholars have entertained opinions respecting it, which later discoveries have proved to be unfounded. At one period, for example, it was contended by the learned of Europe, that the  $\gamma$  before  $\gamma$ ,  $\kappa$ , &c. were not to be pronounced like  $\gamma$ ; that  $\epsilon$  was not to be sounded like simple  $\epsilon$ , &c. as the modern Greeks pronounce them. These opinions now appear to have been erroneous, and the usage of the modern is found to be conformable to that of the ancient Greeks. The learned also once thought that the ancient Greeks used only capital letters, and that the small letters, now used, were the invention of the lower ages; but an inscription found in Herculaneum in these very characters has

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\* D. Gregorii Placentinii, ex Ordine S. Basilii Magni, Commentarium Græcæ Pronunciationis, notis in veteres inscriptiones, et in alias nunc primum editas locupletatum: ad Mirtisbum Sarpedonium, Pastorem Arcadem. Romæ, 1751, 4to.

† Thomæ Stanislai Velasti, Societatis Jesu, Dissertatio de Litterarum Græcarum Pronuntiatione. Romæ, 1751, 4to. The author afterwards published his work in the Italian language, under the title of “Dimostrazione istorico-gramatica del Suono delle Lettere Greche,” &c. Napoli, 1772, 8vo.

‡ Tractatus de Elementorum Græcorum Pronuntiatione, auctore Anastasio Georgiade, Philippopolitano, Medicinæ et Chirurgiæ Doctore, &c. Parisiis, 1812, 8vo.

§ C. J. C. Reuven Collectanea Litteraria, &c. quibus accedit Disputatio de Linguae Græcæ Pronuntiatione. Lugd. Bat. 1815, 8vo.

|| An Essay on the Pronunciation of the Greek Language, as published in the Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. By John Pickering. Cambridge, 1818, 4to.

obliged them to abandon that opinion. They believed too, and with much ingenuity had almost proved, that the Greek accents were of comparatively modern origin ; but here again, unfortunately, the same Herculean inscription confuted their theories. In almost every instance, in short, where the opinions of the learned have been at variance with the usage of the modern Greeks, whenever any evidence has been discovered relating to the point in controversy, the theories of the former have proved to be unfounded, and the usage of the latter confirmed."—p. 66.

The order of chronology has now conducted us to the Macedonian professor of philosophy and rhetoric, whose zeal in favour of his own pronunciation is not inferior to that of any champion who has yet appeared.

"Je m'estimerais bien heureux," he remarks, "si les savans Hellénistes et les universités de l'Europe, convaincus de la vérité, voulaient renoncer à la prononciation vicieuse qu'Érasme avait introduite; car avant lui la prononciation dans les universités de l'Europe était la même que dans les écoles de la Grèce. La grammaire de Scote, publiée en 1604 (*Lugduni*), et celle de Glenarde en 1590 (*Francfurti*), en sont une preuve."—p. xiii.

The author appears to be much better acquainted with the Greek than with the Latin language, and much better acquainted with the present state of the controversy than with its previous history. He apparently supposes the work of Erasmus to have been published after the commencement of the seventeenth century; whereas it was published so early as the year 1528. It seems decreed by the Fates that no person who writes in the French language should be capable of mentioning proper names with any degree of accuracy: instead of Glenarde he ought to have written Clenard; and the grammarian here called Scote was Alexander Scot, whose name is not Latinized in the title-page of his grammar of the Greek language.\* He has elsewhere transformed Chishull into Crischull. A celebrated Grecian he describes as M. Richard Payen Knight; nor has the same learned writer been more fortunate in the hands of Reuvens, who speaks of Thomas Paynius and his Analytical Essay on the Greek Alphabet; thus, according to all appearance, confounding a very eminent scholar with a notable person who had no pretensions to scholarship. Among other authorities he quotes "Jos. Scallig.

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\* Alexander Scot, LL. D. was a native of Scotland, but he appears to have spent the greatest part of his life in France, and to have exercised the functions of a judge at Carpentras. "Alexander Scotus Aberdonensis, magni nominis, sed majoris meriti, utriusque linguae peritus, juris civilis scientia in paucis clarus, Carpentoractensis praefectus juri dicundo, quo in munere non minorem integritatis quam eruditionis famam acquisivit." (*Dempsteri Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, p. 664.) We use the third edition of his *Universa Grammatica Graeca*. Lugduni, 1614, 8vo. This is not the only work which Scot published.

unimad. in Chron.," probably meaning "Jos. Scaligeri Animadversiones in Eusebii Chronicon." His reference to "Jos. Scale in Chron. las. et Salm." is not so readily deciphered; but he perhaps had in view Scaliger's "Isagogicorum Chronologiæ Canonum libri tres," and some work of Salmasius. When he introduces Cicero's "Epist. ad Attiq." it is more easy to trace his footsteps. He repeatedly quotes the "Orthographiæ *Oratio*," instead of *Ratio*, by Aldus Manutius. On one occasion he refers to Georgiades's "Elementorum Græcorum Pronunciatione." These, it may however be said, are small matters in themselves; nor must we forget that a person who receives the best education which Greece commonly affords, has no obvious facilities for studying the Latin language and literature. With respect to Grecian learning, his situation is very different. The language taught him by his mother retains much of the substance, with considerable variety in the forms, of that which was spoken by their ancestors between two and three thousand years ago. When children are first sent to school, they are taught to read, not the living, but the dead language; and this is doubtless one of the causes which have contributed to prevent the vernacular speech from deviating more widely from the written language of their remote progenitors. Another cause may be found in the circumstance of the ancient language being still retained in the offices of the church. These two causes, combined together, must necessarily exert a very material influence.

Mynas is not a little dissatisfied with the application of the term *Modern Greek*, and he is willing that we should regard the ancient and the modern Greek as one and the same language. The written and the spoken language, he avers, must always have been different; and his inference seems to be that his learned countrymen do or ought to write like the Greeks of a more classical age, and to leave the common dialect to the use of the common people.\* The reader cannot fail to perceive how this doctrine bears upon the topics of debate; for if the structure of the language continues unaltered, so likewise may the pronunciation. Here however it seems necessary to make a considerable pause. It appears to us that the Romaic, or living dialect of the Greeks,

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\* "I conversed with many Greeks," said Howell in 1621, "but found none that could understand, much less practically speak, any of the old dialects of the pristine Greek, it is so adulterated by the vulgar, as a bed of flowers by weeds; nor is there any people, either in the island or on the continent, that speaks it conversably: yet there are in the Morea seven parishes called Zacones, where the original Greek is not much degenerated, but they confound divers letters of the alphabet with one sound." (Familiar Letters, p. 53, edit. Lond. 1737, 8vo.) In page 374 occurs the following passage:—"They speak of some towns called the *Lacones*, which retain yet, and vulgarly speak the old Greek, but incongruously; yet though they cannot themselves speak according to rules, they understand those that do."



bears so many characteristic marks of a modern language, that it must be clearly distinguished from the classical tongue. The substantive has not undergone such material changes; but the verb, another very essential part of speech, is greatly modified, if not disfigured, in its voices, moods, tenses, and numbers. Thus the middle voice, the optative and infinitive moods, the second aorist, and the perfect, together with the dual number, are all wanting. The structure of the ancient verb was too refined and complicated for such a people as the modern inhabitants of Greece, long placed in circumstances the most unfavourable to all intellectual culture, but now, it is earnestly to be hoped, emerging into the light of liberty and virtue. Their speech presents one infallible mark of a modern European language, namely, the frequent and unavoidable use of auxiliary verbs. The verbs *εἶμαι*, *θέλω*, and *ἔχω*, are always requisite to the formation of compound tenses of other verbs. Thus, *θέλω γράψαι*, I will write; *εἶχα γράψαι*, I had written. One glaring defect is the want of the infinitive mood. Its place is supplied by the subjunctive mood, with the additional aid of a conjunction: as, *θέλω νὰ πινῶ*, I wish to drink, literally, I wish that I may drink.

Another characteristic mark of a modern language is to be found in the prosody. The ancestors of this people had formed to themselves a very nice and complicated system, in which the quantity of every syllable was ascertained, and which supplied specific rules, according to which the long and the short were to be distributed in the different species of verse. To these rules of quantity they superadded certain rules of accent; as to the use of which modern grammarians are not so perfectly agreed. In the decline of ancient learning and refinement, this system was gradually superseded: among the Greeks, as well as the Romans, metrical were at length supplanted by rhythmical verses. Whether the change was derived from the unrefined people by whom they were surrounded, or was communicated to them, may admit of some difference of opinion. In the new system of versification, the cadence depends upon accent, or emphasis, rather than quantity. Such are the *πολιτικοὶ στίχοι*, or popular verses, of the Greeks in the middle ages.\* To this mode of versifying was in many cases superadded the ornament of rhyme, which derives its origin from a much more remote period than is commonly imagined. The prevalence of the accented, as distinguished

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\* "Eo sunt redacti miseri Græci," says Isaac Vossius, "ut nec legere nec cantare Græce sciant, amissoque omni pristino cultu, cum cæteris barbaris ritibus, Musam quoque barbaram sunt amplexi. Jam a mille et pluribus annis, nullum fere aliud carminis frequentarunt genus, quam versus quos illi politicos vocant." (De Poematum Cantu, et Viribus Rythmi, p. 21. Oxonii, 1673, 8vo.)



from the metrical versification, has been well illustrated by Dr. Nott, in a "Dissertation on the State of English Poetry before the Sixteenth Century," prefixed to his elaborate edition of Surrey and Wyatt. Certain poems of Psellus, Joannes Tzetzes, and Constantinus Manasses, are as little accommodated to the classical rules of quantity, as the poems of Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate. "That it is possible to observe both accent and quantity," says Dr. Valpy, "is proved by the practice of the modern Greeks, who may be supposed to have retained in some degree the pronunciation of their ancestors. Thus in *τυρρομένη* they lengthen the first and the last syllable, and elevate the tone of the penultima." But, unless we are greatly deceived, they would, without the slightest hesitation, pronounce the word *τυρρομένη*. So far as our observation extends, they pronounce the ancient as they do the modern language, according to accent, and with a total disregard of quantity.\* A Greek, possessing a most familiar acquaintance with the ancient tongue, we have heard reading or reciting various passages of Homer, with the perpetual iotacism of his mother tongue, and with the syllables lengthened or shortened according to the accents. Of the thirty-fourth verse of the first Iliad his termination was *polyphlisvō thalassīs*; in which there was no small difficulty in recognising *πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης* as an old acquaintance.†

This practice of the Greeks seems to have bewildered several learned grammarians of other nations, who, confounding accent with quantity, have supposed, that, on whatever short syllable the acute accent falls, it has the effect of rendering that syllable long. "No man," says Dr. Gally, "can read prose or verse according to both accent and quantity. For every accent, if it is any thing, must give some stress to the syllable upon which it is placed; and every stress that is laid upon a syllable must give some extent to it. For every elevation of the voice implieth time, and time is quantity. . . . It cannot therefore be said that accents only denote an elevation of the voice. For no such elevation can subsist, and be made sensible in pronouncing, whatever may be done otherwise in singing, without some stress or pause, which is always able to make a short syllable long."‡ . In a German university,

\* "Toute la théorie de l'accent dans l'ancienne langue était basée sur la quantité. C'était elle qui déterminait sa nature, et qui réglait ses variations et ses mouvements. Cette quantité n'existant plus dans la langue moderne, l'accent y est devenu presque indépendant." (Méthode pour étudier la Langue Grecque Moderne, par Jules David, p. 7. Paris, 1821, 8vo.)

† See Dr. Browne's Observations upon the Greek Accents, inserted in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. vii. p. 359.

‡ Gally's Dissertation against Pronouncing the Greek Language according to Accents, p. 67. Lond. 1755, 8vo. This is the second edition, the first having been published

we had occasion to remark that it was the usual practice to lengthen the penult of Latin nouns ending in *ia*, and borrowed from Greek paroxytons. Thus, for example, what we call *philosophia* and *theologia*, they call *philosophiā* and *theologiā*, or rather *teologiā*. This corruption had been introduced in the age of Melancthon; and it is manifestly to be traced to the erroneous theory of accents derived from the recent Greeks. Gally's dissertation was, as we apprehend, completely refuted by Dr. Foster, whose essay on accent and quantity is written with ability and erudition.\* It is indeed a work of no ordinary research; but in the author's denunciations against writers and editors who disparage or neglect the Greek accents, there is sometimes an air of ludicrous solemnity. His antagonist, who was likewise a very respectable scholar, replied in a second dissertation, and this he hastened to refute in a second edition of his essay. On the subject of Greek accents, Mr. Primatt soon afterwards published a learned and elaborate volume, in which he differs very materially from both those authors.† In the opinion of a late writer, "it is a work of much labour and considerable talent; in which, however, a critical knowledge of the history of accents is united with a most erroneous theory of the effect of them in pronunciation." His theory indeed is not a little singular. He strenuously defends the antiquity of the accentual marks; but, having adopted the erroneous notion respecting the power of the acute accent in lengthening syllables, he arrives at the conclusion, that Greek prose is to be read according to the accents, which are however inapplicable to Greek verse. This theory was of too motley a texture to find many supporters. After an interval of more than thirty years, it was examined by Bishop Horsley, who has discussed it with no mean perspicacity;‡ nor are we aware of its having been adopted by any scholar of eminence.

We are therefore disposed to think that, in matters of description, the recent Greeks are not the safest guides that can be followed. In all that relates to prosody, they certainly would

in 1754. Both his dissertations appeared without the name of the author. "A second Dissertation against Pronouncing the Greek Language according to Accents; in Answer to Mr. Foster's Essay on the different Nature of Accent and Quantity." Lond. 1763, 8vo.

\* Foster's Essay on the different Nature of Accent and Quantity, with their Use and Application in the Pronunciation of the English, Latin, and Greek Languages. Eton, 1762, 8vo. Eton, 1763, 8vo. The second edition is much enlarged.

† Primatt's *Accentus Redivivi*; or, a Defence of an accented Pronunciation of Greek Prose, shewing it to be conformable to all Antiquity; together with an Answer to the Objections of Mekerchus, Isaac Vossius, Henninius, and other modern Opposers of Greek Accents. Cambridge, 1764, 8vo.

‡ Horsley on the Prosodies of the Greek and Latin Languages, p. 123. Lond. 1796, 8vo.

lead us very widely astray; and pronunciation being closely connected with this part of grammar, we naturally infer that an implicit reliance upon their authority would be as hazardous in the one case as in the other. It may not however be a safe conclusion, that, in every particular in which they differ from us, their pronunciation of the ancient language is wrong, and ours is right. Both the one and the other may be wrong. Mynas has arrayed most of the arguments that are usually urged on his side of the question. It was not to be supposed that he should overlook the oracular verse quoted by Thucydides in the second book of his history, and regularly produced in evidence by all the modern advocates of iotacisms.

*"Ἡξει Δωριακὸς πόλεμος, καὶ λοιμὸς ἀμ' αὐτῶ.*

These words had been uttered in the form of an oracle, and were called to remembrance by some of the older inhabitants during the plague of Athens: *φάσκοντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι πάλαι ᾄδεσθαι*. Whether the oracle had threatened *λοιμὸς*, pestilence, or *λιμὸς*, famine, became a subject of discussion. "Si donc," says Mynas, "le son du *οι* n'était pas comme *ι*, pourquoi discuter sur ce mot?" A similar question has often been asked before. "Now," says Mr. Pickering, "if the two words in question were not pronounced alike, there could have been no room for this ambiguity; and to all the objections of those who reason upon this verse, as if it had been in writing, it is a sufficient answer that the oracles were delivered orally." Doubtless they were so delivered; and the words of this particular oracle, floating in the memory of some aged men, were liable to variations. Either word preserves the measure of the verse, and the sense of either is perfectly apposite; for both famine and pestilence have too frequently followed in the train of war. A dispute arose as to the fact, whether the men of a former age had, in singing or reciting the verse, employed the word *λοιμὸς* or *λιμὸς*; not whether the word which they had employed was to be explained in one or other of two senses which its sound admitted. Some contended, as the historian informs us, that famine, and not pestilence, was mentioned by men of the past age; but, in the mean time, the opinion naturally prevailed that pestilence was mentioned, *λοιμὸν εἰρησθαι*; that pestilence was the word formerly used in reciting this oracular verse; for they were led to adopt what was applicable to their present circumstances. But, subjoins Thucydides, if another Dorian war should take place, and should be accompanied with famine, they will probably recite it according to the event, *οὕτως ᾄσονται*; that is, they will probably substitute the word *λιμὸς* for the word *λοιμὸς*. The tenor of the passage seems clearly to imply that the sound

of the word was to be changed in the recitation, not that a new explanation was to be applied to a sound which remained unchanged. Ἐγένετο μὲν οὖν ἕρις τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μὴ λοιμὸν ὠνομάσθαι ἐν τῷ ἔπει ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν, ἀλλὰ λιμόν. ἐνίκησε δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος εἰκότως, λοιμὸν εἰρῆσθαι. οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι πρὸς ᾧ ἔπασχον, τὴν μνήμην ἐκποιῶντο. ἦν δὲ γε, οἶμαι, ποτὲ ἄλλος πόλεμος καταλάβῃ Δωρικὸς τοῦδε ὕστερος, καὶ ξυμβῇ γενέσθαι λιμόν, κατὰ τὸ εἶκος οὕτως ἄσονται.

Of the fragment of Cratinus, which is so frequently quoted in this controversy, the Macedonian professor has found little difficulty in disposing to his own advantage.

Ὁ δ' ἡλίθιος ὥσπερ πρόβατον βῆ, βῆ λέγων βαδίζει.

As the bleating of sheep makes a much nearer approach to *beh*, *beh*, than to *vi*, *vi*, we suppose this ancient fragment to afford an argument in favour of the Erasmian mode of pronouncing β as well as η. This impression is by no means removed by the arguments of Mynas; and a more compendious method of discussion was once adopted by another Greek, of whom we had some personal knowledge. On the subject of pronunciation, he was engaged in a dispute with the late Greek professor at Edinburgh; and on being reminded that the cry of sheep was not *vi*, *vi*, but *beh*, *beh*, he briskly replied, "Of Scottish sheep perhaps, not Athenian sheep." One of the arguments of Mynas refers to the measure of the verse, concerning which he has started some unnecessary doubts and difficulties.

"Je leur demande de me déterminer exactement la mesure de ce vers ; est-il un antispaste tétramètre catalectique ? . . . Donc il n'y a aucune raison de plus que βῆ, βῆ, ne soit pas écrit βέ, βέ, parce qu'on a la licence d'employer dans ces sortes de vers les conjugaisons iambiques, trochaïques et spondiaques, et même d'analyser une syllabe longue en deux brèves."

The verse is evidently an iambic tetrameter catalectic.

Ὁ δ' ἡλίθιος | ὥσπερ | πρόβατον | βῆ, βῆ | λέγων | βαδίζει.

Of the same denomination, this is by no means the only verse which deviates from Porson's canon, that the fourth foot can only admit an iambus or a tribrachys.\*

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\* Porsoni Supplem. ad Praef. in Euripidis Hecubam, p. xliii.

- ART. IV.**—1. *Observations du General Clauzel sur quelques actes de son Commandement à Alger.* 8vo. Paris, 1831.
2. *Alger sous la domination Française, son état present et son avenir, par M. le Baron Pichon, Conseiller d'Etat, ancien Intendant civil d'Alger.* 8vo. Paris, 1833.
3. *M. de Rovigo, et M. Pichon, par M. Carpentier.* Paris, Mai, 1832. 8vo.
4. *Mémoire présenté à M. le Marechal Duc de Dalmatie sur les moyens d'assurer la sécurité du territoire de la Colonie d'Alger, par le Général Brossard.* 8vo. Paris, 1833.
5. *Mémoire sur la Colonisation de la Regence d'Alger, par le Baron de Ferussac.* 8vo. Paris, 1833.
6. *Voyage dans la Regence d'Alger, ou description du pays occupé par l'armée Française en Afrique, par M. Rozet, Capitaine d'Etat Major, Ingenieur Geographe.* 3 vols. 8vo., avec Atlas in 4to. Paris, 1833.

WHEN, in a former number of this Journal,\* we gave an account of the French expedition against Algiers, in 1830, we expressed satisfaction at its success. Since that time we have watched with feelings of curiosity and interest the course pursued by the French authorities in Northern Africa, in hopes of seeing something like a permanent system of social intercourse established between the conquerors and the native population of that extensive country, by which humanity and civilization might be gainers. We have said "in hopes," for we are not among those who envy our neighbours their possession of Algiers; on the contrary, it was our wish that they might make a good use of its acquisition. We regret to say however, that hitherto, our hopes and wishes have been alike disappointed.

By the capitulation of the 4th July, 1830, the French became possessed of "the city of Algiers, and the forts depending on it." No mention was made of the provinces, or of the native tribes. The Dey capitulated as commander of a military garrison, not as sovereign of an extensive kingdom. The natives had been told by the French, in their proclamations, that they had come to deliver them from the Turkish yoke, and to restore them to their independence. The Turks were in fact aliens to the country; their power was that of pirates by sea and usurpers and marauders by land, and the French might just as well pretend to

inherit the one as the other of these attributes. The French became possessed by conquest of Algiers, Oran, Bona, and one or two more points upon or near the coast. The Moors and other mixed races who inhabit these became, by the capitulation, subjects of France. The interior of the country remained, both *de jure* and *de facto*, in possession of the natives. These natives are of two races: the Arabs and the Kabyles. The Arabs are the descendants of the great Eastern conquerors of the time of the Caliphs; their tribes are scattered all over northern Africa; they are mostly shepherds, live under tents, and tend their flocks in the plains. The *Kabyles*, so called by the Moors, are the real aborigines, the descendants of the old Numidians; they are the cultivators of the soil, live in villages called *dushkrahs*, and constitute the great majority of the interior population of the Regency of Algiers. They are evidently of the same race as the *Berbers* of Morocco, but with neither of these names are they acquainted. They call themselves *Mazigh*, and their language *Showiah*, although many of them speak also the western Arabic. Much confusion prevails in the common way of denominating these people. For instance, the French often confound the Arabs and the Kabyles under the first of these appellations, whilst others call them both Bedoweens, which name was heretofore more particularly applied by travellers to the wandering and plundering Arab tribes of the desert. On their part the Arabs of the plains of Algiers often apply the term Bedoweens to the Kabyles of the mountains. In fact Bedoween seems to be an appellation of bad import. Several of the Arab tribes near Algiers paid tribute to the Turks, in order that their cattle might graze safely in the plains; but the Kabyles seldom or never entered into such agreements; they lived independent in the numerous parallel ridges and valleys of the Atlas, which cover the greater part of the surface of the country, and their own sheiks and marabouts administered justice; the Turks only extorted any thing from them by sending detachments to surprise the villages, or kidnap their young men, and making their parents pay a ransom. Such was the *sovereignty* of the Turks over nine-tenths of the territory of the Regency. When the French landed, the Arabs abandoned the cause of the Turks, as soon as they could do it with safety, and by their defection, and the intelligence they brought to the French camp, materially facilitated the success of the invaders. They had promised the French general to maintain neutrality, on condition of being protected against the vengeance of the Turks.

“ In consequence of this, after the capitulation, and on the very day the French entered Algiers, all the authorities dependant on the Dey

were abolished, without any other being substituted. Thus all at once the Arab tribes found themselves independent."—*Brossard*, pp. 14, 15.

Soon after, however, seeing the French settled at Algiers, the Arabs began to consult about their future relations with them; a variety of opinions existed among their tribes, but they agreed to assemble a council of the chiefs at Belida or Bleda, a town about twenty-five miles distance from Algiers, at the foot of the little or Maritime Atlas.

General Bourmont, instead of sending to this *palaver* some shrewd negociators, or employing a small part of the treasure found in the Cassauba, to gain over some of the chiefs, marched upon Bleda with a column of two thousand men. The Arabs, seeing the French approach the place of their meeting, became alarmed; the peacefully inclined departed, but those who were hostilely disposed remained on the ground, and by them an attack on the French column was resolved upon. Bourmont entered Bleda on the 23d July; the next day, he advanced a few miles beyond the town to reconnoitre. The Arabs and Kabyles, who had formed an ambuscade, immediately attacked the troops left at Bleda, in consequence of which the general was obliged to hasten back, and begin his retreat towards Algiers, followed by the enemy, who harassed him in his march through the plain, pressing closely on his rear and flanks. When afterwards Bourmont, perceiving his error, attempted to negotiate, it was too late; the chiefs of the tribes answered him that, "since the *victory of Bleda*, there was not a herdsman in all Africa who would think of treating with the French."—*Brossard*, p. 17. The French possessions were therefore limited to the city of Algiers and its immediate vicinity.

General Clauzel, an officer of distinguished reputation under the empire, was sent by the government of Louis Philippe to supersede Bourmont. He arrived in Algiers on the 2d of September. The tricoloured flag had already been substituted for the white, under which the conquest had been effected. The impression produced by this sudden change, and by the reports from France, upon the natives, must have been one of increased suspicion towards the foreigners. The Arabs and other Mussulmans are already inclined to look upon Europeans in general as mutable, capricious beings. Of our constitutional quarrels and liberal theories they can form no distinct idea. They only understand the patriarchal rule of their sheiks, or the law of the sword exercised by the Turks.

General Clauzel having secured the allegiance of the army, and the possession of Algiers, first recommended in his despatches to the government at home to form "an important colony at



Algiers." Marshal Gerard, then minister at war, answered him on the 30th October, that the government, *already determined to keep possession of Algiers*, had now become confirmed in its intention of forming in its territory an important colony, beginning by granting lands on the Metidja plain, and gradually driving back towards the Atlas the refractory tribes. But neither the general nor the marshal ever seem to have thought of inquiring to whom the lands of the Metidja belonged. M. Pichon, who, a year later, took this trouble, discovered that they belonged chiefly to Moorish proprietors, inhabitants of Algiers, the quiet subjects of France, whose property was solemnly guaranteed to them by the capitulation, and who used to let their lands to Arab or Kabyle cultivators or graziers, either on the metayer system, or for a fixed rent. The Regency had no lands except a few farms, attached to certain offices of the state.—(*Pichon*, pp. 74—84.)

The word "colony" has been sadly misunderstood by the French in this instance. A colony, in our modern sense, presupposes a vast extent of uncultivated and unappropriated ground, as in North America or Australia. There the land is waste, for the few Indians or black savages are neither cultivators nor shepherds, but hunters and fishermen. But the case is very different in Barbary. The Arabs are herdsmen, shepherds, and graziers; many of them are also farmers and have fixed residences. The Kabyles, who form the great majority of the indigenous population, are all farmers, and very industrious ones too,\* and the land is divided between them. Each tribe has a certain extent of territory for either crops or pasture. Those who live near the towns on the coast are the most tenacious of their possessions, which are the most profitable on account of their nearer vicinity to the markets. The idea of "driving back" (*refoulant*) the native population into the interior, is a most barbarous one. Besides, as M. Pichon observes, this operation of driving back the natives is one of very dubious result.

"Persons who talk seriously of imitating Cortez and Pizarro, of *exterminating* the natives, do not mark the difference between our position and that of the Spanish conquerors, who had to deal with people who had no fire-arms; the Arabs and Kabyles have all got muskets, and this arm goes a great way to equalize the combatants, especially in a lengthened and desultory warfare, and in a country where great strategic operations, movements of large masses, and of batteries, are impracticable. We experienced this at St. Domingo, and we experience it now in Africa."—p. 300.

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\* Captain Rozet renders the Kabyles full justice in this particular.—*Voyage en Afrique*, vol. ii. The Arabs as husbandmen are very inferior to the Kabyles.

We shall have occasion to return to this question of the property of the land in the sequel.

General Clauzel marched in October, 1830, against the Bey of Titteri, who, being the nearest to Algiers, had assumed a hostile attitude. Many of the disbanded Turks had rallied round the bey, and he was joined by a Kabyle chief called Benzahmoom, who lives in the mountains south-east of Algiers, near the borders of the province of Constantina. This sheik had a reputation for bravery, and several tribes of both Kabyles and Arabs joined him. The French, after occupying Bleda, entered the little Atlas chain, and forced the pass of the Col Teneah, about 3,000 feet above the level of the sea, and which was defended by 2,000 of the enemy. They then entered Medeah, the residence of the Bey of Titteri, a town situated in a valley on the southern slope of the little Atlas, about forty-five miles south of Algiers. The bey was made prisoner, and General Clauzel appointed in his place a Moor of Algiers, Mustapha Ben Omar. In the meantime, the sheik Benzahmoom attacked the rear-guard which General Clauzel had left at Bleda, the inhabitants of which town were also hostile to the French. The garrison defended itself bravely, but fifty artillery-men, who were imprudent enough to set out for Algiers to obtain a supply of ammunition, were massacred by the Kabyles. General Clauzel, leaving two battalions at Medeah with the new Bey of Titteri, hastened back to Bleda, which the soldiers plundered, out of revenge. This expedition served to impress the tribes with a feeling of the superiority of the French arms. But Medeah is on the wrong side of the Atlas for an advanced post; its communications with Algiers were soon intercepted, and the new Bey of Titteri and his little garrison were hemmed in, and had to defend the walls of the town against hosts of Kabyles from the adjacent mountains. It appears also, that the French garrison had been left at Medeah without either provisions or money, and had no other means of subsistence than by levying contributions on the inhabitants of the surrounding country, a circumstance which readily accounts for the exasperation of the latter.—*Pichon*, pp. 287, 288.

Hadji Ahmed, bey of Constantina, has, since the fall of the Dey, maintained himself in his government, and shown no disposition to pay tribute to, or acknowledge the French authority.\* The pro-

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\* There is in the Appendix to Pichon's book a very curious *political* letter of Ahmed, who styles himself Pasha, in answer to some proposals made to him through the agency of a Moor, on the part of the French authorities. "Tell them," says Ahmed, "if they wish for peace, to send a consul to Bona, as before, for commercial affairs, and they will derive more advantages from that than they can hope for from any other course; let them bear in mind that this country is vast, having interminable deserts, immense

vince of Constantina is above 200 miles in length, and extends southwards as far as the Great Desert. The interior is little known; it contains extensive ranges of mountains inhabited chiefly by independent tribes of fierce Kabyles. To conquer such a country with an European army is out of the question. General Clauzel offered it to a prince of the reigning Moorish dynasty of Tunis, as a beylik dependant on France, for which the new bey was to pay an annual tribute of one million of francs. The Tunisians were to march against Constantina and dispossess Ahmed, with the assistance of some French officers whom Clauzel sent to Tunis as military instructors. One of these gives a very interesting report of his mission, which is appended to General Clauzel's pamphlet, p. 138 and following. The negociation, however, was not approved of by the French minister for foreign affairs, (General Sebastiani), to the great disappointment both of the general and of the court of Tunis. A similar arrangement, which had been proposed by General Clauzel for the great western province of Oran, met with the same fate. Hassan, the old bey of Oran, having submitted to France from the beginning, had remained true to his engagements, but his position was one of great difficulty. He was looked upon with suspicion by the natives, was stigmatized as an apostate and a traitor, and had also to defend himself against the attacks of the Kabyles. A new antagonist to the French appeared in that quarter, in the person of Muley Ali, nephew to the emperor of Morocco, who, at the head of a body of cavalry, crossed the frontiers, and overran the fine province of Tlemsan, inviting the inhabitants to place themselves under the protection of a Mussulman prince, of native Arab race. General Clauzel sent a detachment to Oran, and was inclined to resort to hostile measures against Morocco, but the minister for foreign affairs again interfered, saying that he would employ diplomatic means to obtain the evacuation of the territory of Algiers by the troops of Morocco, and thus avoid coming to an open rupture with that power. General Clauzel seems to regret, in the true spirit of a general of the empire, that an opportunity was thus lost "of impressing the people of western Barbary with a proper idea of the power of France." But might he not have raised another hornet's nest about the ears of the French at Algiers, by proceeding to extremities?

General Clauzel returned to France in disgust, evidently from a feeling that his services had been ill-requited. Although a brave

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plains, and inaccessible mountains; that it is the country of the Arabs, the Shawiabs, and the Kabyles, people to whom no one dare to speak in favour of strangers, much less venture with troops among them."—pp. 455, 459.

soldier and an active and zealous commander, he seems to have been too sanguine in his expectations, and to have formed projects on too great a scale.

General Berthezène remained in command at Algiers. He was a meritorious and excellent officer, who had acquired high distinction during the empire; possessing a cooler temperament than his predecessor, he saw things in a less brilliant perspective. The army had been reduced in numbers, and he saw the necessity of contracting his line of posts within narrower limits. He resolved to evacuate Medeah, where the new bey of Titteri was still blockaded by the tribes of the little Atlas. General Berthezène marched from Algiers at the end of June, 1831, with 6,000 men and several pieces of cannon; he arrived at Medeah on the 1st of July, and pushed a column a few miles beyond, to disperse an assembly of Kabyles; their huts and crops were set on fire. The Kabyles gathered afresh on all sides, like clouds of locusts, and the next day Berthezène evacuated Medeah and began his retreat, pursued by an immense number of the enemy; he was obliged to fight his way through the Col of Teneah, and hasten his march to Algiers, which he re-entered on the 4th, being harassed on crossing the plain by the natives, who showed a most inveterate spirit of hostility. Such was the result of the French attempt to establish themselves beyond the little Atlas and in the province of Titteri. The bey whom General Clauzel had appointed over that province returned to Algiers with the troops, and has since remained a bey *in partibus*.

The Arabs and Kabyles, elated by General Berthezène's retreat, scoured the Metidja plain, burnt the crops at the French experimental farm, seven miles out of Algiers, attacked the outposts, and kept the garrison in a constant *qui vive* for several weeks. General Berthezène, meantime, saw the necessity of appointing some one to the office of aga of the Arabs, to act as the medium of communication between the tribes and the government of Algiers. Under the dey, this charge had been filled by a Turk. General Clauzel appointed a Moor, whom he afterwards arrested on suspicion, and sent prisoner to France. General Berthezène's idea was that a real Arab, a man of character and influence among the native population, was to be preferred. He fixed on Sidi Hadji Mahi Eddin, a marabout of the town of Coleah, near Algiers,\* a man of ancient family, enjoying an hereditary reputation for sanctity. This choice seemed to prove acceptable to the

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\* *Marabout*, or rather *Moorabet*, a holy man, generally a man of some learning, who is looked upon as a sort of oracle. Every town or village has its moorabet, so has every tribe of either Arabs or Kabyles. Some of these men are ascetics and live in solitude; others remain in the society of their countrymen, whom they instruct and advise. *Marabut* also sometimes means the dwelling, or tomb, of one of these holy men.

tribes, who agreed through him to a cessation of hostilities, with the understanding that the general should send no more armed parties into the plain beyond the line of the French outposts. From one of the aga's letters to M. Pichon, it appears that a regular convention was drawn up, to which the aga affixed his seal; "for a year after," he says, "neither I nor any of the tribes have broken our agreement."—*Pichon*, Appendix, p. 450.

"The nomination of this aga," says General Brossard, "was a first step towards our forming friendly relations with the Arabs, a step which General Berthezène, had he retained the command, would have followed up by means of his personal influence, for his conduct towards the natives had always been founded upon humanity, equity and good faith; the Arabs put great trust in his word, and if some of them deceived him, no one was afraid of being deceived by him; several chiefs of tribes were sincerely attached to him. 'God will give thee the victory,' said an old sheik, who had remained to the last with him at the evacuation of Medeah, 'for thou art just and good.' The general perceived the true meaning of these words next day at the passage of the Col of Teneah."—*Brossard*, p. 19.

But General Berthezène was not a blind partisan of colonization; a long and very interesting letter which he wrote to the minister at war in August, 1851, sufficiently explains his views.

"Since I have been in this country," says the general, "I have studied attentively, but without personal views (for I will not be viceroy over it), both the people and the soil. . . . The Moors, who have long been accustomed to servitude, are effeminate, and not dangerous, notwithstanding their discontent. Ruined as they are, interfered with in their manners and habits, reduced to poverty, treated with contempt, and ruled by foreigners, their condition is in many respects worse than it was under the Dey; and it is natural that they should neither like us, nor relish the kind of civilization we wish to force upon them. There is yet something to be done with regard to these people. The Romans always left to the conquered people the care of their own municipal administration.

"The Arabs and Kabyles, changeable and perfidious, but independent and fierce, have almost always lived in a state of wild freedom; the Deys were satisfied with the slightest mark of submission on their part, and even this was refused by many of the eastern tribes (those of Constantina). In their inaccessible mountains they defied the power and cruelty of the Turks. Warlike, brave, despising death, and fanatical, they hate the Christians both as infidels and as strangers, and are always ready to take up arms at the call of a marabout. Their love of money can alone counterbalance their hostile disposition. Having few wants, and going half naked, they are quick in marching and inured to fatigue. Their frugality is astonishing; a few Indian figs and a draught of water afford them sufficient sustenance for the day. If a man of

genius were to start up among them, and succeed in uniting them under one sway, they might still alarm Europe. They have just shown us in the expedition of Medeah, with what rapidity they can move, and if their operations had been better combined, they would have caused us the loss of a great number of men. They have already found out that the summer is the most favourable season for them, when sickness and the heat of the climate make havoc among our troops. They pass easily however from a state of hostility to one of peace, and *vice versa*. They sell us provisions, take our money, and buy nothing of us in return ; and we should greatly deceive ourselves were we to fancy that they will ever become consumers of either the produce of our soil or of our manufactures. They are now what they were four thousand years ago, and such as they will continue to be, some thousand years hence. As for their paying contributions, it is useless to think of it; those of the mountains will never submit to it, and those of the plain, if molested, will disappear with their tents and their cattle, which constitute their whole property."

Now with regard to the soil :

" The voice of interest or of enthusiasm first cried out *What wonderful fertility!* and the *servum pecus* has repeated the cry. This wonderful fertility however has not as yet been proved. One thing is certain, that during the months of June, July, and August, the soil must remain unproductive, owing to the heat and dryness of the climate. Even in the garden of the Dey, in one of the most favourable situations, and having abundance of water for irrigation, all the cares of a Paris gardener have not been able to rear either sallad or kitchen vegetables during the summer. The experimental farm (*ferme modèle*), situated near the plain, has produced crops inferior both in quality and quantity to many I have seen in the neighbourhood of Paris ; and yet the spring showers have been unusually abundant this year. The pestilential air of this farm has cost us nearly the whole of the 30th regiment of the line.

" The Metidja plain, whose fertility has been so much vaunted, is for the most part uncultivated, and covered with marshes, the draining of which would cost millions. It affords, however, a rich pasture for cattle ; but as it borders on the mountains of the Kabyles, it will always be insecure. The mountains of the little Atlas, which we have visited, are covered with oak and cork trees of small dimensions. The soil in the valleys appears meagre ; the barley I saw was not two feet high.

" There only remains the extensive and lofty table land at the back of the city of Algiers, between the sea and the Metidja plain, and which is the healthiest part of the country. The soil here is varied, and fit for gardens and plantations. I think olive and mulberry trees would thrive in it. The Moors of Algiers had here their country houses and their gardens, which they cultivated before we came. Several European speculators have now purchased, or taken on long leases, many of these properties ; but instead of improving they have dilapidated them ; they have cut down the trees, and their only object seems to be to realize a little



money and then disappear. You know that in general these purchasers do not disburse a farthing of capital, but merely promise a perpetual rent to the owners.

"The property belonging to the government is not yet known. I have set on foot an inquiry into the subject, but I much fear the state is not so rich as has been supposed. I have already told you that within three miles round Algiers the state was only possessed of eighteen gardens and about seventy acres of ground! As there is nothing here adapted to our habits and our wants, we shall have many works to effect, besides the fortifications. . . . Plans of a palace for the governor, and for a theatre, had been prepared; I have thought it better to give orders for the construction of abattoirs, a lazaretto, and barracks for the soldiers. When these are completed, we shall be able to restore many of the private houses and lands to their owners. Both justice and policy require us to allow an indemnity to the inhabitants for the houses we have taken or pulled down, both in town and country, since we have become masters of Algiers."—*Pichon*, App. pp. 459—465.

We have extracted the best part of this valuable document, because every thing that has happened since proves the justness of the views of its conscientious and clear-headed writer. With sentiments like these General Berthezène found himself exposed to all the chicanery of the prejudiced, the interested, and the ignorant. He was worried by official squabbles with the agents \* sent out by the minister of finance to take care of the *immense property* which the government was said to be possessed of. He disapproved of the sequestration of private and corporate property which had taken place under General Clauzel. He did not think that Algiers ought to be colonized at the expense of, and by despoiling, the natives. He had been present at the capitulation, and wished to abide by its conditions. His remonstrances on these subjects probably hastened M. Perier's determination to take the administration of Algiers under his own direction, and to separate the civil from the military jurisdictions. A despatch from the minister at war, written in June, 1831, informed General Berthezène of this decision.

"You will continue in charge of all that concerns the army of occu-

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\* One of these persons is said to have threatened to shut the door of his office in the general's face.—*Pichon*, p. 11. Thus it appears that the central system of administration, supported by a minute *bureaucratie*, as established by Napoleon, does not always ensure harmony and unity of operation. The various ministers at Paris, each possessed of immense power and patronage, give orders often at variance with each other, and as they are extremely jealous of their respective attributes, this occasions frequent official conflicts, and an enormous waste of controversial correspondence. Even in France, the prefects are exposed to this plurality of directions. But the inconvenience is much greater in a colony, or other foreign possession or conquest. See *Pichon's* remarks on the subject, pp. 30—35.



pation, and the safety and defence of the Regency. A civil intendant will be appointed to take charge of the general administration of the country. You will thus be relieved of a great burden, which seemed to annoy and torment you!"—*Pichon*, App. p. 344.

The office of civil intendant at Algiers was offered to Baron Pichon about the same time, at the suggestion of Admiral de Rigny.

"I declined the offer without hesitation . . . I had just returned from a fatiguing mission to St. Domingo, and I had no wish again to cross the sea. Besides, I had long since experienced, in two political missions to Switzerland, and to Holland, and during three years' service in Westphalia, how painful is the position of a civil or political administrator in a country placed under military occupation; for notwithstanding his title, the king of Westphalia, (*Jerome Buonaparte*) was not less domineered over in his own kingdom, by our generals, than his brother Joseph was in Spain. It was, therefore, the last of my wishes again to run the risks of the same relative position."—p. 14.

However, in the following October, M. Perier, president of the council, insisted so strongly on M. Pichon's accepting the office, that he could no longer refuse. Soon after, General Savary, Duke of Rovigo, was appointed commander in chief at Algiers in the room of General Berthezène. An ordonnance of Louis Philippe, dated 1st December, 1831, states that:

"Although it was found necessary in the first period of the occupation of Algiers to unite the civil and military powers in the same hands, it is now required by the welfare of the establishment that they should be separated, in order that the civil, financial, and judicial administrations may assume a regular course."

The civil intendant to whom these branches are entrusted, "is placed under the immediate orders of the president of the council."

M. Pichon, before his departure for Algiers, had some official communications with General Savary, which the latter answered in a frank and cordial spirit, which somewhat re-assured M. Pichon, and "relieved the fears which the former ministerial career of the general under the empire was calculated to inspire." M. Pichon's attention, even before he left Paris, was directed to the sequestrations of property which had taken place at Algiers; the measure appeared both to M. Perier and to him, equally unjust and impolitic, as well as a direct violation of the capitulation, which had guaranteed "to the Dey, the Turkish militia, and all the inhabitants, their liberty, their property, and the exercise of their religion." The Turks, however, had been soon after embarked for the Levant—a measure which, however harsh, was, perhaps, unavoidable. Many of them had houses and shops, and although enrolled in the militia, followed trades, as the janizaries did at

Constantinople. They were married to native Moorish women, and their children were called Cooloolis. On leaving Algiers, they entrusted the administration of their property to their connexions and friends.

General Clauzel, by an order of the 8th September, 1830, had placed under sequestration all the property belonging to the Dey, the beys of the provinces, and the Turks who had been embarked, as well as the funds appropriated to Mecca and Medina. Another order of the 7th December following, included in the sequestration "all houses, warehouses, lands and property of every sort, the rents of which have been hitherto appropriated, under any title whatsoever, to the mosques, to Mecca and Medina, or to any other special destination, fund, or institution: they shall in future be administered, let, or farmed by the office of the *domaine*." A more sweeping confiscation of property can hardly be conceived. It included all that belonged to the various trades or corporations, the charitable funds, those for the schools, for the repairs of the aqueducts, the supply of the fountains, &c.

It is customary with the Mussulmans of every class and country to make donations, or bequeath legacies, to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, the cradle and the tomb of their prophet and legislator. In the Regency of Algiers, these bequests, since the time of the Turkish conquest, must have been very considerable. This species of property was administered in the various provinces and districts by special agents, called ookils, who transmitted the annual revenue to the ookil and the ulemas of Algiers, by whom it was transmitted to the holy cities. Of the revenue collected within the immediate district of Algiers, one half was retained for the use of the poor and helpless of that city, and the other half was remitted to Mecca. Of course the ookils of the various provinces not occupied by the French have ceased to send their remittances to Algiers. Twice a week, nearly two thousand poor, chiefly women and children, passed muster before the ookil of Algiers and his two assistants, and each of them received a small pittance. M. Pichon was present at two of these distributions. The amount of the charity thus distributed at Algiers was about 15,000 francs a year; a similar sum was transmitted to Mecca and Medina, where it was distributed among proper objects of charity; and the shereeffs of these two cities sent to Algiers an account of its application.

"I have seen the parchment scroll on which were written in gold letters the names of the parties to whom the money was distributed: these were either meritorious but decayed families in either city, or old ulemas and ministers of religion. By the side of every name was the sum allotted to each. . . . . These remittances are now intercepted by our treasury. This is a real confiscation, and I am convinced that had M.

Perier lived, I should have obtained the revocation of the order."—p. 214.

Another foundation, called the *Seboul Kherat*, is an institution somewhat similar to the *Vakoofs* of Turkey. In order to secure property from the rapacity of the Dey or the beys, it was made over to minors, or to children yet unborn, under the trust of the *Seboul Kherat*, with a reversion to the latter in case of extinction of the *haboo* or entail. The fund was under the management of the ulemas. The mosques were also possessed of houses, shops, &c., the rents of which served to support the ministers of religion, and the schools and hospitals attached to them. There were also legacies bequeathed to the barracks of the janizaries, or Turkish militia. It was alleged by the advocates of sequestration, that a few individuals, with the Turkish mufti at their head, monopolized the management of the revenues. This might be the case, but we are told at the same time, that the "first attempt to seize this property raised a clamorous opposition, which was silenced by shipping off the mufti to Smyrna, and by the fears with which the success of the French at Medeah then inspired the natives."\* A most effectual way of silencing all opposition! M. Pichon observes, that the French authorities "might have inquired and watched how the property was administered, without diverting it from the establishments to which it was appropriated."—p. 354.

There was also an administration called *Ameen el Ayoon*, which had the care of the aqueducts for the supply of the public fountains, as well as of private houses, with water—an object of the very first necessity in an African climate. Many persons had left legacies for this purpose. All these funds were included in the sequestration. By General Clauzel's order, the *domaine* was to defray the expense of the objects to which they were appropriated. How this has been done may be easily imagined. The aqueducts have been neglected; the gardens round Algiers, which were formerly abundantly supplied with water, are now left dry and parched. The pipes being made of brick, and in many places round Algiers above ground, the French detachments marching and countermarching through the country found it more expeditious with a stroke of the pickaxe to get at the water, than to suffer thirst till they reached the next well or fountain. Such is the explanation M. Pichon gives of these acts of wanton destruction. At Oran, we find by a report from M. Escalonne, acting civil intendant, dated March, 1832, that the conduits constructed by the natives, and afterwards improved at a great expense by the Spaniards, during their occupation of that town in the last century, and which supplied the fountains, the houses and the citadel, as well as turned mills and irrigated gardens, had

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\* Appendix to General Clauzel's pamphlet, p. 108.

been till lately well preserved under Hassan Bey's administration; but that since the French conquest, all repairs have been neglected, and the deteriorations increase every day; pipes have been broken in, and four-fifths of the water are lost; and unless prompt measures be taken, Oran, blockaded by the Arabs, may find itself in total want of water.\* General Savary issued an order of the day in June, 1832, against the destroyers of conduits.

An order of the minister at war, dated from Paris, June, 1831, confirmed the sequestration of the property of the Turks who had left the Regency, as well as that of the Dey and the beys. A second order, in the following month, extended the same measure to the property of those Turks *who, being still in the Regency, should exhibit a spirit of opposition to France*—a definition susceptible of a most dangerous latitude of interpretation.

“One would have supposed,” observes M. Pichon, “from no mention being made in these orders of the other species of property, of the charitable foundations, &c., that the sequestration of them was rescinded. But notwithstanding the remonstrances of General Berthezène, and the dictates of reason, justice and policy, the agents of the finances carried their point, and the sequestration continues to this day. Some of the property has been sold for the domaine. With regard to the *property of the Turks*, these are words of very extensive import. Many Turks were married. Whatever a Turk was once possessed of has been sequestered. I have not heard that the rights of their wives and children have been taken into consideration. The natives prefer abandoning all, rather than remonstrate, as they have so often experienced the uselessness of their reclamations. The first order of sequestration, of the 8th September, was not made public. Numerous sales of property had been made by the owners before the order of the 7th December following appeared. We have given to this last order a retrospective application, by declaring all the sales made in that interval null. I have received complaints from the purchasers, among whom are the English consular agents at Algiers and Oran. Similar measures have taken place at Oran and at Bona. It is easy to imagine the impression they must have made on the inhabitants of the rest of the country, who are not under our power—a country too of 550 miles in length, and between 150 and 200 in breadth! I have had indubitable knowledge of many fraudulent acts and malversations having taken place in the midst of the disorder into which both private and public property has been thrown by this system. This is the unavoidable consequence of the violation of the laws of property: we have ourselves seen in France worse than this during our revolutionary sequestrations and confiscations. Can the chaos resulting from all this at Algiers be cleared up by the *logic of the sabre*? We shall see.”—*Pichon*, pp. 215—217.

There is also a long and detailed report made by him to M. Perier on this important question: *Appendix*, pp. 350—355.

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\* *Pichon*, *Appendix*, p. 435.

We have dwelt at some length on this chapter of sequestrations and confiscations, because it shows that the French military proceed at Algiers, which is the first conquest they have made after a lapse of nearly twenty years, exactly as they did in other foreign countries during the wars of the Revolution and of Napoleon. It serves likewise to show that M. Perier was right in not listening to the advice of those who wanted to begin a fresh crusade against the monarchies of Europe. Had he followed their suggestions in 1831, had he launched French legions across the Alps and the Rhine, we might have seen in Italy, Germany, &c. scenes similar to those which have occurred at Algiers, and on a much larger scale. And it is a cruel mockery to talk of legislative improvements, when people must be first despoiled, insulted and sabred in order to become fit for liberty. "Better remain under the old Dey!" as honest General Berthezène acknowledges the Moors have now reason to say. For our own part, we would not entrust foreign conquerors, and the French in particular, with the regeneration of any one country, not even of the principality of Monaco, should the principality of Monaco want being regenerated, which we do not pretend here to assert.

The property sequestrated becomes deteriorated and worthless. The houses of the Dey, the beys and the Turks bring nothing now either to the owners or to the French treasury. The wants of a large army, (36,000 men at the time of the conquest,) cooped up within the city and a narrow circle around it, made the requisition for houses fall very heavy on the inhabitants. And now, although the army is diminished, the abuse continues. The Turks being exiled, their houses were seized: each general officer took possession of a whole one for himself; some have occupied a house in town, as well as one, sometimes two, more in the country. The superior officers of both administrations have followed the example. Most of the houses which belonged to the mosques, to Mecca and Medina, and other establishments, and which have been sequestrated, are considered, in spite of all reason, as belonging to the domaine or state, besides those really belonging to the Regency, have been likewise militarily occupied. Numbers of subaltern officers of the various services, according to the system of military occupation, no lodging-money being allowed, have been quartered on the Moors and other inhabitants. But the intercourse of Europeans and Mussulmans under the same roof has been found impracticable, owing to the total difference of habits. The moment the European appears, the Moor and his family go out. The French troops and cavalry require more room than those of the natives; for the Arabs are accustomed to squeeze themselves into a small space, as they do their horses. This, added to the

superior number of the garrison, as compared to that of the Dey, accounts for the insufficiency of the barracks. This invasion of houses, together with the banishments and sequestrations, have caused many buildings to be left empty. When an officer is removed, he perhaps forgets to return the key to the town-major, and the premises remain open. The houses thus deserted have become the prey of the Parisian volunteers, or of the destitute emigrants, who have been induced to come to Algiers with the idea that they would be colonized and provided for; and there the poor wretches have huddled together, a prey to starvation and disease. In many instances they have broken through the partition walls, in order to communicate together from one house to the other. Many of the Moorish householders, whose tenements had been first occupied by the military, hastened to sell them, for whatever they could get, to European adventurers, chiefly Italians and Spaniards, who allow them to go into disrepair. The proprietors who still hold their houses, give themselves no trouble about repairing them so long as they are occupied by the military, as they see no prospect of enjoying their property again. The military engineers have scarcely the means of keeping in repair the real barracks, much less the private quarters. The demolition of houses and shops in various quarters of the town, in order to form squares, enlarge streets, clear the approaches to the Cassauba, &c., has added to the fears of the inhabitants. A spirit of demolition has seized the engineers: the houses hold so fast together, that in pulling down one the downfall of several others is threatened. The distress resulting from the sudden change of government, which deprived many families of their subsistence (all the servants of the Regency being dismissed at once, without any indemnity or gratification whatever); the growing distress of the landed proprietors, who have lost the enjoyment of their property or income through the protracted warfare in the country; and the numerous emigrations,\* chiefly among the wealthier families, have fearfully quickened the work of destruction. No one is sure of his property. Algiers, if this system continues, must gradually fall to ruin. It is supposed that one-fourth of the

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\* The *Moniteur Algerien*, 12th January, 1853, acknowledged that about 20,000 persons had emigrated. The remaining population of Algiers, exclusive of the French army, is stated by M. Pichon at about 24,000; namely, Moors and Cooloolis, 14,000; Jews, 5300; Turks, 120; resident Europeans, chiefly French, Spaniards, Italians and Maltese, 4000. The number of houses is stated at 4000. The population of Algiers before the French conquest has never been correctly ascertained: M. Gräberg says 70,000, which we think exaggerated; but he includes 11,500 blacks and 5000 Kabyles or Biskaris, of which two classes M. Pichon makes no mention. We think it probable that it must have been rather better than 50,000.



houses are already in an irreparable state of deterioration.—*Richon*, p. 252—260.

“ In the country, matters are still worse. At the time of the conquest our troops quartered themselves within a radius of six or seven miles round Algiers, any how or where they could. But now, for a much smaller force, we keep up the same system of occupation: all within that sphere is held in requisition; every country house or rural property is liable to be occupied at a moment's notice. Private pique or ill will, or the dissatisfaction of an officer with the quarters allotted him, may remove a detachment, and quarter the men unexpectedly on any one's premises. The Moors, who, after the first invasion, had repaired their houses and again put their gardens into order, finding themselves subject to fresh intrusions, abandon their property in despair, or try to sell it to Europeans, chiefly clerks and other subaltern *employés*, some of whom have in this way become holders of seven or eight country houses, or of a large *aoush* or farm in the plain, which, however, bring them nothing, being left uncultivated. Is it right that the servants of government should acquire property through such a system? By means like these, the allied armies, during the occupation of 1815, might have become possessed of one half the property in or round Paris! Of about eight or nine hundred country houses which surrounded Algiers, few are now in a habitable state. The detachments destroy everything: the wood work, the timbers, and even the rafters which support the roofs or terraces, serve them as fire wood. The house of course falls in with the first rains. They write me from Oran, that since the occupation they have burnt there 300,000 rafters. Orange, olive and fig trees\* are used for the same purpose. It is melancholy to see heaps of ruins where neat dwellings formerly stood. I have counted about twenty within a diameter of four or five hundred yards. Groups of habitations which once formed villages, such as Birmadrais, Birkadem, and others, are now nothing but ruins, not more, perhaps, than two or three houses in each being left standing. The iron or copper of the fixtures is carried to Algiers by the soldiers, and sold to the Jews, who dispose of it in large quantities to merchants, by whom it is exported to Marseilles or Leghorn. I have seen many heaps of this old iron and copper at the lazaretto of Marseilles on my return to France: they are eloquent evidences of the condition to which we have reduced Algiers.”—*Pichon*, p. 260—262.

This dreadful system has produced heart-rending distress among the natives.

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\* All foreign troops in camp or cantonments are apt to do much damage, but the French, [during their invasions of Spain, Portugal, Southern Italy, &c., carried this spirit of destructiveness to a most disgraceful extent. We remember the havoc they made among the vine and olive plantations of Portugal. Olive trees were cut in preference to others, for fire wood, as burning better and quicker, and thus the property of hundreds of families was destroyed in a few days. The houses were stripped of doors, shutters, and window-frames; many were unroofed. And the officers did not check this devastation.



“ I have seen,” says M. Pichon, “ old women, real skeletons from hunger and destitution, who would throw open their filthy boornoos, their only covering, to give ocular demonstration of their emaciated condition, coming to claim ten or twenty boodjoos (from twenty to forty francs), being the annual rent of some small shop or other tenement which had been pulled down or taken for the service of the army. I have seen Mussulman clergymen come to demand the trifling rent of a few francs assigned to the marabut or chapel where they officiated. I have tried to set on foot the liquidation of the indemnities for our demolitions, which had been promised eighteen months before; but I was obliged to stop for want of funds.”—p. 264.

Casimir Perier lent no countenance to this system of violence and spoliation, and approved of M. Pichon's opposition to it. He deprecated with all his energy the idea of colonizing the country by driving the native populations beyond the little Atlas, and desired M. Pichon to point out to him the originators and patrons of such outrageous plans. But in consequence of his illness, M. Pichon's correspondence of March and April, 1832, was never opened by him; his death and M. Pichon's subsequent removal, again left Algiers at the mercy of contingencies.

In a letter to M. Perier, dated 11th May, 1832, M. Pichon comments severely on the hostility displayed by the *exterminating party*, as he justly designates it, against the mosques.

“ I have investigated the question concerning the buildings appropriated to the Mohammedan worship. Ever since my arrival, I have heard nothing but a continual *hourra* against the mosques, and about the necessity of seizing five or six more of them, besides the six or seven we have already occupied. It was with an air of exultation, that certain persons, who assume here the mission of exterminating the Mussulman worship, as well as the population who profess its faith, without examining whether this system can suit the views and the interest of the government, accosted me with ironical congratulations on the impossibility in which I should be of saving the mosques. These impertinences have not moved me; I have fortunately better judges of my actions than such prejudiced and ignorant persons. Were it really necessary for the health of the army, I should not hesitate to take all the mosques to the last. But with the persons I allude to, it is a matter of taste, of passion, and by no means of necessity. The military engineers however have one plausible reason to ask for the mosques; they are obliged, through want of means, to let the old buildings we occupy fall to ruin, and thus new ones are required.”—App. p. 422.

By the report which follows, it appears, that out of thirteen large mosques with minarets, the French had already seized seven, one of which was demolished to make room for the new square. The commission for military lodgings demanded three more: M. Pichon reduced the demand to one. The two prin-

cipal ones remaining are, the great mosque, situated near the harbour, which was built before the Turkish conquest, and the new mosque. The engineers wanted to pull down both these, on account of their vicinity to the line of defence on the sea-side. Since then, in December, 1832, another mosque has been converted into a Catholic church! and this, six months after the *Moniteur Algerien* had announced that a Christian church was about to be raised by voluntary private subscriptions.

"We are certainly a strange nation!" exclaims M. Pichon. "Ever since the revolution of July, we have had no religious service at Algiers, either for the army or the civil administration; Algiers, which under the Turks had always one or two Catholic chapels open, has not seen, for the two years and a half it has been in our hands, any Christian worship performed within its walls, and now, at last, instead of building a church, we plant the cross in one of the mosques."—p. 129.

The hatred against the mosques is quite consistent with the general spirit of the party to which M. Pichon so frequently alludes, and which is still much more numerous and influential than people in England imagine. Those who profaned the churches and dragged the cross through the mud of the streets in France, must feel a similar hatred against the mosques at Algiers. Both are temples dedicated to the Almighty; in both religion is taught, and duties towards God and man are preached; in both a retributive justice is announced; it is natural that those to whom such thoughts are irksome should hate both church and mosque, chapel as well as cathedral, the Koran as the Bible.

From Oran we have a letter of M. Escalonne in May, 1832, remonstrating against the seizure and occupation of the only remaining mosque by the troops, three others having been previously seized;—and this, while there were whole squares of buildings unoccupied, which might easily have been converted into barracks.

"The consequence will be, that the Imams and the other servants of the mosque will leave Oran, and the tale they will tell to their brethren in the interior will not be to our favour."—App. p. 438.

The Cadi of Algiers made a similar observation to M. Pichon.

"It seems," said that Moorish magistrate, "as if it were intended to force the whole Mussulman population to abandon Algiers. This is not what we were promised in the proclamations published in the name of the French Government, at the landing of the army, nor according to the stipulations of the capitulation of the 4th July, 1830."—Ibid. p. 430.

Consistent with the destruction or alienation of the mosques is

the desecration of the cemeteries, another object of deep veneration to the Mussulman population. For the purpose of making an esplanade out of Bab al Oued, or western gate, a vast cemetery was dug up. In order to make a road out of Babazon or eastern gate, a number of funeral urns, some of marble, belonging to Moorish families of distinction, were moved away. In constructing the flight of steps leading to the Emperor's fort, many tombs outside the new gate have been likewise removed. A Moor remarked to M. Pichon on this occasion: "At this rate, we shall not know where to live nor where to die!"—pp. 281.

Captain Rozet, who is a dispassionate, and by no means censorious observer, thus describes the desecration of the burying-grounds.

"Algiers, like other Morish towns, was surrounded by cemeteries and tombs. These were a sort of sanctuary, the violation of which would have once cost the life of the desecrator, but calamity and fear stifle all generous sentiments in the human breast. From the first period of our conquest, we have violated their tombs; I have seen our soldiers open them to ascertain if they concealed any treasures. The bones of the dead were thrown on the dunghill; I have seen corpses yet entire, and enveloped in white sheets, lying by the road side. The natives with downcast eyes gazed at this sad scene without daring to utter a word: some of them came with religious veneration to gather the scattered bones, and carried them away. But after a time, when bivouacs were formed in the midst of the cemeteries, and defensive works constructed, the tombs were demolished, the ground was dug up, the walls pulled down, and no one came to carry away the remains of the dead. Many of the Algerines employed in the works violated themselves the asylums of the dead, apparently without compunction."—*Voyage en Afrique*, vol. iii. p. 103.

No doubt, the repetition of such indignities tends to brutalize the people who are obliged to submit to them, as much as those who are the perpetrators. There might be necessity, in some instances, for invading the asylums of the dead; but, as M. Pichon justly observes, it might have been done with something like decency or civility; the inhabitants might have been previously informed of it, and another place appointed for the removal of the tombs. But in all these proceedings there seems to have been a wanton disregard of every feeling of decency and humanity, religion and justice.\*

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\* Captain Rozet, in speaking of the Arab tribes, and of the risks they run to carry off their men who have fallen in action, and of their care in burying them afterwards, observes: "These barbarians are far superior to us in this respect. I have already said it, and I repeat it here, perhaps not for the last time: We have not sufficient respect for the dead. After a combat, ours were so ill buried, that the arms or legs protruded above ground, and twenty-four hours after, the jackals had pulled them out and torn them to pieces."—vol. ii. p. 196.

And can such a system succeed? Just as much as it succeeded with the Spaniards under Napoleon.

Savary, Duke of Rovigo, arrived at Algiers in December, 1831, with favourable dispositions towards the natives, which are proved by a very sensible letter which he wrote to M. Pichon before leaving Paris, (*Pichon*, Appendix, pp. 347 and foll.) in which he rejects the idea of interfering with the customs of the people, and with their administration of justice among themselves, or of burdening a city of 24,000 inhabitants with the enormous scaffolding of the French administrative *bureaucratie*. He says,

“If we begin by imposing on these people all the *misères* which the various successive governments of France have been obliged to impose on the inhabitants of the mother country, we shall reduce them to despair, which would be the more dangerous as we do not occupy the provinces, which would consequently reject all idea of connexion with us.”

But General Savary, on his arrival at Algiers, was immediately beset by the party desirous of possessing themselves of the lands and property of the natives, *coute qui coute*. This party had long before disclosed its intentions, in the *Semaphore* of *Marseilles* and other French journals. Its correspondents talked openly of exterminating the natives, and dwelt with a sort of exultation on

“heads of Arabs being brought back, suspended from the saddle-bows of our horsemen, and kicked about in our barrack yards. They extolled the superior ingenuity of certain Turkish modes of execution, which deprive the sufferer of all hope for the next world! I will not dwell upon this rage for cutting off heads which has seized us, on the harangues inspired by the same spirit, such as, *bring back heads! more heads! stop the broken aqueducts with the head of the first Bedoween you meet!* and the jokes, after the fashion of 1793, on certain decapitations which took place at Algiers, which were styled as *coining money, and good coin too! would we could cut down to the quick!*” &c.—*Pichon*, pp. 108, 109.

The atrocious inspirations and suggestions of the exterminators were soon put into practice, by the massacre of a whole tribe of Arabs in cold blood, in April, 1832. The winter had passed over quietly; no act of hostility had taken place between the natives and the French outposts since the convention concluded by the aga in General Berthezène's name. Some pretended messengers of the distant tribe of the Biskaris, a peculiar race that forms a sort of link between the Arabs and the Kabyles, and who live on the borders of the Great Desert, nearly 200 miles south of Algiers, appeared in the capital, and were received with some

sort of parade by General Savary, who made them presents of cloaks and some money. The better-informed Moors of Algiers, and the aga of the Arabs himself, who saw them on their passage through Coleah, regarded them as impostors. However this may be, these messengers, the same day they left Algiers on their return homewards, in passing through the grounds occupied by the Ouffia\* tribe in the Metidja plain, were plundered of their cloaks and other effects. This is an incident of common and almost everyday occurrence to travellers all over Barbary, even in time of profound peace. They however escaped unhurt, and returned to Algiers to lodge their complaint against the Ouffias. M. Pichon says, it was afterwards ascertained that the robbers belonged to the tribe of the Kreshnas, and were marauding on the land of their neighbours (p. 136). General Brossard says, that "the robbery was committed by a joint party of the Kreshnas, the Beni Moussas, and the Ouffias, without the chiefs of these tribes having taken any active part in it; it is even asserted that they were ignorant of the attempt. Marauding parties of this sort, composed of men of various tribes, are not of rare occurrence."—(*Mémoire*, p. 87.) It is rather remarkable, however, that on the 5th of April, the day of the messengers' departure, the Duke of Rovigo told M. Pichon that he feared they would be stopped, and that if this happened, he would arrest all the Ouffias who should be found in the market, until the effects of the messengers were restored!

"I was going out early on the 6th, to speak to the Duke of Rovigo on the subject, when Captain Leblanc came to me, apparently much concerned, and said, 'that which the general foresaw has happened.' If the event was foreseen, and it was certainly talked of at Algiers as a thing most likely to occur, why were not the messengers accompanied by an escort under the aga's lieutenant?"—*Pichon*, p. 136.

On the night of the same day a battalion of the foreign legion and a squadron of Zouaves (native cavalry in the French service) were ordered out of Algiers on the road to the Ouffia camp. At break of day on the 7th they had surrounded the camp, while the Ouffias were yet asleep, and without any previous summons or notice of any sort, the soldiers rushed into the tents and sabred or shot all the inmates to the number of about eighty. Seventeen or eighteen only were made prisoners, among whom was the sheik

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\* The Ouffias were a small tribe of Arabs, who were encamped in the Metidja plain, close to the French outpost of *la maison carrée*, and lived on friendly terms with the detachment there stationed, whom they supplied with the produce of their dairy and poultry-yard. The soldiers and officers were in daily intercourse with them.—*Pichon*, pp. 131, 132.

of the tribe, besides a number of women, who were driven to the French outpost of *la maison carrée*, where they were detained two or three days, and afterwards sent back to bury their murdered relatives. The cattle, scattered on their fields, and which partly belonged to other owners, who had entrusted them to the Ouffias to graze, were carried off and sold, and the produce distributed among the troops which composed the expedition. "I have seen some of the officers," says M. Pichon, "who felt a deep regret at receiving their share." We only wonder they accepted it at all. The booty consisted of from 1500 to 2000 sheep, between 600 and 700 bullocks, and from twenty-five to thirty camels.

"I shall never forget," says M. Pichon, "that on the day after this military execution, I met at the Duke of Rovigo's a lady from Paris, who had come to Algiers to keep a furnished hotel, and who was waiting on the general to support the solicitations of a young merchant from Marseilles who wished to purchase the cattle, expecting that they would be sold to the highest bidder, in which however he was disappointed. This lady, who could not know my feelings on the recent event, took upon herself to urge me to give my approbation to the measure."—p. 134.

Some days after the sale of the cattle, several Arabs came to M. Pichon to claim their property, seized among that of the Ouffias. "We are neither robbers," said they, "nor conspirators against the king of France; why should he seize our property?" M. Pichon could give them no redress, the matter being considered as within the *military attributions* of the general in chief. It is almost needless to say that their applications to the latter were utterly disregarded.

We ought to add that, on the evening of this massacre, the Moors of Algiers were ordered by the police to illuminate their shops, and keep them open later than usual. Serenades were given about the town under the windows of the principal officers. M. Pichon, whose general principles were known, and whose feelings on the occasion could therefore be guessed, was delicately treated with music under his windows.—*Pichon*, p. 108.

"The *exterminating* party seem to have been thrown into a state of rapture bordering on frenzy. But this is not all. The sheik Rabia ben Sidi Grah-nem, who was also a marabout, and Bourachba, an Arab of the same tribe, were brought before a court-martial, accused of 'divers crimes and misdemeanours, constituting treason against France.' The sheik was individually tried on the charges of having tolerated robberies in his tribe, of having left unpunished the violence and robbery committed on the persons of the deputies from the desert to the general in chief, committed in consequence of their good will towards France, and having allowed the sojourn, the desertion, and the assassination of French



soldiers in his tribe.' Bourachba was charged with having induced French soldiers to desert. And the king's commissary or advocate having concluded, the court, on the 14th April, 1832, sentenced both prisoners to death, conformably to the law of the 21st Brumaire, in the 5th year of the French republic (!), which says, that 'any military man or other individual, attached to, or follower of, the army, who is convicted of treason against France, shall suffer death;' and also that 'every individual enlisting, or assisting in enlisting, soldiers for the service of a power at war with France, shall suffer likewise.'—*Report of the Court Martial, Appendix to Pichon*, pp. 394, 395.

The poor sheik had a French counsel, who did not understand a word of Arabic; but there were interpreters present. The prisoners appealed to the council of revision, which confirmed the sentence on the 17th, and the general-in-chief had it executed on the 19th, at noon, outside the gate Babazon.

M. Pichon, in his despatch to M. Perier, announcing these extraordinary proceedings, states, among other things, that General Savary had told him that the robbers belonged to another tribe, or rather section of a tribe, the greater Ouffias, who lived at the foot of the Atlas, at a distance from the little Ouffias, who were encamped under the cannon of the French outposts. The general added, that the chief of the farther section had returned him the articles stolen; and yet, when M. Pichon went on the 16th to remonstrate with the general in favour of the sheik Rabia, Savary refused to reprieve the prisoner. He refused likewise the solicitations of the aga of the Arabs, and those of the sheik of the Kreshna tribe, who wrote to him demanding Rabia's liberation.

“ ‘ You have punished innocent men,’ said the Kreshna chief; ‘ men who were under your protection: this is all as we could wish; it will teach others not to trust themselves to you. But if you proceed in this manner, you will have no more provisions. We know that you can get them from France: we only pity those of our countrymen who are with you.’ ”—*Pichon*, p. 136.

On the 19th, the day of Rabia's execution, M. Pichon made a last effort to save the unfortunate sheik. He wrote a confidential letter (the affair being out of his competence, he could not interfere officially) entreating the general to stay the blow. He tells him that the natives ought not to be brought before a council of war, except for violence committed against the persons or property of *Frenchmen*. The persons robbed were *strangers*. The law of the 5th Brumaire concerns *military* men, guilty of treason against France. The sheik was *not* in this case. It was not proved by the proceedings that the sheik had either connived at the robbery, or concealed the robbers, who took refuge among a distant tribe, which had since refunded the value of the stolen articles to the last crown. General Savary remained inflexible. Two days *after*



the execution (!) he answered M. Pichon's letter. In it he contends that, as the sheik had been appointed by the aga of the Arabs, who himself holds his commission from the general, the sheik was answerable to the latter for every crime that occurred within his tribe; that there was no other sheik over the distant fraction of the tribe; that Rabia must have known of the robbery, which was committed on the road, in open day; that he had sent from his prison his own brother to the place where the robbers had taken refuge, and had written to them to return the effects, in order to save his head, which request was complied with on the following day, "a proof that the other fraction of his tribe still obeyed him." We demur here to the correctness of the general's logic; for without obeying him, they might wish to save the life of a countryman, a sheik and a marabout. "And then," adds the general, "the bodies of two soldiers of our foreign legion were found in his camp, one of which had the appearance of having been beheaded the day before." This last charge, we must observe, was not known on the 7th, when the destruction of the tribe was perpetrated. The order of the day concerning the expedition says nothing of it, and it was only after the massacre that the bodies were discovered. They were those of two men who had previously signified their intention of deserting. One of them was dressed as an Arab, and was killed by the French themselves in the action. This is admitted by the Duke of Rovigo himself in a subsequent letter to M. Pichon, in which he calls the massacre of the Ouffias a "*petite échauffourée*," a little hurly-burly.—*Pichon*, Appendix, p. 401. How the other deserter, who was recognized by his regimental trousers, came by his death, was not known; but M. Pichon heard it distinctly stated on the trial, that the two men had deserted on the evening of the 6th. The massacre took place on the morning of the 7th. It is therefore most probable that both were killed in the indiscriminate slaughter. There is nothing in all this sufficient to criminate the sheik; there was hardly even time for him to know that the two deserters were in his camp. One passage in Savary's letter to M. Pichon is singularly inconsistent. He dwells upon the necessity of holding the various sheiks rigorously responsible for the behaviour of their tribes; "otherwise," says he, "every time one of my soldiers is killed, I should be obliged to put a whole tribe to fire and sword, which would be the worst of all expedients." And yet in the instance in question, he had for a mere robbery in the day-time, unaccompanied by loss of life or limb, first of all put a whole tribe to fire and sword, and afterwards tried and beheaded the sheik on the score of his responsibility; for on that plea alone, stretched to the utmost, could Rabia be at all impeached.

If we pass from Algiers to Oran, we find matters quite as bad,

or rather worse. It is stated, in a very remarkable order of the day of the 5th June, 1832, that the general-in-chief

“ has learnt, from trust-worthy reports, that several natives have disappeared in the prisons, and have been put to death without trial. The general therefore reminds the officers of every rank in the army, as well as the men under their orders, that they are bound to refuse their agency to any execution of which the sentence of the court is not previously read to the culprit in presence of the assembled troops; for without this formality, they would be held accomplices of murder, and liable to criminal prosecution, as much as those who had given the orders for the execution. All officers, civil and military, are bound to give information against such acts.”

M. Pichon distinctly states that several clandestine executions had taken place at Oran, and were the cause of this order of the day.—p. 139. But why was there no public investigation, no exemplary punishment of deeds which the general justly qualifies as murders? “The press,” says M. Pichon, “was silent on the subject.” Would it have been silent in England? Would it not have dragged the guilty before parliament and the public, supposing the government to have been remiss in its duty? But in France, the newspapers and the public seem to take very little notice of any act of oppression committed by their countrymen in conquered countries. A distant foreigner has little chance indeed of redress from that quarter. There is a mistaken feeling of nationality in France, which stifles the principle of justice.

At Oran, the system of terror seems to have been in full force. In September, 1831, a merchant from Morocco, called Valentino, was beheaded without any trial; his property, amounting to 20,000 francs, was seized and confiscated. M. Pichon reclaimed it for the widow and heirs, but in vain.—pp. 179, 180. M. Pichon questioned M. Barrachin, the civil intendaut at Oran, who knew nothing of the particulars. In fact, General Boyer annulled M. Barrachin's acts, and did as he pleased. He arrested a Moor, called Selim Codja, who was attached to the civil administration, and sent him to Algiers, where the general-in-chief put him in prison, but where, M. Pichon never could find out.—p. 74. The foreign vice-consuls, English and Spanish, at Oran, have had strong reasons to complain of the overbearing conduct of the military authority at that place.—pp. 178. 410. There was an evidently hostile feeling towards the English commercial agents, both at Oran and Algiers, which M. Pichon deprecates. The exterminating party, which of course is as bitterly inveterate against England and every thing English as it was under Napoleon, have reproached M. Pichon for his friendly relations with the English consul—

"relations which were always within the limits of strict official intercourse. I did not think that our interests and our duties towards a friendly and almost allied power, ought to be sacrificed to *old animosities of the empire, animosities which are as lasting and as inveterate as ever*, and of which I have had proofs at Algiers, had I not already been acquainted with their spirit. On my arrival at Algiers, I found the affairs relative to the English agents on the point of an explosion prepared by the passions I have alluded to. My conduct in these matters has obtained me the approbation of the government."—pp. 114, 115.

Considering the friendly and amicable spirit which marks the dispositions of the immense majority of the British nation towards the French, it is painful for an Englishman to read passages like this, indicative of the intensely malignant spirit of a certain party among our neighbours, who seem as if they could never either forget or forgive the share we had in the overthrow of the empire. Fortunately, we believe this feeling is confined, in a great degree, to the Bonapartists; and as these die off in succession, we would fain hope that the spirit which animates them will die out altogether.\*

At Bona, the other principal French settlement on the coast, we find the same arbitrary system pursued as at Oran. After the French regained possession of the place, with the assistance of some Turks, in March, 1832, they seized the goods in the warehouses of the inhabitants, whom the Bey of Constantina had forced to leave the place under pain of death. "These goods have been seized as *épaves*,† and sold without any formality."‡ A Moorish merchant, El Larby, residing at Algiers, had had for two years, in the warehouse of a Frank at Bona, 11,000 buffalos' horns, which he was waiting for the departure of the bey's army for Constantina, to have shipped for Algiers. They were seized after the return of the French, and sold at half the invoice price, taken to Algiers, and again shipped for Marseilles, under the eyes of the legitimate owner. After many fruitless applications, M. Pichon obtained a *promise* that the produce of the sale at Oran should be reimbursed to El Larby—"about one-third of the value of the goods at Marseilles. These things occurred before the arrival of General Monk d'Uzer at Bona."—p. 140. Not satis-

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\* The *Memoirs of Marshal Ney* exhibit symptoms of this spirit. We were amazed to find revived in them the old stories with which Bonaparte used to gull the Parisians, such as of the bales of infected cotton, said to have been thrown on the coast of France in order to introduce the plague into that country in 1804, while the army of invasion was encamped on the coast of the channel, coupled with the observation of the *Moniteur*;—"The English cannot conquer us with the sword, they attack us with the plague!"

† A French law term, which means chattels or moveable property, abandoned and unclaimed, and which as such fall to the crown. A Captain Jussef, a Turkish auxiliary of the French, committed many atrocities at Bona. He cut off heads and massacred a whole Arab tribe by mistake!—Pichon, Appendix, p. 441.

‡ Pichon, p. 139.

fied with the seizure of moveables, the agents of the *domaine* wanted to sequester the houses too, under the pretence that as the owners were absent, the property fell to the *domaine*. M. Pichon indignantly resisted the monstrous plea. Many houses, however, were occupied *pro tempore*, as at Algiers, for want of barracks.

“ At Oran, all the property of the absent Moors, as well as that of the Turks and of the corporations, has been seized in the name of the *domaine*, and as there is hardly a Moor left in the place, and we have taken their last mosque, our seizures include nearly the whole of the town. The buildings must be falling to ruin, after we have burnt 300,000 rafters.”—*Pichon*, p. 284.

From fifteen to twenty Moors, Turks and Arabs, of all ages, were arrested at Bona and shipped for Marseilles, where they were detained in the Fort St. Jean. They were accused of being accomplices in the conspiracy of September, 1831, when the French detachment was massacred by the Turkish auxiliaries, in consequence, it was said, of a blow in the face being given to a Turk. Among these were four brothers, natives of Bona, who had been seized at Tunis at the request of the French consul there, and sent by him to Algiers, where three of them were confined in a dungeon, *au secret*, for three months: each had with him a son of from eight to ten years of age. M. Pichon, on visiting the prison, saw them, and had their names registered. “ Till then, there had been no register kept in the prison; no written order was required for the detention of prisoners; a simple verbal order, emanating from various individuals under the name of *police*, was sufficient authority. I insisted that no one should be received in the prison without a written order.”—p. 142. These three brothers were soon after sent to Marseilles, where they met the fourth, who was accompanied by his three children. M. Rey, an advocate of Marseilles, (the same, we believe, who was several years in this country, and wrote a “ Comparison of the Judicial Institutions of France and England,” which was reviewed in an early number of this journal,) obtained, after much praiseworthy exertion, the liberation of the four brothers, by an order from the minister at war, in September, 1832. In fact their innocence was beyond a doubt; but they, on their part, complained, in a memorial addressed to the king, forwarded from Marseilles by M. Rey, that several valuable effects they had about their persons when arrested, had been taken from them! By a letter from the Duke of Rovigo, it appeared the effects had been sold by an interpreter attached to head-quarters, who forwarded the produce, 1330 francs, to Marseilles. M. Rey, however, very naturally demanded the proof that the effects were only sold for 1330 francs. “ I do not think that it is conformable to

the military penal code, to detain, without an inventory, the effects of the accused.”—*Pichon*, p. 142—144.

“Such,” resumes M. Pichon, “are the facts, however grave, of which France has scarcely been informed. . . . What can be the motive of the silence maintained by so many sufferers in these transactions? I say it loudly: their silence can only be explained by the terror which the party I have so often mentioned inspires. When I was at Algiers, the natives were afraid to address themselves directly to the French government. There have only appeared at Algiers, ever since our conquest, two acts emanating from the king’s government—the act which instituted the civil intendance, and the one which abrogated it, six months after. Since then, every thing has been replaced under a pure and simple *military occupation*, and the latitude of power implied by that system is enough to inspire every one with just apprehensions. By letters from Algiers, of December, 1832, it appears that Ben Turkia, the Arab writer to the municipality, and his brother, being suspected of having forwarded the letters from the aga of the Arabs, which reached Paris in October, have been molested, and even, it is said, put in prison—a thing I can hardly believe.”—pp. 146, 147.

We will now proceed with the external policy of the Duke of Rovigo’s administration. The massacre of the Ouffias took place in April. In the following month the whole Arab and Kabyle populations of the little Atlas were in arms against the French. So much for “the salutary effects of a severe example” upon which Savary had reckoned. The general took it into his head to send an armed party to cut hay in the Metidja plain. Twenty-nine men of the party were cut off by the Arabs and killed, and the rest were dispersed. The general had communicated his intention of *reconnoitring* in the Metidja to the aga of the Arabs, who told him that this was a violation of the promise made by General Berthezène, who had engaged not to send out armed parties except to repel aggressions; that the Kabyles of the mountains would be alarmed and collect their forces, and then the Arabs of the plain would be unable to resist them; that the consequences would be the loss of many lives, and the ruin of the people of the Metidja, of Coleah, Bleda, &c. This letter of the aga is extremely sensible and well written, and gives a very favourable idea of the writer.—*Pichon*, Appendix, p. 450. Previous to this, the aga’s lieutenant, Hamido, had gone round the different tribes, as far as Medeyah, to invite the chiefs to a conference with the aga at Coleah. They came on the appointed day, and expressed their desire to live in peace with the French, provided the latter would keep their troops quiet in their cantonments. The Arab chiefs agreed also to send a deputation to Algiers, according to the general’s invitation; but the Kabyles of the mountains constantly refused, saying, that if the general had any thing to communicate to them, he might do it through the

**aga.**—*Report of Hamido's mission in Pichon's Appendix*, p. 453-5. The Duke of Rovigo, irritated by the loss of the reconnoitring party, planned an expedition by sea to the eastward of Cape Matifou, in order to take the refractory tribes of the Ysser in the rear. The troops were embarked; but the expedition, which according to General Brossard had no chance of success, was abandoned. The aga, disgusted and compromised with his countrymen by all this, repeatedly tendered his resignation, which was refused. He wrote a desponding letter to M. Pichon in August, which the latter did not receive at Paris till the following October.

“All good men,” says the aga, “are in consternation at your departure, because when you were at Algiers you were constantly opposed to injustice. The general does not listen to my councils. He makes no distinction between friends and enemies. The heads of tribes have assembled to day, those who are partisans of peace and friendly to the French; there is a great fermentation between them and the tribes who are in open revolt. The former have written a letter to the King of France, which I here inclose; we pray you to deliver our petition to him—he is our sultan; you will tell him all our distresses; his majesty has a feeling heart, and will not allow injustice to be committed against his subjects.”—*Pichon*, Appendix, p. 452.

“The Duke of Rovigo,” says General Brossard, “ought either to have given his full confidence to the aga, as General Berthezène had done, or accepted his resignation, instead of endeavouring to establish his own influence by a system of secret espionage, full of artifice and craft; a false system, which, however suited to the Arabs, who are expert masters in this line, opened a door to intrigues against the aga, and destroyed his authority without benefiting ours; a disastrous system, which probably drove the aga at last to defection and treason. And with all this crooked mode of proceeding, the general, from the month of May, when hostilities began, till the following October, never had any accurate information of the movements of the tribes, but was, on the contrary, either lulled by the reports transmitted to him, or kept in a state of false alarm from apprehended attacks.”—*Memoire*, pp. 21, 22.

At last, on the 2d of October, General Savary went out to attack the Arabs, who had assembled at Boufarik, about twelve miles from Algiers. They were soon dispersed. On the same day he sent unexpectedly a body of men upon Coleah, where the aga Mahi-Eddin resided. The latter, who had been long aware of the unfavourable feeling existing against him, had run away; but some of his relatives were seized as hostages. His lieutenant, Hamido, being threatened with a court-martial, absolutely died of fright in prison. The people of Bleda, who had been for a twelvemonth left to themselves, alarmed at these demonstrations of the French, sent a deputation, consisting of the sheiks Massaoud and Arbi ben Moosa, and applied to the sheik of the Kreshna tribe, who seems to have been again on good terms with



the general-in-chief, to obtain a safe-conduct for them. The general granted it, and the sheiks came to Algiers.

"The two sheiks were accused, says the *Moniteur Algerien*, of intending to violate their engagements, although they had received previously much money from the general-in-chief:\* they were also accused of being participators in the assassination of the sixty artillerymen, at the time of General Clauzel's expedition to Medeyah, in 1830. The general made all his dispositions; the gendarmes were concealed near the audience-room, where he received the deputation. He then asked the sheik of the Kreshnas whether he would be responsible for the personal satisfaction which he required of the people of Bleda. The sheik begged to be excused. 'Then,' said the general, '*I withdraw the safe-conduct;*' and entering the audience-room, where the deputation was assembled, '*I shall detain the two sheiks, Massaoud and Arbi ben Moosa, as hostages.* If you (addressing himself to the rest of the deputation) execute my orders, they shall be released.'"—*Brossard*, p. 88.

The people of Bleda, on hearing of this, became furious. They took up arms, intending to defend themselves. Meantime "the two sheiks were brought before a court-martial, tried, found guilty, and executed. Their friends in the country revenged themselves upon the sheik El Kreshna, burnt his house, seized his cattle, women and children, and the sheik thought himself lucky to escape to Algiers."

This occurred in November, 1832. At the beginning of December, 4,000 men marched against Bleda. This was the *fourth time* the French had visited that unfortunate town, and the second time they had plundered it. It was now entirely deserted. The houses and gardens suffered in default of the owners. "Letters from Algiers, of the 9th December, announced that of a party of old men, women and children, who had taken refuge in the marabut, or sanctuary, of Sidi el Kebir, about a mile beyond the town, thirty were put to the sword."—*Pichon*, p. 293.

And thus the work of regeneration in Northern Africa proceeds! We say "proceeds," for although our authorities do not come further than the beginning of 1833, yet the occasional paragraphs we have seen in the papers show that there has been no change in the system since. From these we have learned, that the French garrison at Oran was in a state of continual hostilities with the Arabs outside, notwithstanding that whole Arab tribes had been destroyed, and sheiks and marabouts decapitated, after the Ouffia fashion.† Oran and Mustagannim must be supplied with provisions by sea. One letter from Oran, of the 8th of

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\* Savary required of M. Pichon a credit of 1000 francs a month for secret service money.—*Pichon*, p. 46.

† See extracts from French papers, in the *Times*, 3d June, 29th August, 5th October, etc. *passim*.



September last, ended with these words: "The little traffic that was carried on along this coast by Moorish barges has been annihilated. We carry nothing but desolation and misery to all the points at which we land." During the summer, we heard of another military expedition to Bleda; of stragglers being murdered; of the Arabs having resumed the offensive on all the French line, and having even passed it; of their attempting to set fire to the forage magazines at Birkadem; of their surprising the baking establishment at Kooba, and advancing to the camp of Deli Ibrahim and the plain of Staweli, almost within cannon-shot of Algiers! Against all this is only to be set the capture of Boujeiah, another town on the coast. And this is the fourth year of the French occupation!

Meantime France is annually spending about twenty millions of francs, besides losing some thousand men, to retain a possession, the whole revenue of which, including the sequestrations,\* does not exceed a million and a half! This is a system evidently ruinous to all parties. The French ought to give up every idea of extending their conquests along the coast or in the interior, or of extensive colonization, at least for years to come. Moderate garrisons ought to be kept in the towns on the coast, commerce encouraged, and friendly relations entered into with the Arabs of the plains, as between neighbour and neighbour. The Arabs are a fine intelligent race, much more manageable and humane than the Kabyles, and they have a keen sense of justice and of the sacredness of oaths.

And what do the Arabs require in order to become friendly? That the French should not cross in arms a certain line of demarcation, and should let them graze their cattle in peace, in the plains of which their ancestors have been possessed from time immemorial. Establish friendly relations with them, and they will form your advanced guard against the Kabyles, who must be left in quiet possession of their mountains. By degrees the Arabs will acquire a taste for the arts of Europe, and thus civilization and commerce will extend; but this must be the work of peace. The Arab race is, we believe, yet called to high destinies; it is not corrupt or degenerate like that of the Osmanlis, but fresh and vigorous, as in its youth. A great Arab power is rising in the East, and the Western Arabs may one day or other rival their Asiatic brethren. From Mount Taurus in Asia Minor, to Cape Cantin on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, the Arab race and the Arab language extend paramount. Is it not the interest of European nations to establish a friendly intercourse with this

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\* Among the items of the revenue is one which ought not to figure on the budget of a civilized government. It is the farming of the tax on courtesans, which is let by contract, the lessee paying the domaine 1,860 francs per month.

most illustrious, most numerous, and most intellectual among Mohammedan nations? M. Pichon says—"I have never seen any human countenances in which the character of manly independence is more strikingly depicted than in those of the Arabs of North Africa."

There are, General Brossard observes, only three means of obtaining security for the French possessions on the coast of Algiers. 1. By forming an impassable line of fortifications and posts around the territory we wish to occupy. 2. By driving back (*refoulant*) the tribes far beyond the little Atlas. 3. By obtaining the submission or alliance of the nearer tribes, in order to make of them a barrier against the aggression of the more remote ones. The first plan the general declares to be "impracticable," except on a very small scale; the second he deems absolutely impossible; the third, which is the safest, the least expensive, and the most consonant to justice and humanity, must therefore be resorted to. May the French government adopt it, ere it be too late! It has committed many other errors in the attempt to establish this colony, some of them betraying the grossest ignorance of the first principles of colonization, but which we have left ourselves no room to dwell upon. We hope that to these is not to be added the precious scheme of converting Algiers into a *penal colony*! Bad as was the civilization communicated to Africa by the Algerine pirates, we think it infinitely preferable to that which would result from making her shores the receptacle for the denizens of the *bagnes* at Brest and Toulon. It is to be hoped that the result of the deliberations of the Commission now sitting at Paris to decide on the future course to be followed with regard to Algiers, will be an entire suppression of the system of arbitrary military administration which took its rise during the Republic and the Empire, and the adoption of one more consonant to the ideas of a constitutional country, and one which has always piqued itself on being foremost in the career of civilization. We trust that there is no foundation for the report of another formidable military expedition being now in preparation, destined to proceed in the spring against the Bey of Constantina.

M. Pichon has rendered a great service to humanity in publishing his work. It is replete with valuable and curious information, and the appendix particularly so. We have felt one consolation in reading the afflicting details which it contains, and that is, in the reflection that such a book could not have seen the light under Napoleon's rule, although oppressions much more enormous were then practised in conquered countries. The public exposure of injustice is a great step towards correction.

ART. V.—*Correspondance de Victor Jacquemont avec sa famille, et plusieurs de ses amis, pendant son voyage dans l'Inde.* (1828—1832.) 2 tom. 8vo. Paris, 1834.

THERE have been few books of travels whose announcement produced a more lively sensation in France and England than the Letters of Victor Jacquemont; interest in the subject combined with interest in the author to excite curiosity; India with its thousand associations of ancient grandeur and modern importance, of natural wonders and political value, was joined with the sympathy necessarily felt in the fate of a young naturalist, who, in the prime of life, fell a victim to science. Perhaps it is because expectation was raised too high that we close the volumes with somewhat of disappointment, and that, though amused, instructed, nay in many instances delighted, we feel that something is wanting which we had hoped to find. Let us not however prove querulous critics, but “take the goods the gods provide us,” enjoy what we have, and bear the absence of what we have not, as best we may. For one omission the editor is responsible, and as he is alive to answer for himself, we may venture to complain of it; no memoir of Jacquemont is prefixed to the collection, and we are left to gather the circumstances of his early life from the few hints that occur in his Correspondence. From these we learn that he was born in Paris, A. D. 1801, received an excellent education, in youth manifested a strong attachment to the natural sciences, had an opportunity of indulging his taste by being sent, apparently on some commercial business, to Haiti and North America, became an *ideologiste* in the school of Destutt Tracy, joined in Paris some metaphysico-political club, and stored his mind with all the sense and all the nonsense that mark the philosophy of *La Jeune France*. It is understood that it was to the high opinion entertained by the late Baron Cuvier of his merits as a naturalist, that his selection for the important mission with which he was entrusted by the Museum of Natural History at Paris was mainly owing. The appointment was highly honourable to all the parties concerned—to the judgment of the distinguished naturalist who recommended him—to Jacquemont himself—and to the French government, for the liberality with which it furnished the means of enabling him to fulfil the objects of his expedition, which were to investigate and collect materials for the natural history of India in all its departments. When shall we have to say so much for a government infinitely more interested in India, and to which the natural sciences ought to be more important?

At the period when Jacquemont prepared to undertake his

important task, there were certain opinions received as aphorisms by the liberal politicians of France, to which he had yielded implicit faith. It was held to be a self-evident truth that intense selfishness characterized the policy of England in public, and the conduct of the English in private; that insular arrogance rendered us the tyrants rather than the masters of the sea, made us reserved towards all foreigners, inspired us with a haughty jealousy, always disagreeable, and frequently offensive; that in India our dominion was a nuisance which ought to be abated, but that its duration depended on the will of Russia, the speedy appearance of whose forces at the passes of the Indian Caucasus was "a consummation devoutly to be wished, and speedily to be obtained." Full of these notions, Jacquemont arrived in England; the treatment which he received from Sir Alexander Johnston and other members of the Asiatic Society, was well calculated to remove his prejudices, but on the other hand, the difficulties and delays he experienced in obtaining his passport, from the lords of Leadenhall Street, counterbalanced the impressions produced by the kindness of his scientific friends. For this Jacquemont was probably as much to blame as the Directors; they could scarcely have imagined that a single Frenchman, even though his tall gaunt figure reminded them of the last of the knights-errant, would contest with them the empire of India; still less would they have mistaken his packing cases for parks of artillery, or his dissecting knives for a supply of military weapons; they probably doubted the object of his mission, regarding him either as a Russian emissary, or the bearer of some secret treaty to Runjeet Sing and the rulers of the Afghans; he perhaps was less explanatory than he should have been, especially with persons to whom scientific missions are by no means familiar. Jacquemont manifestly felt that his objects, if not suspected, were liable to suspicion; this appears evident in the letter he addressed from London to Sir John Malcolm, which we insert entire, as it has not yet been published.

" TO SIR JOHN MALCOLM, &c.

" It is in the name of science, and under the auspices of Sir A. Johnston, that I take the liberty of writing to Sir John Malcolm, without having the honour of his personal acquaintance. The accomplishment of a scientific tour through India has been entrusted to me by the Royal Museum of Natural History at Paris, and I am about to undertake it. The researches to which my attention must be directed relate exclusively to natural history; true, that is not the species of study and labour by which Sir J. Malcolm has so much aided in making India known to the literati of Europe, but all branches of human knowledge are closely connected, and in the eyes of those who lose not sight of their noblest aim,

their moral tendency, lead equally to the same end,—at a time more or less near,—their useful application to the promotion of the happiness of the human race. I hope, then, that General Malcolm will grant the precious aid of his enlightened counsel and generous support to an unknown stranger, who waits them with respect, and will receive them with gratitude.

“ A French ship will convey me to Pondicherry, where I shall arrive in January, 1829. There I intend to make no delay. The surrounding territory, and generally all that part of Coromandel, have been often visited by naturalists. I shall therefore proceed without delay from Pondicherry to Madras, and thence by sea to Calcutta. Calcutta being the chief seat of the English power, it is there I must expect to meet men of learning, to visit collections, to learn what is already known, and to find out what are the matters that remain uninvestigated. I reckon for this purpose on a residence of from two to three months in that city, of which I will take advantage to commence the necessary study of Hindústani and Persian.

“ My desire at first was to proceed from Calcutta to Delhi, which I knew to be very easy, and thence by the route which Forster followed in 1783, with the caravans that go to Cashmeer, into that valley itself, or to the upper Indus at Attock. I would have devoted two or three years to the exploring the upper tributaries of this river, visiting Pécháwar, Cabul, and other places, where the rapid journey of Elphinstone did not permit him to make collections in natural history; and finally I would have returned to the European settlements, down the banks of the Sind, by Moultan to Tatta or Hyderabad, where I expected it would be possible to embark for Bombay.

“ I did not hide from myself the difficulties of such a tour; Elphinstone's narrative pointed them out clearly enough; but though the obstacles seemed sufficiently great, they did not appear insurmountable; and I hoped that I should be the first to explore this virgin country, as yet unreachd by science.

“ The information I have received in London compels me to renounce this hope; the accounts agree too generally in proving to me the habitual state of anarchy and *brigandage* among the Afghans; and security is necessary for a traveller who must form large collections. It would be of little use to escape with life, if, after several years of labour and research, he should be plundered, and lose all the results of his toils.

“ Sir J. Malcolm, whose high office in the part of the British empire bordering on these countries must give him better information of their internal condition than any one else can possess, would perhaps favour me with his opinion respecting the hopes first entertained of the possibility of visiting them.

“ If I must renounce them, I have determined to devote all my time and all my resources to exploring the coasts of Malabar and the long chain of the Western Ghauts. This territory, naturally circumscribed, forms a kind of geographical unity, favourable under many points of view to the studies of a naturalist. The establishment to which I belong possesses in its immense collections a very small number of natural pro-

ductions belonging to this part of India. It has also been greatly neglected hitherto by the English naturalists. The geological museums in London, sufficiently rich already in collections from Nepaul and the Himalaya, are absolutely destitute of specimens from the rocks of Malabar. The zoology, with the exception of that belonging to the coast, is but little known, and the voluminous works we have on the Flora of this country, such as the Hortus Malabaricus of Rheede, bear all the marks of the imperfect state of botany at the time they were written, and no longer satisfy the demands of this science.

"Finally: there is one circumstance that induces me to adopt this resolution, already nearly fixed, namely, that it will make me begin the painful and laborious part of my journey through the provinces governed by Sir J. Malcolm, and that it will permit me to enjoy the advantages of his noble protection.

"Giving up my visit to Cabul, should I, in my route from Calcutta to Bombay, take the road by Delhi or Agra, or should I not rather take a more direct line to the south of this great curve?

These are the doubts that I respectfully submit to the consideration of Sir John Malcolm. Sir A. Johnston leads me to hope that the general will kindly solve them, and guide me by his counsel through this vast country. The kind and dear Johnston adds, that the slowness of my voyage from France to Pondicherry (slowness occasioned by a projected delay of some weeks at the isle of Bourbon) will doubtless permit me to receive Sir J. Malcolm's reply, if he would be so kind as to send it under cover to the French governor.

"In addressing myself to the elevated and generous mind of the historian of India, I must not forget that Sir J. Malcolm holds an official station, and has duties to perform. I would not trespass on his kindness, had I not the honour to inform him that I have obtained an official passport from the Honourable Court of Directors, granting me free passage through all the territories of the Company. The innocent character of my pursuits would perhaps ensure me sufficient protection from the Company's officers; but I was anxious to have the special and formal assent of the Court of Directors, and it was granted me on the 25th of this month. I entreat Sir J. Malcolm to add his consent.

Signed VICTOR JACQUEMONT,  
Travelling Naturalist to the Royal Museum of Natural History.  
London, June 30, 1828."

A greater contrast can scarcely be conceived, than there is between the sober formality of this letter, and the lively sketches of life and manners addressed by the young naturalist to his family and friends. He left Europe with high hopes, unconquerable spirits, and a love of adventure almost Quixotic, but with an affectionate heart that clung fondly to his family circle,

"And dragged at each remove a lengthening chain."

These feelings, combined with no ordinary graphic powers, lend an irresistible charm to his little narratives; they are dashed off with an ease and freedom such as is rarely seen; their *vis comica*



frequently reminds us of Cruikshank; like that admirable artist, he extracts fun from every thing, even from subjects apparently the most hopeless; like him, too, he has a moral in every jest, not the less effective because it is incidental. In the letters now published, Jacquemont rarely alludes to his scientific pursuits; consequently they have not anticipated the interest which all the naturalists of Europe must feel in the publication of the valuable manuscripts which he sent to the Museum of Natural History of Paris; duplicates of which were forwarded by the French ministry to our government. It is on these of course, whenever they appear, that his future reputation as a naturalist must mainly depend. The chief value of the present collection rests on the account it gives of our Indian possessions, the effects of our government on the native population, the result of recent efforts to diffuse the elements of civilization, and the future prospects of Hindústan. On behalf of England, Jacquemont is a witness above suspicion; his prejudices, which never wholly disappeared, were all against the British government; and it is sometimes amusing to see how slowly and reluctantly, in the early part of his career, he yielded to the strong evidence of facts, while in some of his more recent letters he rallies his correspondents unmercifully for repeating opinions, which he had himself entertained a few months before.

The process of Jacquemont's conversion began at the first English settlement he visited, the Cape of Good Hope; there he discovers how honestly the British government had acted in the abolition of the slave trade, and how other powers had connived at its continuance. For this connivance indeed, he makes rather a lame apology; but "liberal" as he was, we shall too often see that Jacquemont was willing to sacrifice justice to expediency.

"The abolition of the (slave) trade, which, according to the terms of treaties, should cease in a year, but which the configuration of the coasts of Brazil will long protect against the vigilance of the English cruizers, will be the extinction of the (Brazilian) empire. I saw this horrible traffic close to me at Rio, where it is conducted on an immense scale. The sight produced in me feelings of horror, which will with difficulty be effaced from my revolted mind. But he who wills the end, wills the means. Slavery is the *sine quâ non* of the existence of Brazil, as well as of European rule over all the intertropical parts of America that are not greatly elevated above the level of the sea.

"As for our parts, if Cayenne and Bourbon have prospered a little during late years, it is due solely to the connivance of the rulers of these colonies, not to say the avowed protection given to introducing cargoes of slaves. If I was in your place, my friend (Mr. V. de Tracy), I would endeavour to make my position subservient to the repression of crime.



You do not fear extreme parties in a good cause. Say, then, that the general cry of public opinion accuses our colonial government of criminal connivance in this trade. Say, you are convinced our colonies could not prosper without this trade, and that their actual prosperity is the strongest proof against the colonial administration. If it compelled obedience to the law, if it prevented the introduction of slaves, the negroes would diminish progressively, and these colonies, so far from improving, would fall into decay. The law which has prohibited the trade has condemned the sugar islands to ruin. They are not perishing; on the contrary, they flourish; consequently, the law is not put into execution. \* \* \*

"The colossal extension of the British power is really a blessing to humanity; there are, beyond a doubt, many iniquities, many odious frauds in its national and colonial administration; but it every where proscribes gross horrors. It has especially waged war against this trade with good faith. Since the British became masters of the Cape, not a single slave has been imported. The consideration due to the fortunes of the Dutch settlers, who form the great majority of the population of this colony, have as yet prevented the establishment of regulations for the final extinction of slavery, and the emancipation of the children of the actual slaves; but they impose so many charges on the possession of slaves, that their support becomes too expensive for the proprietors to derive any profit from their original outlay. Slave-labour, therefore, becomes too dear to be lucrative, and it is their interest that induces the colonists not to regret much this horrible species of property."

At the island of Bourbon, Jacquemont was destined to have a second of his axioms decisively refuted; among other whimsical notions, he had taken it into his head that all accounts of storms, tempests, and hurricanes, were pure inventions of travellers; but the dreadful hurricane of February, 1829, which, unluckily in his opinion, he witnessed from shore, convinced him that the dangers of wind and wave were not imaginary. We must, however, pass this and some other incidents, and hasten to Calcutta, where our traveller was received with a generous kindness which completely reconciled him to the English character. His reception, indeed, was creditable, not merely to the distinguished individuals who eagerly vied with each other in showing attention to the stranger, but it was honourable to Britain as a nation. We happen to know, that all through France, the affectionate manner in which Jacquemont was treated excited the most lively interest, and was more effectual in removing the old national jealousies than any thing that has occurred since the battle of Waterloo. Lord William Bentinck, Sir Charles Grey, Sir Edward Ryan, and their respective families, were foremost in the work of hospitality; England has long been acquainted with the merits of these distinguished men; the portraits given of them by Jacquemont will extend their fame throughout Europe.

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*caste*, and none of them has had the courage to break through this infernal barrier."

On the same subject we have the following details in another letter, also addressed to M. V. de Tracy. It is the only specimen of his English letters contained in this collection; few foreigners have acquired such facility of expression in our difficult language.

"I have seen since the superb Jeypore, and the delightful Adjmû. And during my very short stay in the latter, I have contrived to visit Mhairwarrab, the former Abruzzi of Rajpootanah. It was well worth eighty miles riding in little more than twenty-four hours. I saw a country, whose inhabitants since an immemorial time had never had any other means of existence but plunder in the adjacent plains of Marhwar and Meywar, a people of murderers, now changed into a quiet, industrious, happy people of shepherds and cultivators. No Rajpoot, no Mogul emperors had ever been able to subdue them; fourteen years ago every thing was to be done with them, and since six or seven years every thing is done already. A single man has worked that wonderful miracle of civilization: Major Henry Hall, the son-in-law of Colonel Fagan, of whom I have written to you at Delhi. As I know it will be gratifying to your feelings, and to your opinion on the subject, I shall add, my dear friend, that Major Hall has accomplished this admirable social experiment without taking a single life.

"The very worst characters of Mhairwarrab, he secured them, confined them, or put them in irons at work on the roads. Those who had lived long by the sword without becoming notorious for wanton cruelty, he made them soldiers; they became in that capacity the keepers of their former associates, and often of their former chiefs; and the rest of the population was gained to the plough. Female infanticide was a prevalent practice with the Mhairs, and generally throughout Rajpootanah; and now, female casualties amongst infants exceed not male casualties: a proof that the bloody practice has been abandoned; and scarcely has a man been punished for it. Major Hall did not punish the offenders; he removed the cause of the crime, and made the crime useless, even injurious, to the offender; and it is never more committed.

"M. Hall has shown to me on the field the corps which he has raised from amongst those former savages. And I have seen none in the Indian army in a higher state of discipline. He was justly proud of his good work, and spared no trouble to himself that I might see it thoroughly, in the few hours I had to spend with him. Upwards of a hundred villagers were summoned from the neighbouring villages and hamlets; I conversed with them of their former mode of life, and of their present avocations. Most of them had shed blood. They told me they knew no other mode of life. It was a most miserable one by their account. They were naked and starving. Now, poor as is the soil of their small valleys, and barren their hills, every hand being set at work, there is plenty of clothes, and of food; and so sensible are they of the immense benefit conferred upon them by the British government, that willingly

they pay to it a tribute of 500,000 francs, which they increase every year as their national wealth admits of it.

"Often I had thought that gentle means would prove inadequate to the task of breaking in populations addicted for ages to a most unruly, savage life, such as the Greeks, for instance. Yet the Klephtes were but lambs compared to the Mhairs; and the Mhairs in a few years have become an industrious, laborious, well-behaved people. I see by the Bombay papers, that M. Capo-d'Istrias has been murdered. I wish Major Hall were his successor. For now I have the greatest confidence in the efficiency of *gentle means*. But a peculiar talent too, which is a gift of nature, is required in the ruler, without which, the most benevolent intentions would prove useless."

At Poonah, Jacquemont experienced the first symptoms of the disease, which subsequently proved fatal; he hastened to Bombay, hoping that the sea-air would restore his health; every possible attention was paid him, both by the government and by private individuals, but the seal of death was upon him; in spite of every care, he died on the 7th of December, 1832, and was interred with military honours.

We insert his last letter to his brother, and also the details of his latter moments and death, given by his countryman, Captain Briolle, on account of the melancholy interest they present.

" *Bombay, Officers' Hospital, Nov. 1, 1832.*

"My dear Porphyry,—It is thirty-two days since I arrived here, suffering very severely, and thirty-one since I have been confined to my bed. I caught the germs of this sickness in the pestiferous forests of Salsette, exposed to the heat of the sun in the most sickly part of the season; since I left Ajmeer in March, however, I felt some attacks, about whose nature I deceived myself. They were symptoms of an inflammation of the liver. The pestilential miasmata of Salsette have finished me. At the beginning of my illness I made my will and arranged all my affairs. The care of my interests is intrusted to the most honourable and friendly hands, Mr. James Nicol, an English merchant here—and Mr. Cordier, of Calcutta.

"Mr. Nicol was my host when I reached Bombay. An old friend could not have shown me greater attention. But at the end of a few days, while I was yet transportable, I quitted his house, which is in the fort, to occupy a spacious apartment in the quarters appropriated to sick officers, situated in an airy and salubrious position by the sea-side, and about a hundred paces from my beloved physician, Dr. Mac Lellan, the ablest practitioner in the country, whose affectionate cares have rendered him to me a cherished friend.

"The most painful thought, my dear Porphyry, connected with the death of those we love, in a strange land, is the idea of the loneliness and desertion in which they pass the last moments of their existence. Well, my friend, you must find some consolation, in the assurance I give you, that since my arrival here, I have not ceased to be loaded with the most affectionate and touching marks of attention, by a number of amiable and excellent men. They come to see me incessantly, humour

all my wayward caprices, and anticipate my fancies: Mr. Nicol above all; Mr. John Bax, a member of the government; Mr. Goodfellow, an officer of engineers; a very amiable young officer, Major Mountain, and many others whom I do not mention.

"The excellent Mac Lellan has endangered his health for my sake; in a crisis which seemed to leave me little hope of life, he came to see me twice in the night. I have the most perfect confidence in his skill.

"My sufferings were at first very great, but I have been long reduced to such a weak state, that I am almost exempt from pain. The worst is, that during the thirty one days, I have not slept an hour altogether. But these sleepless nights are still calm, and they are not desperately long.

"The malady happily approaches its close; it may not be fatal, but it most probably will be so. The abscess or abscesses, formed from the beginning in the interior of the liver, which lately seemed likely to be absorbed, appear to increase and rapidly draw to a head. It is all that I desire, in order to escape one way or the other, from the miserable state in which I have lingered for a month between life and death. You see that my ideas are perfectly clear; they have been but rarely and slightly confused, in some violent paroxysms of pain at the beginning of my illness. I have generally calculated on the worst, and that has not rendered them gloomy. My end, if it approaches, is mild and tranquil. If you were seated on my bed, with my father and Frederic, I should have my heart broken, and could not contemplate death with my present calmness and resignation. Console yourself, console our father—O, my friends, console yourselves mutually!

"But I am exhausted by this effort to write—I must bid you adieu! Adieu! Oh! how dearly you are beloved by your poor Victor!—Adieu! for the last time.

"Extended on my back, I could only write with a pencil; but for fear it should fade, Mr. Nicol will copy my letter with a pen, that you may be able to read my last thoughts.—VICTOR JACQUEMONT.

"I have been able to sign what the excellent Mr. Nicol has vouchsafed to copy. Adieu, my friends for the last time."

"*Bordeaux, May 28, 1833.*

"Happening to be at Bombay last December, when M. V. Jacquemont had completed his scientific tour, I hastened to visit a fellow-countryman, whom all the journals of India elevated to the rank of the most distinguished naturalists, but who, in consequence of the fatigues and privations he had to encounter in his toilsome researches, was unfortunately attacked by a liver disease of a most alarming character. I found him in bed, discoursing learnedly on his malady with the best physician of the country, to whose care he had been entrusted by the government, and explaining to him with the greatest calmness, that in three or four days he should be relieved from his agony, but at the expense of his life, because he felt that the abscess would break internally, in which case there was no chance of recovery. His physician (Dr. Mac Lellan) having retired, Jacquemont very highly praised his talents, and the attention bestowed upon him by the government of Bombay; but he

again added, that he had not more than three or four days to live, that the aid of art was useless, and that having completed all his MSS., except a short account of Thibet, he should die with the consolation of having contributed all in his power to the progress of science, which, however, was still far from being complete. The poor fellow, in fact, died the fourth day after this conversation, by the internal effusion which he predicted, preserving to the last moment a calmness, a sweetness, and a presence of mind worthy his noble soul."

In closing these volumes, we have to express our regret that the editor has not expunged the profane and indelicate allusions in which Jacquemont too frequently indulges; all such have been carefully excluded from our extracts, and in many instances we have been compelled to avoid literal translation. With this single drawback, we regard these volumes as exhibiting the most amusing, the most impartial, and perhaps the most accurate account of the state of society in India that has proceeded from the pen of any European.

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ART. VI.—1. *De la Charité, dans ses rapports avec l'état moral et le bien-être des classes inférieures de la société*, Par M. Duchâtel. 8vo. Paris, 1829.

2. *Le Visiteur du Pauvre*. Par M. Degerando. 3me. édition, 12mo. Paris, 1826. 5me. édition, 12mo. Bruxelles, 1828.

3. *Des Colonies Agricoles, &c. &c.* Par M. L. F. Huerne de Pommeuse. 8vo. Paris, 1832.

As duties of imperfect obligation depend for their right performance, not only on the conscience, but on the judgment of individuals, the difficulty of rightly performing them increases with that progress of civilization which complicates all the relations of society. When the population of a country is scattered over it in small bands, the character and situation of any person in distress are known to his neighbours, and he receives sympathy and assistance in proportion to their estimate of his wants and his deserts. There can be no doubt of what is to be done, or difficulty in the mode of doing; common sense and common kindness administer relief, and nothing but good ensues to the character both of the giver and receiver; a bond of good feelings, of beneficence and gratitude, is formed between them. If the boon be ample, or scant, compared with the want of the community, the sufferer, and others too, are taught thereby to reflect on their past



lives, and to regulate their future conduct. They know that nothing can be demanded, and they see that more or less will be accorded, as they may conciliate the kindness, or excite the dislike of their vicinity.

But when social wants increase, and the arts to supply them are multiplied, an intercommunication of many and distant districts takes place, strangers are wandering throughout the land, and the enlargement of towns makes multitudes stationary who are strangers to each other. When distress overtakes the wanderer, relief is bestowed from feelings of general humanity. But how different is the effect on the receiver, the giver, and the community! here no personal gratitude is excited, no permanent interest created, and no example exhibited of good or ill conduct finding due retribution. The donor has the satisfaction of his own conscience for his reward; the recipient discharges his debt by a passing benediction; but no fibrous intertwining of interests and sympathies unites the opulent and indigent classes of society. As public wealth and individual accumulation increase, these casual benefactions are granted with greater facility, and solicited with less reluctance, and on less and less emergencies; till the slothful and the profligate discover that they can derive, from this source alone, enough to gratify their evil propensities, and spend their lives in seeking alms on no emergency, or on such only as their vices have created. Mendicants become then a distinct class, into which is poured the colluvies of every other. Hither resort all whom general indignation has driven from their proper domicile, and who find here a home and a fraternity of congenial habits and sympathizing feelings, as united in the common object of preying on all the other classes of society; and here, therefore, apply all who yet retain their caste, but who seek instruments for perpetrating private crime, or for promoting public disturbance.

The truth of this sketch might be proved from the records, at one period or other, of every nation in Europe; and may be considered as the natural history of pauperism.

The progress of the evil has been, in different ages and countries, checked, or encouraged, by different laws and institutions. During the middle ages, the multiplicity of monastic establishments, and their indiscriminate doles to all comers, appear to have been the grand accelerators of the mischief; for the profession of mendicity, like every other, is infallibly supplied with members, in proportion to the remuneration it affords. Thus, the orders of mendicant friars, established by Innocent III., in 1215, had, in 1272, increased, according to the words of Gregory X., to such "an extravagant multitude," that he found it necessary to suppress all that had arisen in the preceding half cen-

tury, and to confine the privilege of begging to four orders of monks only, and to this day these are the pests of Roman Catholic countries.—So we are told :

“ Le zèle de Saint Louis pour la charité Chrétienne lui avait fait chercher les moyens de nourrir tous les pauvres de son royaume ; mais il éprouva que l’immensité de ses bienfaits même augmentait la paresse, et favorisait le vagabondage.”—(*Pommeuse*, p. 864).

The more astute Tiberius had foreseen this consequence. “ If,” said he, “ all the poor are to come hither, and claim subsistence for their families, their numbers will never be satisfied, and the nation will be ruined ; besides, both hope and fear being removed, industry will languish, and indolence increase ; all will lean for support on others,—useless to themselves, and burdensome to us.\*

The annoyance throughout Europe became so insufferable, that, in the violent spirit which then characterised national history and legislation, measures of most unjustifiable severity were taken to abate the nuisance, instead of wise means being devised to prevent it.

The penal code of England has always been disgracefully distinguished by its harshness ; and has not redeemed its character by its mode of treating vagrants and mendicants. By 12th Richard II. a vagrant might be put in the stocks, and imprisoned till he found surety to return to his former master : and an impotent beggar might be remanded, and confined for life, to the place of his birth. But Henry VII., in 1496, “ intending softer means,” —“ considering also the great charges that should grow to his subjects for bringing of vagabonds to the gaols, and the long abiding of them therein, whereby, by likelihood, many of them should lose their lives,” *only* orders vagabonds, for the first offence, to be set in the stocks three days and three nights, and fed on bread and water ; and for a second offence in the same township, six days and six nights, with the same fare. And even impotent beggars were to remain in the hundred where born or best known, on pain of like punishment. About six years afterwards, however, (19 Henry VII. c. 12,) these probably were discovered to be as severe in their effects, as the reprobated enactments of Richard II. ; and the punishment of vagabonds was restricted to one day and one night in the stocks. But the 22d of Henry VIII. c. 12, extended the time to two days and two nights, during which, were put in the stocks, and fed on bread and water, all impotent poor beg-

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\* “ Si quantum pauperum est, venire huc et liberis suis petere pecunias cœperint, singuli numquam exsatiabuntur, respublica deficiet . . . languescet industria, intendetur socordia, si nullus ex se metus, aut spes ; et securi omnes aliena subsidia expectabunt, sibi ignavi, nobis graves ? ”—TACIT. ANN. ii. 38.

ging beyond the limits assigned them by the magistrates; or, if begging without license, they were to be whipped, or set in the stocks, at the discretion of the justices. The vagabond "whole and mighty in body," found begging and unable to give an account how he got his living, was to be tied to the cart's tail and whipped "till his body was bloody." By the 27th of the same merciful monarch, a vagabond for the second offence was to be whipped again, and have the "upper part of the gristle of his right ear cut clean off;" and if convicted of a third offence, he was to suffer death as a felon. The disgraceful act of 1 Edward VI., by which slavery in its worst form (with chains and stripes at the will of his master) was revived as a punishment of vagrancy, can scarcely be considered as applicable to our present argument, because it seems directed, not against those who sought work, but those who refused to labour; besides, this atrocious act was, two years afterwards, repealed, and the old statutes revived, notwithstanding their inefficiency, from the "foolish pitie and mercie of those, who should have seene the said godly laws executed."

The 2d of James I. c. 7, added to these cruelties the branding with a hot iron, so as to ensure the recognition of an old offender. This, however, was repealed by 12th Anne: subsequent acts have gradually rendered the law more consonant with the progressive humanity of public feeling: and now (by 5th Geo. IV. c. 83, § 3) simple mendicity is punishable only by hard labour in the house of correction for a month; for a second offence, three months, (§ 4); for a third, twelve, and (not being a female) to be whipped, at such time and place as the magistrates may direct, (§ 5 and 10.)

The French, with all their boasted civilization, have fully equalled, and at this day exceed the severity of English legislation on vagrancy and mendicity; although the greatest of their law-givers, Charlemagne, had pointed out the true principles of dealing with these subjects. "Qui non laborat, neque manducet," says one of his ordinances, which M. de Pommeuse calls conformable to the spirit of Genesis, "in sudore vultûs tui vesceris pane tuo;" but he might have remarked a still greater conformity with the precept of St. Paul, "This we commanded you, that if any would not work, neither should he eat." (2d Thess. 3, 10.) Charlemagne adds, "Mendici per regionem non permittantur; suos quæque civitas pauperes alito; illisque, nisi manibus operentur, quidquam dato." This passage is remarkable, as establishing obligatory relief to the impotent poor, while denying it to the able-bodied: and the doctrine of settlement, which has constituted so important and perplexing a part of our statutory law, seems here to be anticipated; as it was in the probably contemporary

ordinances of our Saxon kings, which prescribed, that "the poor should be sustained by parsons, rectors, and the *parishioners*; so that none of them should die for want of sustenance."—(*Mirror*, c. 1, 5, 3.)

Instead, however, of the successors of Charlemagne attempting to carry his preventive principles into effect, M. de Pommeuse informs us, that, in 1556, Francis I. ordained banishment for the mendicant's second offence. In 1639, Louis XIII. (Louis le *Juste*!) condemned them to the galleys. In 1656, Louis XIV. assigned whipping for the first offence, the galleys for the second, and banishment for women, which were all confirmed by Louis XV. in 1724. Louis XVI.'s plan for less rigorous means of repression, by the establishment of *depôts* of mendicity, was interrupted by the revolution.

The government of 1793, having established charity-workshops in every commune, seems to have thought itself justified, notwithstanding its outrageously democratic character, in sending beggars to a house of correction for the first offence, and transporting them to the colonies for the third. If this latter punishment had not been unreasonably severe, the principle was good as far as the able-bodied were concerned, and is, in fact, the same as was contemplated by our celebrated 43d of Elizabeth, c. 2, of which the first section ordains "a convenient stock to be provided" in every parish "to set the poor on work:" and, undoubtedly, where governments engage to provide work, they acquire a right to punish mendicity in the able-bodied: but without such engagement, there can exist no right to prohibit an appeal to the charitable, by those who are willing to labour, and have vainly "asked their fellow worms for leave to work." Such fruitless asking must, at some seasons, occur in every country; and often, and at all seasons, in trading and manufacturing nations; when trade goes into new channels, where fashion or fiscal regulations cause a desertion of the old, and where manual labour is in any branch superseded by a new application of mechanical power.

When, therefore, Napoleon's departmental *depôts* of mendicity had been almost wholly abandoned, we cannot but accuse of cruelty and injustice that part of his Penal Code (art. 275) which inflicts (where no *depôts* of mendicity exist) from one to three months' imprisonment on able-bodied mendicants, especially, if according to M. de Pommeuse's construction (p. 866), the offender may afterwards, at the will of government, be subjected to perpetual imprisonment.\*

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\* M. de Pommeuse cannot draw this inference from art. 271 (which he does cite), for that is confined to vagabonds, but probably from art. 282, though he does not cite

But, however it may be with regard to mendicants, certain it is, that vagabonds are thus put entirely at the mercy of the government, and that the code thus bears the mark of the beast upon it—it is the code of a despot. And even the punishment awarded to beggars cannot be less than six months, and may be increased to two years' imprisonment, if the offence be committed beyond their own canton; thus adding to injustice the impolicy of obstructing the circulation of labour, and preventing its deficiency in one district being supplied from the redundancy in another; with the still greater correlative evil of the redundant not being relieved by being suffered to overflow into the deficient.

Thus it appears, that the existing French laws on vagrancy and mendicity are greatly more severe than the English, without having the apology of giving to the able-bodied in search of work, a claim to be employed, or to the impotent a claim for support.

In what has been said, it is by no means intended to express an opinion, that a nation, not having given such pledges, would do wisely to enter into such engagements. All that is meant is to protest against the injustice of prohibiting the unfortunate from seeking where, and asking whom, they will, for the employment which the law does not supply, and for the relief which it does not afford.

The French people, however, have nobly redeemed the injustice of their laws, by widely-spread associations, on principles as enlightened as they are humane: and it must, in justice, be added, that their government has, in an equally wise and beneficent spirit, aided the operation of these societies. We are well enabled to understand the working of them, by the unassuming little volume of M. Degerando, who appears to unite the tenderest feelings of philanthropy and the warmest devotion, with a calm spirit of philosophy, and a knowledge of his subject and of human nature, derived from long and laborious attention to practical minutiae. We have seen no work so admirably calculated to stimulate private charity by eloquence and feeling;\* and at the

it, and which says, "Les vagabonds ou mendiants qui auront subi les peines portées par les articles précédens, demeureront à la disposition du gouvernement."

Now these "articles précédens" we are disposed to confine to the articles (beginning with 277) in that immediate division of the subject, which precedes those words, and which is entitled "Dispositions communes aux vagabonds et mendiants," for if "articles précédens" referred to other preceding divisions, the specification, in art 271, of *vagabonds* being at the disposal of government, would have been unnecessary. We feel however, some diffidence in dissenting from an *ancien député's* construction of his own code.

\* The style, perhaps is better adapted to the French than the English taste;—it is too declamatory and exclamatory for "nous autres"—too ambitiously sentimental. It might have been thought, that such beauties had become, by this time, *un peu passées*; and that after half a century of such excited energies, both for good and ill, the

same time, so to direct its exertions, that benevolence may be gratified, without the apprehension of creating more poverty than it relieves.

The institutions which have been alluded to, are called *Bureaux de Bienfaisance*. Mr. Duchâtel, in referring their establishment to the republican government, (p. 409), and proceeding with their history as a continuous institution, seems to ascribe more practical wisdom and beneficence to the legislatures of that period, than they merit. For M. Degerando informs us (p. 354), that these plans for forming such societies in every canton remained, like those for agriculture, for public instruction, and for other splendid improvements, mere theories, which were never carried into practice. The project was to establish a *bureau de bienfaisance* in every canton of every department. But the first realization of the plan appears to have been its application to the city of Paris in 1801; the system was improved, and extended to the provinces, by successive regulations in 1803 and 1806; and it received its present form by the Royal Ordinance of 1816.

The two grand objects of the institution are the relief of the poor at their own houses, and the visitation of them there; so that their actual situation and characters may be accurately known. These objects are accomplished by philanthropic individuals, male and female (approved by the prefect of the commune), agreeing to conduct the business of the bureau; each undertaking to visit a certain number of the families applying there for assistance, which is withheld, or granted, *principally in goods* (a most important consideration), according to the report of the visitors; and in proportion to the funds at the command of the society: For it is especially to be remarked that no person, however really necessitous, has any legal claim for aid, or can reckon, as in England, on an inexhaustible fund.

The actual funds of these establishments are derived from the

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French eloquence would have assumed a less sickly—a more robust form. For such of our readers as may wish to see the moral reflections of his work (and they are most admirable) in a somewhat plainer dress, we are glad to be able to direct them to an English version, recently published by Simpkin and Marshall. The omission of much of the politico-economical details, which renders it less valuable to the philosopher, will probably make it more acceptable to such as seek only to render themselves individually useful. Its more immediate applicability to the state of English society is shown, also, in a preface of animated feeling and vigorous style, by the Rev. J. R. Beard, whose residence in the neighbourhood of Manchester appears to have instructed him, intimately, both with the extent of the evil existing, and the value of the remedy recommended. There is an introduction, too, of great value, because written by Dr. Tuckerman, who for several years has been engaged as “*minister of the poor*” at Boston, in America; and who writes with a zeal, which his benevolence inspires and his experience enlightens, and in a style resembling that of our old English divines.



voluntary contributions of the members, and of others who entrust to their administration such sums as they would otherwise bestow in alms. To these are added the produce of church-collections, or what we call the poor-box (*troncs*); of a tax on tickets of admission to public amusements; and finally, such proportion of the amount of the local budget, as the communal authorities may think proper to assign.

In consideration of these several assistances granted by the public authorities, a certain number of commissioners are appointed by them, to unite with the visitors in allotting the distribution of the funds. But all the aid goes through the hands of the visitor; to his benevolent exertions alone the poor man is indebted for whatever he receives: kindness is thus gratified in the one party; gratitude is fostered in the other: and the natural and conciliating tie of patron and client is formed between the rich and the poor.

It cannot be necessary to enter into any details for contrasting the effect of this plan on society, with the insolent and unlimited, and therefore constantly encroaching, demands of the poor—the compulsory, because grudged, contributions of the rich—and their consequent mutual hostility: which are the effects produced by the erroneous principle, and mal-administration of the English poor-laws.

It appears to be the enlightened purpose of the French government to substitute, by this system, domiciliary assistance, as much as possible, for hospital relief, which was formerly the only mode of public charity in France. With this view the *bureau de bienfaisance* and the local hospital are often united under one administration, and always enjoined to co-operate; so that whatever can be saved from the necessary expenditure of the hospital funds may be added to the resources of the bureau: thus preventing, in every possible case, the disruption of family ties; securing comfort to the invalid, and cultivating moral worth in all that belong to him, from the exercise of the charities of domestic life. The accomplishment of these purposes is facilitated by the establishment of a council general, in Paris, for the supervision of hospitals—a much more efficient controul than our plan of visitors appointed by the will of the founder; who have usually neither interest nor responsibility in performing their duty; or, if they had, are too numerous and unconnected, to act on any general plan.

It is much to be regretted, that there are no returns of the numbers of *bureaux de bienfaisance* established in the departments; nor, consequently, of the persons relieved, nor of the extent of the relief afforded. We have, however, details of the

Paris establishments, which are highly interesting. Of these there are twelve, each with twelve managers, assisted by an indefinite number of the members of charity committees—each manager having from 12 to 32 associates. The more numerous these are, says M. Degerando, the better are the duties performed—the subdivision of labour making the investigation and superintendence more complete. “Une dame de charité ne peut bien soigner plus de vingt menages, en y donnant beaucoup de temps” (p. 358). It is probable, however, that the families under the superintendence of each visitor are considerably fewer than 20—for taking the visitors at the lowest number, 1728 (or 12 for each manager), if each visited 20 families, the amount would be 34,560 : whereas, in the year stated, they do not quite amount to 30,000 ; and if the average number of visitors, or 22 to each manager, were assumed, the families visited by each would not amount to 10. We notice this, because it does seem most important, that, in adopting such a plan, the labour to individuals should be light, in order, not only that the duty may be well performed, but that those who undertake it may not be wearied out. That the success of the Parisian institutions is a consequence of such precaution, seems farther apparent, from the circumstance of the number of individuals assisted by the societies giving an average of very little more than two to a family ; the average of families in 1823 and 1824 being 29,981, and of individuals, 60,340. Even this number is calculated to exceed, by one-third, the number actually receiving relief ; because many enter themselves on the list, merely to entitle them to send their children to the schools gratuitously taught by these charitable institutions, and such are often the most numerous families on the list. Others again, old and infirm, are entered merely as a passport to the hospitals, or to have the privilege of being hawkers, or stall-keepers.—(*Degerando*, p. 359, 360.)

With these deductions, the numbers relieved are very small, compared with the numbers employed in administering relief, and with the population of the district, which is the department of the Seine. The population of this in 1820 was 891,000, and 1,013,000 in 1829 :\* if we take the medium of 1824, it will give a population of 952,000, of whom about 40,000, or  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., received relief from the *bureaux de bienfaisance*. If we add to this the numbers relieved in the hospitals, (as stated for 1826 by Duchâtel, p. 424) 72,429, and in the Foundling Hospital 14,499 (p. 394), it will make a total of persons receiv-

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\* See the curious and valuable prefatory remarks of Mr. Rickman on the British population returns of 1831, p. 12, and the authorities there cited.



ing public relief in Paris of 126,928, or  $13\frac{3}{8}$  per cent. of the population.

Such then appears to be the general state of the poor, and of their management, in the French metropolis. And it is most satisfactory to observe, that as far as the new system is concerned, that of domiciliary visitation and relief, the effect has been (notwithstanding the great increase of population), that the numbers applying for relief have been considerably reduced. In 1791 there were 118,000, in 1804, 86,000, in 1813, 102,000 (perhaps this increase might be one of the miserable results of the Russian campaign), in 1826, 86,000.—(*Duchâtel*, p. 425).

Contrast with this the state of the foundling hospitals in France, which may be considered as established on the same principles of unlimited and indiscriminate relief as the English poor laws; an analogy which M. Guerry (in his very curious *Statistique Morale de la France*, published at Paris in 1833) has observed, “*Ces établissements, dont les dépenses deviennent, chaque année, plus onéreuses, paraissent avoir pour effet inevitable d’augmenter chez nous le nombre des naissances illegitimes, comme la charité légale accroît indéfiniment la pauvreté en Angleterre.*” From 1819 to 1824, the number of foundlings in the French hospitals gradually increased from 99,000 to 116,000, (*Duchâtel*, p. 393), or about 17 per cent.

With such striking proofs of the excellent working of the new system in the metropolis, it is matter of surprise that it has made but little progress in the departments. Probably, as M. Degerando observes, the knowledge of the facts and principles is not sufficiently diffused; if so, it may be lamented, but if known, and not adopted, we entirely agree with M. Duchâtel, “*ne nous en plaignons pas; et surtout, ne cherchons pas à instituer un système de charité publique là où la charité privée suffit au soulagement de la misère,*” p. 415. It was probably in this enlightened spirit of not unnecessarily interfering, that the present government (instead of the dictatorial enactment of the legislators of 1796 prescribing a *bureau de charité* in every canton) only requires such an establishment in every commune, “when the public authorities may deem it necessary or useful.” Indeed, it appears to us, that the question of trusting the poor to private charity alone should be decided, not on general principles, but according to local circumstances; that public assistance should not be arbitrarily obtruded, as by the law of the republican dictators; but neither should it be positively rejected, as so eloquently, but too sanguinely insisted on by the able and excellent Dr. Chalmers.

We suspect, however, that *bureaux de bienfaisance* are neither so few nor so inefficient in the departments as MM. Degerando

and Duchâtel would teach us to apprehend. The latter states (p. 416), that in thirteen departments, with a population of 4,790,797, there are 585 bureaux, or one bureau for 8,189 people. Now in the department of the Seine, (which M. Degerando, writing in 1826, considers as a model for others,) there were (in 1829) 1,013,000 inhabitants, and only 12 bureaux, or 84,416 persons to a bureau. And though a concentrated population may afford some facilities of administration, it must also increase the proportionate number of poor, and the difficulties of investigation, which must be tenfold greater in a tenfold population for the superintendence of each bureau.

Again: M. Duchâtel (p. 417—425) appears to consider the inefficiency of the provincial bureaux as shown by the circumstance, that, in the 13 specified, the distributions amount only to 1,953 francs the bureau, and 22 centimes for each inhabitant; whilst in the department of the Seine, the bureaux distribute each above 100,000 francs, being in the proportion of one franc and 21 centimes to each inhabitant. Now all this we consider equally high testimony to the character of the provincial population, as to the sufficient numbers and good management of the provincial bureaux.

Of these particulars we should have been able to form a better estimate, had we known the number of persons relieved, and the amount of relief to each; both these, in Paris, are remarkably small, the numbers not forming a 25th of the population, and the relief to each only about 25 francs, or 20s. a year.\* This is not 4½d. a week for the average of all ages and circumstances; whereas in England, a woman in full health and employment demands and receives from the parish from 1s. 6d. to 2s. and 2s. 6d. a week on account of the bastard which she suckles. This one fact may stand in the place of a volume that might be written to contrast the results of the French and English modes of managing their poor. We are obliged, too, to take only a single class of facts, because our system of allowance to the head of a family, on account of the number of the children (none of whom are entered in the list of paupers), precludes the possibility of ascertaining the average received by each individual from parish funds. But some comparison may be made, by observing that the population of England and Wales in 1831 was 13,894,000, and the money expended on the poor in 1829 was 6,332,000l., or 2l. 3s. 10½d. per head; while in the metropolitan department of France, the population pay to the poor only at the rate of 1 franc 21 cent., or

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\* M. Duchâtel (p. 425) calls it 18 francs 55 cent.; but he reckons the whole on the list as receiving relief; whereas, for the reasons before explained (and which M. Duchâtel also admits), M. Degerando only calculates two-thirds as receiving it.

not quite 1s.; and in the thirteen provincial departments, their population of 4½ millions do not pay quite 4½d. per head.

In mitigation of this contrast two allegations are made: first, that living is much cheaper in France, and therefore the allowance to the poor may well be lower. This argument, as far as it goes, is good. The average price of wheat in France is about 5s. our bushel; in 1829, the bushel here cost about 8s. 6d., that is, the French price is to the English in the proportion of 10 to 17; whilst the respective payments per head, by the population to the poor, are as 10 to 526. To this consideration should be added, that an English labourer's daily wages may be averaged at 9s. a week, whilst a Frenchman's do not exceed 6s. (See Chaptal, *De l'Industrie Française*, tom. i. p. 245). But then it is said, that a Frenchman does not consume so much wheat as an Englishman. True: and this brings us to the second allegation, that a Frenchman not only consumes less wheat, but his living, generally, is on a lower scale. This also is true, but wholly inapplicable as an argument in the case of paupers, who can, in justice, have no claim, and in policy, no relief, beyond the means of healthy existence; all beyond is a premium on indolence and improvidence, and might entitle a spendthrift to claim a thousand a year, because he had been in the habit of squandering to that amount.

We did not wish to interrupt the account of the general principles of the French management by any details, however important; but we cannot quit the subject without calling attention to two most influential regulations in their practice. The first is of general application, namely, that the relief given should, as much as possible, be in *kind* (*secours en nature*). This has been justly considered, by many English authorities, as one of the most efficacious means of reform in the administration of the English poor-laws; where it is notorious, that the money granted for the necessary relief of families is very commonly perverted, by the heads of those families, to the indulgence of their own vicious propensities. So convinced are the French authorities of the importance of this principle, that out of an expenditure of 1,700,000 francs by the bureaux of Paris in 1826, only 300,000 were bestowed in money, and that only to the aged and the blind.—(*Duchâtel*, p. 421).

The second regulation, to which we have alluded, is of less general application; principally referring to large towns, of which one of the greatest nuisances is the resort of stranger mendicants, and of the unemployed of every description. The remedy for this, which the Parisian authorities have devised, is the refusing all assistance to every occupant of *furnished lodgings* (*qui loge en garni*—*Degerando*, p. 361); a regulation which must repel

at once those who are not domiciled, and those who are not destitute.

Once more, before quitting the subject, we must refer to the grand principles of the French system; and that we may not merely report our own conviction on the subject, we shall do so in the words of the two authorities, whom we have so often had occasion to quote.

“A Paris, il est suffisamment pourvu aux besoins de la classe indigente. Mais il est utile, nous le répétons, que ce resultat soit obtenu sans qu'il y ait rien de fixe, de certain, pour chaque indigent en particulier; seul moyen de soulager les indigens sans les multiplier.”—*Degerando*, p. 369.

“Il faut, autant qu'il est possible, donner en nature.

“Il ne faut jamais accorder, ni sous le rapport de la qualité, ni sous celui de la quantité, qu'un secours inférieur à ce que le pauvre se fût procuré, lui-même, par son travail.”—*Ibid.* p. 162,

And in like manner, where *employment* is afforded—

“Le salaire attaché à ces travaux doit rester toujours au-dessous de celui que le même individu eût obtenu par sa propre industrie.”—*Ibid.* p. 293.

“Un excellent caractère distingue les secours publics en France, et nous préserve du sort de l'Angleterre: les secours ne sont pas donnés chez nous comme une dette; nos lois ne reconnaissent pas au pauvre le droit d'être nourri par l'état . . . n'accordant pas assez de confiance à la charité privée, l'autorité intervient, et fait l'aumône à son tour, mais . . . au moyen des bureaux gratuits de bienfaisance, la charité publique emprunte le secours, et, pour ainsi dire, la forme de la charité privée. Elle remet au zèle des personnes charitables la distribution des aumônes, se bornant à fournir des fonds, et à donner à la philanthropie une organisation administrative . . . Personne ne peut compter avec certitude sur les secours de l'état, et s'enhardir par cette espérance au vice et au desordre: voilà le mérite de notre système.”—*Duchâtel*, pp. 237, 8, 9.

These, great as they are, may be considered only its political merits; the moral results, however, are of still higher import. Though much of the fund for the relief of indigence is derived from the public grants, no individual can receive a share, but by interesting in his behalf the kind feelings of some fellow-being: and the giver bestows the boon, not in the pride of official authority, or in reluctant compliance with a legal claim, but as the token of the sympathy before expressed: thus adopting the principle of the amiable Barthelemi—“les bienfaits doivent être précédés par les graces, comme les fruits sont annoncés par les fleurs.” Such an intercourse cannot fail to improve the character of both classes; negatively, by diminishing the coldness and selfish fastidiousness of the rich, as well as the distrust and envious discontent of the poor; and positively, by making the rich sensible

of the active duties and high responsibilities incurred from their deep interest in the social union; by teaching them that that union will be best secured in drawing the classes closer, and that their happiness will be best promoted by creating to themselves a pursuit, which will foster the best feelings, and an object worthy of the highest faculties, of their nature. On the other hand, the poor will learn, that it is only by conciliating the good, and the influential, that they can hope for relief in distress; towards all that commands the respect of such, they will learn to feel respect, and, above all, to respect themselves. They will solicit relief only in emergency, and decline it as soon as the emergency ceases;\* although even the sense of temporary degradation will be softened by the kindness of intercourse, through which the distress has been made known, and the relief administered. What a contrast is this to the voluntary, life-long dependance, at once abject and insolent, of the English pauper!

Having thus seen what is the actual system of the French in the management of their poor, it will be interesting to examine the nature of the plan which is contemplated by their government, as an addition to that we have been considering.

The publication of M. Huerne de Pommeuse's work (one of those with which we have headed the present article), was followed by a Report of the Minister of Commerce and Public Works, in which he proposes to the King the establishment of institutions similar to those which, he says, ever since 1822 have been adopted with success in Belgium, namely, *Agricultural Colonies*, where the poor, and where mendicants, and other misde-meanants, may be employed in the improvement of wastes.

The plan, certainly, at first blush, is of a most fascinating character; no less than to remove every blemish from the fair face of society, and to make "the desert blossom as a rose." Yet, when closely examined, there will be found very weighty objections to it, at least as regards the poor, and no inconsiderable objections both to the general principle, and to some particular modifications of it, as applicable to all the classes, whether unfortunate, only, or delinquents.

First, as relates to the poor. The relegation of them to a distant isolated spot would, at once, break all the bonds of sympathy between them and the opulent, and array the two classes in mutual hostility, as proscribers and proscribed.

Even if those who were removed went voluntarily, and took with them their families, they could not take with them their vi-

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\* This is proved by the singular fact (which it also explains) of the very small average annual receipt of the numbers on the lists of the bureaux, which was before noticed, and is confirmed by the observation of M. Degerando, "Les deux tiers des indigens secourus dans les villes n'éprouvent qu'une détresse passagère."—p. 315.

cinities,—their acquaintances in the same grade, or little superior to themselves (who would remain to regret their loss, and to resent their banishment); their patrons, those who had lightened the burdens of their lot, conciliated their regard, and reconciled them to the favourites of fortune. Nor would the loss of the patron be less: he would be left to the enjoyment of his selfish paradise, where he would reign, and “would soon reign alone.” All, indeed, would be brilliant and magnificent, like “the imperial peak” of the Palace of Ice; but all would be hard, and cold, and comfortless within; and, if *heats should arise*, the component members of the edifice would fall away from each other, and sink in shapeless, undistinguished ruin.

The principles, and arguments, and facts, on which these inferences are founded, have been already as much developed as our limits would allow; and are here, therefore, only referred to.

Secondly. With regard to the able-bodied mendicants by profession, who seek, and will accept, no other employment; they already hang so loose on society, that their removal could inflict no loss on others, and only a merited hardship on themselves.

Thirdly, in respect to other misdemeanants; as they are not likely to benefit themselves, or others, by remaining in general society, their separation, till reclaimed, must be a benefit to both.

Concerning these last two classes, therefore, the question becomes a general one—whether agricultural colonies (compared with other modes of repressing and reforming vice) be the best for the public at large, and for the individuals on whom the system is immediately to operate?

First, with regard to the public. It must be admitted, that the employment of delinquents in increasing agricultural produce, is not liable to the objection which is urged against their employment in particular manufactures; where, whether the speculation be profitable or unprofitable to government, the additional competition in the market must act as a partial pressure on the honest manufacturer engaged in similar productions: whereas the price and profits of articles of such *universal* production and consumption as those in which agriculture is employed, could be affected in no assignable degree, by the employment of any supposable number of delinquents in the cultivation of wastes. If, indeed, we could suppose that cultivation to replace, with average profit, the capital employed, the aggregate of national wealth would be increased, without injury to individuals; and the eligibility of the system is decided at once.

But is it likely—without here considering the general experience of the unproductiveness of capital, when not employed under the keen inspection of individual interest—is it likely that the agents



of government, or of public societies, could obtain an average profit in cultivating wastes, which have not invited private speculation, at a time when capitalists throughout Europe have been seeking investments with more than usual activity, contented with less profits, and willing to incur more than customary risks? M. de Pommeuse would answer this question decidedly in the affirmative, and confidently appeals to the experience of Holland and Belgium, and to his statement of the financial accounts of their agricultural colonies. But enthusiasm is a bad calculator. It is not necessary to enter into a minute examination of M. de Pommeuse's statements of the financial situation of the colonies of Holland (given at p. 89), and of the colonies of Belgium (given at p. 139.) It will be quite enough to mention, that under the head of receipts of the Belgian institutions for the year 1829 are included voluntary subscriptions (a most uncertain item in any institution contemplating permanency), the annual average of which is stated at 30,000 florins. Now the establishment was commenced in 1822; and from the year 1823 to 1829, both inclusive, the annual average was only 28,311, and in 1829 (for which this account is rendered), the voluntary contributions had fallen to 23,003, as stated by M. Ducpétiaux, "*Inspecteur-général des prisons et des institutions de bienfaisance de la Belgique*;" in 1830, (in consequence, probably, of the separation from Holland,) the subscriptions were only 14,463, and in 1831 they had sunk to 6,698.

On the other side, in stating the expenses, the interest of the debt is the sole article entered. No charge for repairs of one hundred and thirty dwellings, besides other buildings, on the free colony at Wartel, or of a building two stories high, and seven hundred and fifty-five yards long, besides farm buildings, on the criminal colony at Merxplas; nor is there any charge for the salaries of commissioners in the capitals, or of local managers (*employés*), of whom a list of forty-seven is given at p. 137; nor is any entry made for the 4 per cent. annually due, according to the constitution of the society, as a sinking fund for the liquidation of their debt. This annual reduction indeed is acknowledged never to have been effected; but the ability to have done so, both in the Dutch and Belgic institution, is curiously established at pp. 90 and 140; where the farmer's profits are added to the rent, in order to prove the landlord's solvency.

"Ita enim sunt perscriptæ scite et litterate, ut scriba, ad ærarium qui eas retulit, perscriptis rationibus, secum ipse, caput sinistra manu perfricans, commurmuratus sit, '*Ratio quidem, hercle, apparet, argentum óxerat.*'"

The scribe, in this instance, is M. Ducpétiaux, above alluded

to, as the Belgic inspector-general of the establishment; who (instead of scratching his head and quoting a scrap of an old play, according to Cicero's elegant representation) took up his pen, and, in the *Révue Encyclopédique* for December 1832, exposed the fallacy of the account, in order to caution France from being misled by the rose-coloured statements of M. de Pommeuse.

The receipt and expenditure are given for the ten years ending 1831, including debts incurred and discharged, and the balance exhibits a deficit of . . . . . 669,000 florins.

To which, on 1st July, 1832, were to be

added arrears of interest . . . . .	47,398
And sundry bills due . . . . .	49,627

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Total amount of debt . . . . .	766,020
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Total value of land and stock . . . . .	536,250
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Total deficit . . . . . 229,770 florins,\* or £19,836 sterling. Nor does there appear any hope of redemption: for the voluntary contributions are annually decreasing; private loans cannot be expected by a bankrupt institution; nor is the government apparently inclined to make further advances. On the contrary, the amount of payment for beggars sent to the colony is on the decrease; and no wonder, for the able-bodied cost, there, nearly 22 cents a day, whilst the impotent cost, in the government depôts, from 16 to 17 cents only, or 24 per cent. less. To this must be added, that government foregoes 5 florins the bonnier, (or 8s. 4d. an acre) of land-tax; and, with all these advantages, the deficit is still what has been stated. "Le deficit est là; il est positif; loin de s'améliorer, la position de la société deviendra plus critique encore."

Thus, then, it is quite evident, from the authenticated results of these great experiments, that lands, which individuals had suffered to remain wastes, are not likely to be brought into cultivation by governments, or societies, without considerable loss. This, however, is not a definitive reason for always declining such undertakings. For if governments determine on establishing penal colonies, as a secondary punishment for criminals, and if the cost alone be considered, it may well be doubted whether a home waste may not be cultivated at less expense, than even the fertile soils of a foreign establishment.† Our colonies, for example, in Australia,

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\* From some error, apparently of the press, this is stated at 254,750 florins.

† On the possibility of cultivating British wastes (and especially Irish) with advantage, a very pleasing and curious work was published a short time ago by Colonel Light, late of the 25th regiment of foot. The subject appears to have been suggested to him from the complete success of a work for improving the situation of his regiment



cost six millions sterling in the first thirty-four years; during which, about 25,000 convicts had been transported thither; costing, therefore (if we do not reckon the stock on hand, which we have no means of doing) about £240 each. Now the Home Colonies (if we, in like manner, do not reckon the stock on hand) of Belgium, caused a total loss of only about £66,000 in ten years, during which, M. Ducpétiaux states the numbers of colonists admitted (free and delinquents) to be about 9,700; costing, therefore, not quite seven pounds each, instead of £240.

Before quitting the subject of agricultural colonies, it is especially necessary to insist on a principle which has been wholly overlooked both by the government and societies of Holland and of Belgium, and by M. de Pommeuse, in his earnest recommendation of their system for adoption in France—we mean the all-important distinction between cottage gardens and cottage farms. A cottage garden may be considered such an extent of ground as a labourer can manage at his spare hours, after and before his ordinary day's work; and if it induce him so to employ such hours, and teach his family similar habits of industry, the addition to their physical comfort may be much, yet trifling compared with the moral blessings it will bring. A cottage farm, on the contrary, is such a portion of land as he can manage only by withdrawing himself, more or less, according to its extent, from his regular employment as a labourer. This produces a gap in the general labour-market, which gives encouragement to marriages in the labouring class there; and that market is soon supplied fully up to the demand. In the mean time, a race of labourers is raised on the cottage farms, who can find no employment on them, and therefore swarm off on the general market, where their competition reduces the general price of labour, and the means of comfortable subsistence in the labouring classes. Their habits become necessarily more sordid, and prepare them to sink lower still, as a fresh influx is supplied from the rear-ranks bred on the cottage farms; which, therefore, acts on the general labour-market precisely as Ireland does now on England, sending forth hordes of labourers, habituated to the want of every comfort and

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in Guadeloupe; the execution of which, by the voluntary labour of the men, is detailed with all the interest of a *Robinson Crusoe* romance. Colonel Light has applied the practical knowledge acquired there, and from some experiments in England, to form a plan of extensive operations for the improvement of wastes, with a laborious minuteness of detail, which no other author recommending like systems has had the moral courage to undertake. And though we do not admit all the estimates, or concur in all the sanguine anticipations of the author, we are fully sensible of the value of his work, which, like an ingenious theory, may form a nucleus, round which facts and opinions will arrange themselves, and truth be at last elicited.

decency, and willing to work for any wages that will but give them the means of satisfying lust and hunger.

On these principles it is obvious, that in any agricultural colonies formed at home, the land should either be let to individuals, or held by the government or public societies, in such comparatively large farms as may occupy as much as possible single men domesticated with the manager, in order not to increase the population beyond the demand for labour on those farms.

In direct opposition to these principles, the colonies of Holland and Belgium, whose practice is recommended by M. de Pommeuse to the adoption of France, are divided into farms of three *bonniers* and a half, or nearly nine English acres, each of which farms is calculated to employ or maintain a family of six or seven individuals. What is to become of their progeny? what but to live in penury and in degraded habits, and ultimately to be voided on the general labour-market, producing there all the physical privation, degraded habits, and consequent demoralization we have described.

If such be in all cases the certain results of the adoption of such a system, it does appear to us that the consequences, in France, would be more rapidly and extensively mischievous, than in any other country in Europe; because the principle of her laws on the descent of landed property is already tending to the conversion of her whole territory into cottage farms. The enactments are as simple as they are efficacious for the purpose.

“La loi ne considere ni la nature, ni l'origine des biens, pour en regler la succession.” “Les enfans, ou leur descendans, succedent à leur pères et mères, aïeuls, aïeules, ou autre ascendans, sans distinction de sexe, ni de primogeniture, et encore qu'ils soient issus de differens mariages.” “Si le défunt n'a laissé ni posterité, ni frère, ni sœur, ni descendans d'eux, la succession se divise, par moitié, entre les ascendans de la ligne paternelle, et les ascendans de la ligne maternelle.”—*Code Civil*, § 732. 745, 746.

Add to this, that no entails can be made beyond the second generation, and that only to the direct descendants of the testator's or donor's parent.—(*Ibid.* § 896. 1045. 1049). Again, a parent can only dispose (whether by will or deed of gift) of a moiety of his property, if there be one in the direct descent living; only of a third, if two; and only of a fourth, if more than two.—*Ibid.* § 913, 914.

How rapidly such a code must split the lands of France into shreds was no doubt foreseen by its author, and devised as a certain mode of producing a redundant population to swell his conscription lists, and enable him to calculate and boast of his ability to expend so many more thousand lives per month.

In addition to the operation of law, jobbers have availed themselves of the extreme subdivision of property, to sell small portions, to be paid for by instalments in five, ten, or twenty years, on which young couples, full of uncalculating, sanguine hopes, eagerly enter. Their profits are diminished by the interest, annually due, and when the year for payment of principal arrives, it has been preceded, perhaps, by a numerous family, by sickness, or by bad harvests, and they have no resource but the placing themselves on the pauper list. Accordingly, we find, in a sensible little tract, "par le Comte de M \* \* \*, Membre du Conseil Général du Département de Loire et Cher,"\* that "les mariages précoces, la trop grande subdivision des propriétés, et le morcellement des propriétés fait à credit," are (with the increase of manufactures) considered the principal causes of the increase of the poor in France. Yet this is the country in which M. de Pommense and the French ministers recommend the adoption of cottage farms.

On the whole, however, with regard to our own country, it appears to us, that, with the precautions before suggested, *penal colonies*, even on our home wastes, might be adopted with advantage. But in respect to the *able-bodied labourer*, there ought to be a farm in every parish, where employment *on task-work* should be supplied, but at a rate considerably below that of the general labour-market, merely sufficient to maintain the individual in healthy existence. And it has been found,† that parishes overburdened with men preferring the utter idleness or slothful employment in which paupers are usually maintained, have, by a vigorous adoption of the plan here recommended, entirely shaken off the burden, and restored the men to the usefulness and respectability of independent labourers, and that even in cases of a manufacturing and town population.

M. de Pommense, in his zeal to recommend his favourite project, adduces examples, as he is pleased to call them, of its adoption and success in different countries of Europe, beginning with Sweden in the time of Charles XI. (p. 811). This is a case which, in fact, has nothing to do with the subject. That monarch merely reclaimed crown-lands which had been usurped by the nobles, and distributed them as military fiefs, to be held by the common soldiers and inferior officers on condition of personal service. So also concerning the colonization of Silesia; it is that,

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\* Des Moyens de procurer des secours à la classe indigente dans les années de Disette. Paris, 1830.

† See various testimonies before Parliamentary committees, especially that of the Lords in 1830, and those of the Commons, on Able-bodied Labourers, in 1828, and on Wages in 1824.

not of a naturally barren waste, but of a devastated country. The landwehr of Prussia,—the military colonies of Austria, Russia and Spain,—are merely nurseries of soldiers, not establishments of provision for the poor. Nor, if they were, have we any means of determining their success as economical measures, however they may conduce to the increase of military and political power. In some of these countries, particularly in Prussia, the system of small farms cultivated by the occupier and his family will not have the pernicious tendency which we have ascribed to them in the comparatively fully peopled countries of France, the Netherlands and England; because, as in Canada and the western parts of the North American states, there is choice of good land, and abundance of spots ready for the swarms to settle on, which are cast off from the small farm hives.

There are, however, a number of experiments now in progress in Hamburgh and many of the small German states, which will soon, probably, give sufficient proof of the evil principle on which they are founded. As yet we have no documents, and they, perhaps, not experience enough to furnish them.

It is gratifying to find that, instead of these speculative projects, the system of *bureaux de bienfaisance* and domiciliary relief is established in some parts of Switzerland; having been introduced during the French domination, it still maintains a languishing existence in the Roman states; whilst in the Neapolitan dominions, in Spain and in Portugal, the inveterate evils of numerous hospitals for the indiscriminate reception of the poor, and the indiscriminate alms-giving by individuals and monastic establishments, continue to produce their necessary effects of squalid indigence, and reprobate, riotous, swarming mendicity.

To the vital importance of the subject of the poor, and of the means to be adopted for their management, every civilized country appears at present to be wide awake. It is probable that such universal attention has been excited by the crying evils of the English system of administration. It is to be hoped that foreign nations may be deterred from adopting this system, and that England may benefit by their experience in attempting a better.

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**ART. VII.—***August Lafontaine's Leben und Wirken*, von J. G. Gruber. (Life and Labours of Augustus Lafontaine, by J. G. Gruber.) Halle, 1833. 12mo.

THE life of an author should be written by himself, since its chief interest lies in tracing the course of thought and feeling, modified by external circumstances, that have formed his peculiar literary character, and in its relation to his personal character. Nor, psychologically speaking, is this less desirable, or perhaps less important, with respect to a pleasing and very popular writer of moderate calibre, than to the more splendid, starry meteors that dazzle our intellectual vision. As far as August Lafontaine is concerned, the want of such autobiography is, in some measure, supplied in the amusing work now before us, by the deceased author's friend, Gruber, who learned from himself the incidents of his early years, and has painted him such as he saw him, during a period of intimate association, in his mature and declining age; whence the metaphysician may deduce for himself the action of cause and effect. We shall give as briefly as may be, the account of the novelist's life, interspersed with extracts.

The family of Lafontaine fled from France upon the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and settled at Brunswick, where the author's father and grandfather were painters. They did not claim kindred with their illustrious namesake, the French poet; but on one occasion August did not see fit to disclaim a yet closer connexion. Gruber tells us:—

“Only once did he accept this supposed compliment, when, being introduced to an old general officer, who might have been his grandfather, as the celebrated author Lafontaine, the veteran thus addressed him: ‘Oh, I know you very well; you occasioned me a deal of trouble in my boyhood, when I was made to learn your Fables by heart.’ He did not attempt to controvert this judicious opinion, but contented himself with regretting that he should have caused such a man so much useless trouble.”

The only trait of family pride recorded of our Lafontaine related to Henning Brabandt, his maternal great grandfather, a man of inflexible integrity, who, by defending the rights of the poor against the aristocratic municipality of Brunswick, had incurred the ill will of the latter body. By a base artifice they rendered him an object of popular suspicion, and, deserted by those for whose sake he suffered, Brabandt was put to death with horrible tortures.

August Lafontaine was born at Brunswick in 1758, and his childhood was peculiarly happy. His parents were excellent people; his father, a distinguished artist and sensible man, though eccentric, and, to his own loss, a dabbler in alchemy,

taught him almost all the living languages of Europe; and his mother sang to him all the popular ballads of the country. He was committed to the care of a learned, conscientious, and kind schoolmaster, and was nearly as fortunate at college; although he there, in the person of the *Conrector*, met with one of those pedants who were once considered as the type of German learned men. We extract a passage illustrative of the now obsolete kind of animal.

“ They would not have got off as easily with the *Conrector*. This was Schier, the philologist, so well known by his editions of the *Golden Verses of Pythagoras*, and of the *Idylls of Bion and Moschus*. His great learning and critical acuteness were never called in question, and had procured him the respect of the students, without their being much benefited by the said learning and critical acumen. He appears to have been one of those philologists who, caring little for the author, his work, and his spirit, devote their whole mind to his words, because every word and every sentence affords them an opportunity of displaying the extent of their grammatical, antiquarian, geographical, and historical knowledge, whilst the original subject is altogether forgotten. That this must have been the case with Schier, we may gather from the following anecdote. The students had been reading Terence with him for a whole year. It happened one day that he, who never made the shortest statement without the most diligent and studious preparation, had not had time thus to prepare himself. To miss his hour of lecture would have been contrary to his strict sense of duty; and as he could not, without preparation, employ it in the usual mode, he told the students that for this day it should be dedicated to the *Historia literaria Terentii* (*Literary History of Terence*); and began with the question, ‘ Now then, what are the works of Terence?’ All are dumb. He questions one after another; none can answer. The *Conrector* is confounded that no one knows what Terence wrote, after a year spent in the expounding of his writings. In some annoyance he exclaims, ‘ Look at the title-page then!’ All eyes are turned upon it; and if the teacher had been previously astonished, the pupils are much more so upon discovering, what none had ever suspected, that Terence’s works were comedies.”

At this college, Helmstadt, Lafontaine studied divinity to please his mother, who wished to see him a clergyman; but he afterwards would not court those of his family connexions through whom he might have hoped for church preferment, and earned his bread by private tuition. In this occupation he took such pleasure, that, upon his mother’s death, he chose it for his profession, giving up all thoughts of the church; and that, notwithstanding his having formed an attachment to Sophie Abel, an indigent orphan, and, except as a beneficed clergyman, having no prospect of being able to marry. A line of conduct somewhat surprising in a sentimental novelist.

Lafontaine now became tutor to the son of Colonel von Thad-



den, a Prussian officer in garrison at Halle. He there formed an intimate connexion with a set of literary and learned men, who first induced him to attempt authorship. He had indeed early discovered a talent for story-telling that had delighted his brothers and sisters at home, and his companions at school and college, and which, through life, seems to have formed one of the charms of his conversation: he had even, as a student, written a novel, but it failed, and he had abandoned all thoughts of the kind. But at one of the literary *soirées* at Halle, Arnaud's *Euphémie* was read; and upon Lafontaine vehemently criticising the conduct of the drama, his friends said, "Mend it." Hereupon he wrote his tragedy of *Antonie, oder das Klostersgelübde* (Antonie, or the Conventual Vow); and the approbation it elicited encouraged him to persevere. But he soon found that his genius was better adapted to narrative than to the drama; and in 1791 he published, under the title of *Gewalt der Liebe* (Power of Love), a collection of tales, which attracted general favour, and first laid the foundation of his reputation, although a somewhat earlier publication, entitled *Scenen* (Scenes), which was not much read and which we have never met with, had called forth the following qualified eulogium from Schiller.

"In one of his letters Schiller said, 'Read the accompanying book: it is by a young, unfledged writer, who will assuredly come to good. There is already character in the language, a flowing dialogue, soft feelings, especially in the Cleomenes, together with much dross, it must be confessed.'"

Whilst these literary pursuits were beginning, war was threatening with Austria; the Prussian army was completed in all its departments, and Lafontaine's fortune assumed a new aspect.

"The chaplaincy of Von Thadden's regiment was vacant; but the most distant idea of asking for it had not occurred to Lafontaine, especially as the colonel, now a major-general, had spoken to him upon the subject, without appearing to think of him. But when, in the year 1789, Prussia armed against Austria, and the Thadden regiment was ordered to hold itself in marching order, the general one day said to Lafontaine, 'I wish you could accompany me.' Lafontaine, in whose fancy these words called up lively images of a camp life, of distant countries, and men to be known, of new experience to be acquired, and who was warmly attached to the general, answered abruptly, 'I am ready.' 'Indeed?' said the general, 'I am glad of it, and you *shall* accompany me—but how?' 'Why not as your chaplain, if you like it,' returned Lafontaine. The general stared at him, and then said, smilingly, 'but my dear Lafontaine, are you a theologian then? This is the first word I have heard of it. Have patience, and we will talk further of the matter.'

"The general wished to proceed upon a certainty, and that Lafontaine should first preach, but not at Halle, that he might not be disgraced in

case of failure. It was therefore arranged, without Lafontaine's knowledge, that he should be asked to preach at Piesdorf, where the general's lady, being on a visit, might hear him ; the general would not be present himself, for fear of an accident. All passed as the general and his wife had planned ; and, to his patron's cordial delight, Lafontaine's sermon gained the most unanimous approbation. A few days afterwards the general informed him that he should certainly be his regimental chaplain."

He was appointed, and devoted himself heart and soul to his pastoral duties. Indeed, considering what a favourite companion he speedily became with the officers, we might wonder how he found leisure both for these new occupations and his literary pursuits. He constantly taught in the schools established by the late King Frederic William II. for the children of soldiers, and was equally beloved and revered by his little pupils. He preached regularly, in general extemporaneously ; and in his sermons vigorously attacked whatever faults he had observed, either in soldier or officer, and this often so successfully, as to induce the conscience-stricken culprit to undertake, at least, his own reformation. And his pastoral boldness, far from offending the higher ranks of his military flock, seems only to have superadded respect to the cordial liking produced by his wit, good humour, and what the Germans call *gemüthlichkeit*, or geniality of disposition. The following passage will show both his convivial character, and the light in which he was considered in the regiment.

" From the nobles with whom he was brought into relation he had nothing to apprehend. He observed all the laws of *etiquette*, not with fawning humility—which he called a dog's virtue, but with gentlemanly propriety ; was never forward, but always frank ; not obtrusive, but familiar ; never transgressed the due bounds, but by his natural dignity kept others likewise within bounds." (It will be remembered that in Germany, at the period in question, the line of demarcation between the noble and the commoner was drawn with a strictness of which we, in England, have little idea.) " Besides, his skill in adapting his tone to circumstances and giving every one his full value, and his agreeable conversation, made his society delightful, even to such as feared his wit, which, though generally playful, could be bitterly sarcastic. Was an attempt made to match wit against wit, nothing was more certain than that he would, in the end, have the laughs on his side, and few therefore engaged in such a contest with him. One day he gained the victory in such an encounter by a strange device. A major of the regiment received a visit from his brother, who was also feared as a wit, but chiefly because his jests were apt to be personal and offensive. Having heard of Lafontaine, he was seized with a desire to try a bout with him, and told his brother so. The major, who loved Lafontaine, tried for awhile to keep them apart, and when this became impossible, said to the chaplain, ' Dearest Lafontaine, do me the kindness not to engage in a



dispute with my brother, for I must own to you that he always ends by growing warm, and then he becomes coarse.' 'I will not begin, I promise you,' returned Lafontaine; 'but, if your brother begins?' 'That is the very thing; he will begin. Do me the kindness'—'Not to become coarse in my turn? Of that I give you my word. I will try whether we cannot part laughing.' The major shook his head; and at dinner the encounter began. At first they skirmished with light witticisms on either side. The major's brother, when he saw that he should not thus gain the victory, advanced his heavy artillery, whilst Lafontaine still contented himself with skirmishing. But just what should have prevented warmth produced it. Lafontaine was now silent; but his antagonist heated himself more and more, and became coarsely personal. Lafontaine then had recourse to his pantomimic talent, (he was a good actor). At the first offensive speech he assumed an air of silliness; a second coarseness followed, and a yet sillier countenance; and so it went on, until Lafontaine sat there, the very personification of idiotcy. The long-repressed laughter of the company now became uncontrollable, and burst forth in loud and universal peals, whilst Lafontaine sat by unmoved and immovable. The major's brother could not but laugh with the rest; and the major, starting up joyously, embraced Lafontaine, who held out his hand to the brother. The discomfited wit shook it heartily, and never more attempted to challenge him."

Soon after Lafontaine was established in a situation then considered as insuring future church preferment, and consequently a permanent provision, he married his long-loved Sophie, to whom, it should seem, he had never written since their parting, until he formally offered her his hand and a competence. His honeymoon lasted not long; for war was declared against revolutionary France, and General von Thadden's regiment formed part of the invading army under the Duke of Brunswick. And here, although it belong not specifically to the novelist's life, we cannot omit what Gruber states, seemingly upon Lafontaine's authority, respecting the notorious manifesto, which has remained so grievous a blemish upon the princely commander's character.

"Lafontaine did not anticipate a certain and easy victory, especially after the publication of that manifesto, which the Duke of Brunswick himself, under whose name it appeared, termed a fatal one; and justly was he so exasperated as to tear it, inasmuch as the famous passage which wrought so much mischief had been inserted, *without his knowledge*, by a fanatical *emigré*, who thus gave him to the world the air of a hectoring Vandal."

We purpose not to pain our readers or ourselves by dwelling upon all the miseries of the campaigns against revolutionary France, although our chaplain endured more than his full share of these miseries, since he often gave the scanty meal he had with difficulty procured for himself, to officer or soldier, countryman or *emigré*, who seemed yet more in want of it. With an anecdote or two, we will take leave of his military career.

"Some adventures arose from a total ignorance, or an insufficient knowledge, of foreign languages, that prevented people from understanding each other. Lafontaine once found a crowd assembled round several travelling carriages, from the first of which a man was haranguing with the utmost energy, whilst a guard stood by under arms, and Lieutenant von R. strode backwards and forwards, repeating, 'No passing! None! Strict orders!' Lafontaine inquires what is the matter, and hears that the stranger cannot be allowed to pass, because nobody knows who he is. 'Have you not asked him?—he must declare himself,' Lafontaine insists.—'Master Chaplain, I understand a good many languages, but the devil himself could not understand that fellow's gibberish.' Lafontaine saw, from the carriage and the suite, that this was no ordinary traveller, and going up to the carriage, asked a question in French. The answer was in French, but with an English accent. He now addressed the stranger in English; and to his utter amazement learned that he was an English ambassador on his way to the royal head-quarters, and had been detained there upwards of an hour. Lafontaine now took the lieutenant aside, and said, 'This may be an ugly business for you, lieutenant, since you have detained an English ambassador on his way to head-quarters.' 'The devil take him,' rejoined the officer, 'I could not make out a word he said.' 'Well, well, let him proceed now; I will inquire further, and apologize for you.' Lafontaine now pleads that the officer had not understood his English French, and hears, to his surprise, that the ambassador had given him his card. He now questions the lieutenant again, who replies, 'I can read all hands, but those pothooks the devil may read;' and shows him the card. The characters that the officer could not decipher were Gothic (black letter, we presume); and Lafontaine now informs *Master Gay* that he may proceed, expresses the lieutenant's regrets for the inconvenience occasioned him, and advises him to provide himself with an interpreter and a card printed in more familiar characters."

We will not presume to decide whether *Master Gay's* English French, or Lieutenant von R.'s German ears were here most in fault, but proceed to another incident that occurred in peace time, and betrays the novelist under the clerical garb.

"Lafontaine never made a display of dignity, but maintained it where requisite, and then knew how to inspire awe by his commanding air. He thereby once even expelled a devil. A Catholic soldier had adopted the monomaniac idea that he was possessed with a devil. Neither medical treatment, nor the arguments of his priest, had proved of any use, when General von Thadden expressed to Lafontaine his concern for the brave man; and his hearer conceived the notion that relief could, perhaps, only be afforded by psychological remedies. He offered to make the attempt, and next day visited the patient. After long gazing at him, earnestly and piercingly, in profound silence, he at last spoke. 'Yes, I see what it is thou needest. But be thou comforted, my son, thou shalt be relieved.' He then solemnly pronounced a short prayer. A pause ensued;—and now he assumed a commanding attitude, and exclaimed, in awe-stricken accents, 'In the name of the Triune God, I, as his ap-

pointed servant, to whom might and power over thee are given, I bid thee begone, thou unclean spirit !' He stood for a minute's space with out-stretched arm, then laid his hand, in act of benediction, on the patient's head, and said, 'thou art relieved !' whereupon he solemnly withdrew. It may be said that the dramatist here helped the pastor, and it may be so ; but the relief was effectual. The sufferer had a fever ; after his recovery from which, no trace of monomania remained."

It is not for us to inquire how far the treatment for the fever might add to the efficacy of the psychological remedy.

In 1800, Lafontaine, to please his wife, who was of a retired disposition, gave up his chaplaincy, bought a villa near Halle, and resided there, trusting for their future support to his pen. And well might he do so ; for at this epoch he was the most popular living novelist, not in Germany only, but throughout Europe, into almost all the languages of which his tales, as fast as they appeared, were translated. And here a few words touching the grounds of a popularity, not many years since so great and now well nigh forgotten, may not be unsuitable.

Lafontaine himself considered a novel not as a prose work, but as

"A creation of poetry, that fairer sister of truth, and her interpreter."

His own novels were nevertheless essentially prose. He had none of the loftier qualities of poetic genius. There was neither ideality nor elevation, scarcely even romance in his lively imagination. He copied nature faithfully, painted men and women as they are, with all their petty weaknesses, and did not even indulge our propensity to believe in the lasting constancy of first love. He drew from personal experience, and meant to give an exact representation of life, often saying, that novels ought to supply women with that experience which men gather in the real world. The soundness of these views we shall not here discuss ; but merely observe, that he makes his characters so simply good, battling so honestly against their faults, and repenting them so deeply—that his pictures of domestic happiness are so sweet—that a morality so pure, a benevolence so genuine, a piety so heartfelt, shine through the whole, as the reflection of the author's own soul, that whilst reading we forget the absence of the poetic dignity belonging to a work of art. Perhaps, too, part of the charm which we confess to have felt in many of these novels may, unknown to us, have lain in the degree to which the author, as we now learn, identified himself with his personages, whilst writing.

"When he came to the conduct of his characters, out of which their fortunes were to grow, he lived with them, so transforming himself into them that he felt their sorrows and joys, not as a friend, but as his own. Cold-blooded he could not remain ; but laughed heartily over his comic

scenes, and wrote the pathetic parts with tears in his eyes. . . . The fire with which he wrote, and his deep sympathy with his own creations, often hurried him beyond what he had intended, and produced situations that he had not contemplated. This brought no thought of alteration; he would rather laugh, and say, 'I wonder how I am to get my people out of this scrape.' . . . The only person who could induce him to make any alteration, was his wife, to whom alone, indeed, he communicated any part of a work prior to its completion. When he read to her the newly-written sheets of an unfinished novel, she would sometimes say, if misfortune seemed to threaten a character that had won her affection, 'but, Lafontaine, you are not going to make *her* miserable?' If the thing was irremediable, he answered—'Yes: I myself am very sorry for her, but really cannot save her. I had rather make people happy than unhappy; but what God himself cannot do, still less can I. And even in a novel all things are not possible.' But if he saw a glimmering of hope, a possibility of escape, he invariably replied, 'well Fiekchen (the German affectionate abbreviation of Sophia), we will see;' and he then exerted every power of invention to save her favourite."

Such were the charms of Lafontaine's writings; but they gradually lost their power over the public mind. For this there might be many reasons. The manners he painted grew old-fashioned, some of the characters obsolete, whilst others became too much repetitions of their predecessors; but more than all, perhaps, Walter Scott arose—a higher, a more poetical species of novel appeared, and Lafontaine was first felt to be tame, then forgotten.

But we must hasten to conclude. The wane of his popularity probably joined with the abundance of his productions to weary his inventive faculties; for Lafontaine's latter years were devoted to a task, which we should never have anticipated his undertaking, that of a critical editor. He assiduously laboured to correct the errors and solve the difficulties that impede the comprehension of *Æschylus*, upon a new principle of his own, to our mind somewhat of the boldest. In 1821 he published an edition of the *Agamemnon* and the *Choëphoræ*, thus amended.

In 1822 he lost his wife, after many years of a perfectly happy, though childless marriage. He survived her nine years, and gradually recovered his cheerfulness, but became more and more absorbed in *Æschylus*, and other old Greek writers. He sold his villa, returned to Halle, and there, in classical-critical pursuits, and the society of a circle of attached and admiring friends, he passed his time, until, age stealing on, he gradually sank; and on the 20th of April, 1831, at the age of 73, expired almost without illness.

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- ART. VIII.—1. *Sketches of Turkey*. By an American. New York, 1833. 8vo.
2. *Précis historique de la destruction du corps des Janissaires par le Sultan Mahmoud en 1826*. Traduit du Turc par A. P. Caussin de Perceval. Paris, 1833. 8vo.
3. *Traité de la Guerre contre les Turcs*, par le General de Valentini. Traduit de l'Allemand par M. Blesson. Berlin, 1830. 8vo.

MUCH has been written lately on the probability of the regeneration of Turkey, and hopes, which we think ill founded, have been entertained on the subject, especially since the publication of Mr. Urquhart's book.\* Every thing manifestly depends upon the present Sultan. All that has been done in the way of reform has been effected by him, and in spite of the opinions of his people, to this day as hostile as ever to all change. He is therefore of first importance in considering the subject. We are far from wishing to underrate his character. In estimating it, we admit that there has been too much inclination to judge by the results of his reign. The question, however, ought to be decided by considering the difficulties he has had to encounter, and the efforts he has made to overcome them. He has been upon the throne twenty-five years, and during no one year of that period has he enjoyed peace and tranquillity, or been exempt from foreign aggression or domestic revolt. He has had to contend, within his own dominions, with some of the greatest chieftains that Turkey has ever produced, and who, after matured preparations, have severally thrown off their allegiance. We may mention, among others, Tschappan Oglou, of Widdin—Ali, Pasha of Yannina—Abdoullah, Pasha of Acre—Daoud, Pasha of Bagdad—and finally, Mehemet Ali, and Ibrahim of Egypt. These are a few names; but there is not a single province of his great empire that has not, at one time or another during his reign, been in a state of revolt. His Christian subjects have added their quota to his troubles: among them the Servians, under their prince Milosch—a name far less known among us than it deserves; and the Greeks, who, during five years of their revolution, waged a not unequal contest with their

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\* *Turkey and its Resources*. We cannot mention this work without a passing tribute to its merits. It is one of the very few really useful and practical works on Turkey, being written with much higher objects and much sounder views than any other we have met with. The author has not been content with rambling over the surface, but has examined and explored and gone deep into the subject. If it be true that our Government has sent this gentleman upon a new expedition, to ascertain the practicability of his schemes for extending our commerce in those countries, we hail the event with pleasure, not only from our high opinion of him, but as a proof of awakened attention to our interests in that direction.

his portrait, that he could hope to improve the proud, ignorant, puritanical people he governs, or raise them from the degradation of their sensual existence; still less to destroy the factitious and unjust distinctions of race and religion among the different bodies of his subjects, and induce them by joining with each other to promote, through their own prosperity, the power and welfare of their common country. Security of life can scarcely be said to have been increased during as sanguinary a reign as any that is to be found even in Turkish annals. He has done nothing to improve and render less corrupt the administration of justice, on which depends the security of property. The provincial governments of the Pashas have been allowed to continue on the old system of robbery and extortion, under which all accumulation is prevented, production stopped, and population diminished. There is the same principle of corruption and favouritism in the appointment of all the functionaries of the state; men are still raised at once from the lowest grades to fill the highest and most important offices in the state. The most oppressive and destructive monopolies have been established, by the authority and for the profit of the Sultan, or of some of his favourites. The coin has been debased till forged money has become as valuable as the currency, and the Government, at every fresh issue, has defrauded all its creditors. Treachery and duplicity also have, during the present reign, as of old, characterized the foreign policy of Turkey. These are the great points in the Turkish government and institutions which required reform, and in these, we maintain there has been no alteration; or if any has been attempted, it has been either crude and ill-advised, or confined to trifling and superficial matters. *It is not reform in itself that has ruined Turkey, but reform undertaken partially and too late, and pursued without system and without judgment.* The vaunted principle of stability, which would bind the present and the future in the iron and unyielding bondage of prescription, has assuredly been tried in Turkey, if any where, and failed, as it has done every where else, and as it will fail until the world stand still. In Turkey, its failure—which we now witness—has been more signal and more rapid, from the intercourse and communication which exists with other countries, and from the pressure of contiguous civilization. In such a country as China, more happily situated in this respect, it has produced stagnation; in Turkey it has led to the succeeding stage of decomposition. The pride of the Turks, the most prominent feature in their character, and the most insurmountable obstacle to their improvement, has indeed, as Mr. Urquhart remarks, been broken. Invariable defeat speaks too plain a language to be mistaken. We wish we could hope with him, that



they will now learn the lesson of civilization; but he will find that though their pride has been broken, it has not been humbled. The spirit gone, there has been left as residue a sullenness equally unteachable and hopeless.

We are convinced, then, that the regeneration of Turkey is but a vain speculation. The causes of her deep decline are still in existence, and there is nothing in her present condition, nor in the character of her ruler, which should lead us to think that they will either be removed or counteracted. It is true, that at any time during the last century and a half, the pages of all writers upon Turkey have teemed with prophecies of her speedy downfall, from their observation of her defective institutions, and their inherent principles of decay,—from the corruption of the government, and the indolence and ignorance of the people. These writers may have anticipated the period, but their prognostications were not the less correct. We are indeed witnessing what they foretold, and much that was with them conjecture is to us fact. It must be remembered, that we have but little further need of prophecy; for we have only to look at the map, and compare what Turkey once possessed with that which she now barely calls her own, and consider the various causes which have led to her dismemberment, to be convinced that the work of her annihilation has long commenced, and is now well nigh completed. That the day will arrive when the Turks will cease to exist in Europe, there can be no rational doubt. Do we regret it should it be so? God forbid! There may be reasons for wishing the event postponed, but none for desiring that it should ultimately be prevented. It is melancholy to think on the length of time that so large a portion of Europe has been subject to their wasteful and destructive power, under which the fertility of their favoured countries has been wasted, the population diminished, and human enjoyment reduced to the least in amount and the lowest in kind. It is a proverb in the language of every country which they have entered, that the earth dries up wherever a Turk has set his foot. It is a not less melancholy reflection that their Christian subjects, who, though of different races, are all of superior capabilities to their masters, should so long have been kept in the bondage of their unenlightened and cruel despotism. That the authors of all this misery should retain the power to render it permanent, and continue to curse with their presence all that nature has endowed with its choicest blessings, is a wish which the staunchest conservative—the most strenuous supporter of the *status quo*—can hardly entertain.

Deeply impressed, however, with the justice of the fate which awaits the Ottoman government, and of the desirableness of its ul-

proceeds to state, with respect to Troy—what others had stated before, and what indeed one should suppose would be the case, from the materials of which he assumes it to have been composed—that there are no certain traces of “the village” now existing.

He gives us to understand, however, that he is a scholar, and has studied the Greek language; a fact, which, without the information, we should certainly never have discovered. In two or three places he declines copying an inscription upon a tablet, because the Greek cross above it told him it was modern. The Greek cross *could* not necessarily tell him any thing, as it might have been put there at any time; the form of the letters *would*, as well as the subject matter of the inscription, had he read it. He translates βαθυ χολπος “a beautiful field,” p. 97, and derives Negrepont from Eubœa, telling us that the first corruption of Eubœa was into Euripus, p. 37. After all, therefore, we confess that our surprise is not as great as his, at finding that the Greeks did not understand him, when he addressed them in their native tongue. He is not, however, quite without the antiquarian sense. At Smyrna, he represents himself “as exceedingly interested in a morsel of scriptural antiquity.” This is “a plain box neatly turned out of plaster of Paris or alabaster, and about the size of a shaving box, with a cover of the same material, which had come from Ephesus.” And why does the reader think that this is called “a morsel of scriptural antiquity?”—solely because “it puts him in mind of the box of ointment with which Mary anointed the feet of our Lord!”

The main peculiarity of the writer, however, putting aside classical subjects, appears to be a love of contradicting all received notions upon minute points, open to the observation of every traveller, such as the appearance of Constantinople, or some peculiarities in Turkish life and manners; points unimportant, perhaps, in themselves, but as to which the accounts of all travellers have invariably agreed. Thus, he was particularly struck with the absence of dogs in the streets of Constantinople, p. 76, and borrows a remark from a friend, that they are not more numerous than the hogs of New York. He finds out also, that women in Turkey actually enjoy more liberty than in the other countries of Europe, or in America; and this he says every man will agree in, who is not afraid of speaking out his real sentiments. He considers the women are great gainers by being obliged to live separate from the men, p. 267. The first reason which he gives for this is, that they are free from the nuisance of tobacco smoke. From this remark we may draw an inference with respect to American manners, but the gain to the Turkish women cannot be great, as the great majority of them inflict the nuisance on themselves. He says



the song of the nightingale is very much overrated,—“it is not half so effective as the shrill scream of our night hawk.” p. 98. Turkish music is richer and more melodious in some respects than European; the plague is only a species of typhus fever, not more dangerous than the ordinary typhus fever which appears in Scotland, &c. &c.

He is also particularly pleased with the Greeks of the Fanar, whom every body else who has had anything to do with them, describes as the falsest, most corrupt, and intriguing people in the world. He says, “if anything is capable of redeeming the character of the descendants of Themistocles from its deep abyss of degradation, it certainly is the reputation of the Greeks of the Fanar.” p. 387. He particularly admires the *fez* (which our readers know is a plain red scull-cap), and calls it “a beautiful and becoming article;” and though he regrets the picturesque dress which the Turks have abandoned, tells us in the same page, that when they wore turbans they only looked like walking mushrooms. He admires the mosques and minarets, but they put him dreadfully in mind of “gigantic candlesticks surmounted by their extinguishers.” He sees the dancing Dervishes, and is reminded “of boys making cheeses in America;” what he means, of course we know not, but is it possible to conceive a man coming from New York to Constantinople, and carrying back across the Atlantic such remarks as these? He has particular pleasure in retailing similar trumpery, when he is not himself the author of it. Thus, he mentions that somebody supposed the first Sultan was an Irishman, because he is called Padi-Shah (Paddy Shaw)!—and that St. Paul’s Epistle to the Galatians was addressed to the inhabitants of Galata, one of the suburbs of Constantinople!

His mistakes are innumerable. Thus, he praises the appearance of the boatmen of the Bosphorus, and says that they present “the finest specimens of the genuine *Tartar* physiognomy;” they are a fine race of men undoubtedly, but any body there could have told him they were *Greeks*. The porters also, who are famous for carrying immense weights, are cited in proof of the strength of the *Turks*. He might have also learnt that they are *Armenians*. His account of the Turkish alphabet is short, but curious; he says there are thirty-three letters, of which thirty are always consonants, one always a vowel, and four occasionally vowels and consonants, p. 148. He says there is a description in the novel of *Anastasius* of a large Turkish ship of war—which ship, however, has not been three years in existence. He places Croatia on the Black Sea; and says when an English diplomatic agent is called a *Resident*, it means that he has been appointed by the East India Company. He is very angry with the poet Coleridge, for

ropean model, for the old military force of the country, to which it was indebted for all its conquests.\* The fact is, that not above one tenth of those enrolled in the corps of Janissaries were soldiers at all, the rest being artisans and tradesmen, and some even of the lowest rabble of Constantinople, who bore arms for the purpose of intimidating the Government and the people, and received pay as regular soldiers for doing nothing, which they were always ready and prepared to exact by force, if there was the least disposition shown to withhold or diminish it. They alone in short possessed any real power, which however was never used against the enemies of the state, but against the Sultan, and all who were not Janissaries. In time of peace, and within the capital, there could have been no security for either life or property from their lawless excesses.

They amounted to no less than 196 companies at the time of their destruction, but out of these no considerable force could ever be collected for military service. Upon the breaking out of a war, a levy of troops was always attempted from amongst them, but those who had profitable trades and occupations refused to leave them. Of the rabble, moreover, who were induced to come out from the city and go to the ordinary place of rendezvous, in the plains of Daoud Pacha, about a mile from the capital, generally above one-half returned; the remaining portion pillaged wherever they went, and often left their general on the field of battle, upon the approach of the enemy, though in their flight they seldom forgot to plunder their own camp; and they have been known on many occasions to take bribes from the Russians.

Within the last century, they have murdered four sultans and dethroned four others, and on three distinct occasions have stopped by violence the attempts that were making to introduce discipline and order in the army. No class of inhabitants, not even the Mussulmans, was safe from their violence. They had often a complete monopoly of the provisions of the capital, which they would seize upon as the dealers were carrying them to market, or pay a nominal price for, and retail afterwards at whatever they chose to fix, using moreover their own weights and measures.

Having the police entirely in their own hands, they would sell their protection at an exorbitant rate. They would take pos-

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\* As for instance in such passages as these, taken from a periodical of no mean celebrity. "It will be found that the Ottomans have fallen a victim to the same passion for innovation and reform which has proved so ruinous both in this and a neighbouring country." "The Janissaries, an institution which upheld the Turkish Empire, and of essential service in repelling the invasion of Christian powers."—*Blackwood's Mag.* 1833.

session of vessels, and, under the pretence of guarding them, levy a sum upon the cargo. During fires, of which they were oftener than not the causes, they had possession of the engines, and would refuse to work them unless a sum little short of what they would gain by pillaging was paid them by the proprietors of the houses. Nobody dared to accuse them, and no judge would give sentence against one of their body, as they could immediately procure his dismissal. The Janissary artisans could compel individuals to employ them in preference; as, for instance, if a house were building by masons and bricklayers who were not Janissaries, a party from one of their odas or companies would come, fix the number and mark of their company upon the house, and insist upon finishing it at their own time, with their own materials, and at their own price. Their extortions from the rayas, whether Greeks, Jews, or Armenians, were endless; especially, after the Greek revolution afforded them an excuse for continual plunder on the score of retaliation. Is it not then the height of absurdity to talk of a country being a loser by the destruction of such a public and legalized band of robbers and murderers as this?

The notion entertained in this country, however, that their violent destruction was a premeditated, cold-blooded massacre, appears to be quite erroneous; on the contrary, it was purely a defensive act, and had the victory been on the side of the Janissaries, who were the aggressors, the lives of the Sultan and all his ministers would have been sacrificed. The account which is given by Assad Efendi, the author of the book of the events which immediately preceded and produced the great conflict, is very interesting.

A council of the first civil, military, and religious authorities in the state, was summoned, and an exposition made to it of the actual condition of the Janissaries, of their opposition to all authority, the cruelties and enormities of which they had been guilty and their inefficiency as a military force. Of this latter fact the constant defeats sustained from foreign enemies, and especially the successful insurrection of the Greeks, were mentioned as indubitable proofs. Reference was made to the ancient laws and regulations of the corps itself, which prescribed their mode of enrolment, discipline, and duties; and it was made evident that in no one particular were these complied with by the actual members. The religious question—whether it was contrary to the Koran, to study war as a science, and to have a disciplined and regular army? was discussed, and resolved in the negative by the authority of the prophet's own injunction, to employ against infidels "all possible means." It was then unanimously determined to reorganize the Janissaries, to bring them again into the state of order and efficiency which had formerly distinguished them, and

to train them as regular troops. It was settled that there should be taken from the general body a certain number of those who were called *echkendjis*, that is, *bonâ fide* soldiers in active service, and that they should be required to submit to a course of military discipline, the regulations for which are detailed at great length. Ample pay was to be given to them, and the amount of their retiring allowance after different periods of service fixed. The officers were to take rank by seniority, an important advantage in a land of favouritism, and the vacancies in the new corps were to be filled up from a large body of supernumerary Janissaries (men who were on the list, but not as yet in the receipt of pay), that the expectations they had formed might not be disappointed. The Janissaries were still to exist as heretofore, but the sale of their pay tickets\* was prohibited, those only who should perform actual service, and were the nominal as well as real holders of these tickets, being entitled to receive payment of them. The Sultan had gained over the members of this council, principally, as our author tells us, by money, and its resolutions had of course been agreed upon beforehand. In this Mahmoud showed much greater prudence than his predecessor Selim, who trusted too much to his own power and authority. The determination of the council was communicated to the Janissaries, as had been agreed, and they were called upon to ratify it; this they professed the greatest readiness to do, and thronged the appointed places for the purpose of setting their seals to the mandate, in token of assent. The enrolment of the *echkendjis* immediately took place. The sight of the first corps of these, however, and of the exercises and drilling to which they were subjected, appears to have roused the indignation of the Janissaries, who had nearly a month to recover from their surprise, and to organise an insurrection. They assembled in large bodies, preceded by the inverted kettles of their different companies (the old emblem of revolt), and demanded the heads of all the ministers who had recommended the hated changes. The Sultan was prepared with a force on which he could rely, consisting principally of the artillery and the marines of his navy, and the issue of the dreadful contest which ensued is well known. After this revolt and the violation of their engagement to submit to the new organisation, it was considered impossible to trust them any longer, and that nothing but their extermination could afford any security for the future safety and tranquillity of the empire. The executions, private and public, which followed, were very numerous, and

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\* These were granted for an indefinite period, and often held by the heirs and successors of the original possessors.

continued for several days. Their name was erased from the Turkish vocabulary, and the new troops were styled "the Victorious soldiers of Mahomet," in anticipation of success which we fear has not as yet attended their arms. Within a month one regiment of them was completed, and had made some progress in military training.

The Sultan, in order to remove all discontent, appears to have undertaken other reforms of a popular nature, but they seem to be so incomplete that we can hardly concur in the unmeasured approbation of them, in which our author (whose praise, by his own account, is not altogether disinterested), indulges. Thus, for instance, in abolishing the confiscation of property belonging to individuals not in the service of the state at the time of their death, the decree is with this reserve: "the private property of those who are not functionaries, is not to be seized, *unless the treasury is in want.*" If this is a reform, what must the system be?

3. The work of General Valentini, on the wars with the Turks, is interesting principally to military readers; for by them only can its numerous details, and its many ingenious disquisitions on points connected with the science and practice of strategy be fully understood and appreciated. It is the work of a veteran, who, in the repose of peace has occupied himself in detailing in a clear, unaffected manner, and in a style remarkably free from bombast, facts connected with the Turkish wars of the present century, in some of which he had himself taken a part; and the inferences which he has drawn from them, if not always convincing, are in no case unworthy of consideration. The work is composed much on the same model as that portion of Montecuculi's *Commentaries on the Art of War*, which is devoted to the subject of the Turkish armies. Montecuculi, one of the ablest and most successful generals of his time, and who, as commanding the troops of the Emperor in the latter part of the 17th century, had beaten the Turks at the famous battle of St. Gothard (in 1664), by which their power was for a time paralysed, had yet so strong an impression of their military skill—their great resources—their indomitable spirit, and their persevering aggression, as to found upon it his main argument on the necessity of a standing army as a protection against them. No other means, he considered, afforded any chance of preserving Germany, or indeed, Europe at large, from being overrun and brought into subjection by the Mohammedans,—with whom, he says, there could be no real peace or compact, whose armies were always in the field, and always prepared for attack. He considered it necessary that his country should be at

peace with every other, before it engaged in a war with Turkey, and feeling its insufficiency even then, he proposed a plan for a union of the several powers of Europe, for the purpose of a simultaneous attack on different parts of her empire.

General Valentini takes up the history of the Turkish wars at the latter part of the 18th century (not a hundred years after the conclusion of Montecuculi's book), but in his work, on the contrary, there is to be found a mere catalogue of defeats, "disasters dire, and total overthrow"—battles feebly contested, and wars dishonorably terminated. From a comparison of the two accounts, the difference between the former and the present state of the Turkish army will be found to consist: 1st.—In the smaller number of troops which they can now bring into the field, their numbers having always been a great element of their superiority. 2nd.—The want of the preparatives and munitions of war, to which they were before most attentive, and with which they were always abundantly provided. They drew their supplies from Wallachia, Servia, Bosnia, and Egypt—countries now virtually closed to them. 3rd.—In the want of veteran troops: the greater proportion of their army formerly consisted of men who had been long in the service, and, from their constant state of hostility with foreign or domestic enemies, thoroughly inured to war. 4th.—In the skill and capacity which formerly distinguished their generals, who were then, occasionally, chosen from having displayed qualities which fitted them for their office, and not taken at random from among the slaves of the Seraglio, or mechanics of the capital. "*Le Turc*," says Montecuculi, "*a des chefs et des soldats d'expérience, de valeur et d'exécution.*" 5th.—In the inferior discipline of their armies, and the impossibility of restoring order after defeat. They had formerly the best light infantry in Europe, as it was on all hands acknowledged to be; the Cossacks also were then on their side, and the spahis and delhis, once excellent cavalry, are now reduced to what Valentini calls "*une canaille Asiatique à cheval.*" But above all the causes of their growing inferiority, it must be mentioned that they have ceased to be aggressors in their wars with Russia, ever since the time of Peter the Great. The hope of conquest and of plunder, the only motive to barbarians, no longer allures them, and in its place is substituted the presage of sure defeat, founded on long standing experience. With a superstitious people, this is fatal. On this Diebitsch calculated, when he passed the Balkan with a handful of men.

M. Valentini, after a rapid sketch of the Turkish wars of the last century, passes to that which they waged with Russia, during the years 1809, 10, and 11, and terminated with the peace of Bucharest, in 1812. This is followed by a chapter of "Conjec-



tures and Results," which contains many curious remarks and suggestions. He considers it to have been proved that it is indubitably in the power of Russia, and he implies that it is no less certainly her duty, to seize and appropriate, not only the European provinces of Turkey, but all her maritime possessions in Asia Minor. His great desire is to see the Turks once more fairly behind the Taurus, and he goes so far as to assign a residence to the Sultan at Dorylée (now Eski-Schehr). If such a course on the part of Russia should excite the jealousy or the alarms of other powers (which, however, with amiable simplicity, he seems to think not at all likely), he proposes that an order of knighthood should be established, for the purpose of occupying the conquered countries in Asia, and repressing the attempts of the Turks to recover them; by which means, he says "*loin d'être une pomme de discorde, il ferait naître entre les puissances de nouveaux rapports d'amitié.*" He does not enter very fully into the mode of instituting this order, nor into its laws and regulations; but he proposes that it should be open to natives of all the countries of Europe. There would by this means be a great dépôt of warriors established, from which the countries of Europe might have an abundant supply, and as he concludes, "*on n'aurait plus besoin de désirer que les puissances Chrétiennes se fassent de temps à autre la guerre pour entretenir le feu sacré* (p. 196). This is the view of a true soldier.

In a former edition of his work, published some years before events had proved the correctness of his views, General Valentini had the merit of pointing out, that the real object of attack in a war with Turkey, in the present day, ought to be the capital; that no other was worth wasting time upon; and that the Balkan, the Thermopylæ of Turkey, defended by Turks, was a mere delusion. The plan of the campaign which he sketched, corresponded in all material points with that which Diebitsch pursued, and which carried him to Adrianople.

M. Valentini, after passing lightly over the Turkish wars in Greece, which afford, he says, only examples of the unskilfulness, the ferocity, and the treachery of savages, proceeds to the last campaigns of 1828 and 1829, which he describes with great minuteness, those in Europe, as well as those in Asia. Respecting the latter, we had before but imperfect information; and from his account we cannot but conclude, that there was greater skill displayed on the part of the generals on both sides—greater bravery on the part of the soldiers, and greater difficulties overcome by the Russians, with slenderer means and fewer resources—that the war was more vigorously contested, and victory more arduously won in the Asiatic than in the European campaigns. It

is indeed only in talking of Paskewitch that our author permits himself to be enthusiastic.

M<sup>r</sup> Valentini is on the whole decidedly of opinion that the power of the Turks is annihilated, and that they have brought destruction upon themselves by the military reforms which they have attempted. He calls their present system "*une singerie*," and states that from the moment they gave up their distinctive character—when they could no longer say, as in former times it was their boast to say, "*nous sommes nous*," they became nothing. In this opinion he is far from being borne out; on the contrary, we think it would not be difficult, by comparing his account of the last with former wars, to prove not only that a considerable improvement has actually taken place in their armies, but that the only effective resistance which was offered to the Russians in the last war was by the newly-organized troops. For instance, in the war at the beginning of the century, he gives this picture of their state of discipline.

"Le grand vizir ou pacha fait dresser sa tente, et tout le monde campe autour de lui, comme un essaim d'abeilles. L'armée, doit-elle se mettre en marche, on indique le jour et la direction,—et libre à chacun de partir tout de suite s'il lui plaît. Un chef se sent-il la fantaisie de se battre, il le fait à ses risques et périls, et sans demander d'avis. Des escarmouches s'engagent, et deviennent des affaires générales, au gré de hasard. Si, au contraire, la multitude n'est pas disposée à combattre, alors il n'y a point de bataille, lors même que la raison de guerre l'exigerait." (p. 90.)

But in describing their condition in the last war, he is forced to admit, what must be considered a vast improvement over the state of things which he has given us above. (pp. 228, 229)

"Nous appuyons plus sur l'obéissance que Mahmoud venait de leur inoculer que sur la tactique qu'il leur avait fait apprendre. On ne vit plus les troupes aller et venir à leur guise, entraîner les vizirs et leurs chefs malgré eux, comme autrefois; des prisonniers au contraire auxquels on demanda, pourquoi ils s'étaient portés ça ou là? répondirent inopinément 'nous n'en savons rien, on nous commande, et nous obéissons.'"

He mentions the first appearance of regular cavalry. (p. 246).

"On observa pour la première fois ici un ordre remarquable dans les mouvemens de la cavalerie Turque. Elle se ploya en masse, se deploya, combattit éparpillée et en essaim, mais se rassembla promptement; et il était facile de s'apercevoir que ce n'était pas une fougue guerrière qui la dirigeait, mais bien la volonté de ses chefs."

And the improvement in their artillery. (p. 305.)

"Leur artillerie s'est perfectionnée, et ils savent mieux l'employer, puisqu'on leur a vu lancer des boulets, des bombes et des obus, même des boulets creux enchaînés, à différentes distances avec une précision



admirable. Il est possible que la prédilection du sultan pour les modèles Européens, et le grand pas qu'il a fait de s'arracher aux préjugés nationaux les plus enracinés, y soient pour quelque chose."

He admits an improved knowledge of tactics. (p. 322.)

"On a remarqué dans la dernière campagne chez les Turcs,—outre un ordre plus grand, et une unité d'action marquée par un commandement visant à un but reconnu,—une combinaison réfléchie et profitant du terrain entre leur infanterie et leurs essaims de cavalerie. Des détachemens de bons tireurs à pied étaient en outre mêlés à leur cavalerie, où cachés derrière elle, et celle-ci les demasquant tout à coup, savait attirer les assaillans dans le feu de ces tireurs embusqués."

Other passages might be quoted to the same effect.

This is unwilling testimony, but it is the more valuable on that account; we think therefore, that General Valentini is not justified upon his own showing, in condemning the change of system to the extent he has done. But neither at the same time do we think that the general opinion is entirely correct, that the Turks in the last war were taken at a disadvantage—that they were in a transitive state, and necessarily less strong than they would in a little time have become. It is, doubtless, true, that they were in a certain sense, in that state, for opinion was still unsettled, and confidence in the sovereign but little restored. But on the other hand, the Sultan in the formation of his new army, had not been able to avail himself of the elements of the old. An entirely new force may be raised, but cannot be fully disciplined and matured in a time of peace; it is by campaigns and in the field of battle alone that troops can acquire the dexterity, the self-confidence and the hardihood which constitute their excellence. All that drilling was likely to effect with the Turks had been effected. The Sultan boasted at the beginning of the war, that he had 100,000 regular and well-disciplined troops,\* and no doubt they were as ready to engage in war as they ever would have been, without an experience of its hardships and practical instruction in its difficulties. But what is evident from all that M. Valentini states, is, that their army was entirely without generals—that there was no one who had the least acquaintance with military science, or who knew more than a drill-serjeant the value and advantage of regular troops. They showed themselves incapable of combined movements, or of executing a single complicated manœuvre throughout the whole of the war; they were

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\* "Ce but (de gagner du temps) était atteint, puisqu'on portait l'armée régulière de nouvelle création à 100,000 hommes, et que les places se trouvaient dans le meilleur état, pourvues de tout, et qu'on avait même élevé à grands frais des nouveaux boulevards."  
—Valentini.

entrapped into a pitched battle, and all, of course, was lost.\* There was not a plan of a battle—sketch of a campaign, or map of the country ever to be found among the papers of the Turkish staff, and it is notorious that they disdained all such auxiliaries.

It is after all, however, a mere question of degree between us and General Valentini. One thing he has made abundantly evident, and that is, that the Turks are wholly unequal to cope single-handed with the Russians; they are not equal to them in the arts of war, and we fear from late events, they are as little so in those of peace. But European powers who have an interest in opposing the aggrandizement of Russia will find in the resources which Turkey still possesses, an auxiliary not to be despised; and if they would only act on their true interests, the hopes and expectations of General Valentini may yet fail of being realized.

If the views which we have developed in the preceding pages as to the actual state of Turkey, and the chances of her regeneration required any confirmation as to their soundness, we should find it in the history of the late disastrous war with Egypt, and the negotiations which immediately preceded and followed its termination. As no complete or authentic account of these events has as yet, so far as we know, been given to the world, we conceive that we shall be doing our readers a service in putting them in possession of a sketch, derived from public documents as well as private sources to which we have had access, both of unquestionable authenticity. We foresee, however, that this will occupy so large a portion of the remaining space in our present number as almost to require an apology. We hope that this will be found in the great importance of the subject—no less than one on which a question of peace or war may turn—and in our desire of enlightening the public mind regarding the true character of the late events in the East.

With respect to Egypt, an ample and detailed account has been given in a former number of this Review† of the flourishing condition of that country—of its great resources so long dormant, and now in the course of development, and of the high administrative qualities, combined with fearless and inflexible perse-

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\* The policy of the Turks should have been to have avoided all general engagements and pitched battles;—to have prolonged the war by the obstinate defence of their fortresses, in which they were always distinguished, however wretched the fortifications: and in the attack of which the Russians have been as remarkably unskilful and unsuccessful. Witness the three months passed under the Imperial auspices before the mud walls of Varna.

† See No. XIV. p. 307.

verance, which distinguish its ruler. Born and bred in the lower ranks of a degenerate nation, and without instruction (having only learnt to read when past the meridian of life) this individual has by the master spirit that moves within him, exalted himself above his fellows and his age; by the might of his arm and the example of his character, he has raised the land of his adoption from the condition of a desolate province of a worn-out empire, pillaged by its rulers and torn by contending factions, to that of a prosperous and independent country—rich in its own resources, the products of a soil that never knows exhaustion—with an army strong in numbers and in discipline—with a large and well equipped navy, and with commerce and its train of blessings, a willing because courted guest. The man who has effected all this is no common man, nor deserving the least rank among the benefactors of his race. The work, we are well aware, is far from complete, nor can it be matured in the lifetime of its author; but in education and in the rudiments of institutions, he will leave the best securities for its continuance and progress. There is also, as we know, a dark side of the picture. His country has paid a heavy price for the service he has rendered her;—he has reached his throne through blood—blood, often we fear unjustly, always unmercifully shed. There is much, however, to excuse his individual criminality in the state of opinion and the habits of his nation, where life is but little valued and often as wantonly surrendered as destroyed. In the great massacre of the Mamelukes, the plea of necessity might, neither falsely nor tyrannically, be urged: it should at all events not be forgotten, that, unlike other despots dyed in blood, he has made the evil subserve and minister to good. We can only add to the details formerly given, that the same course of improvement has continued, and that the progress has been one of accelerated velocity. Fresh manufactories have been established, and are flourishing;\* more schools have been founded, both in Lower and Upper Egypt; anatomy is taught at the capital, both by drawings and actual dissections of the human body—innovations unheard of before in a Mohammedan country. The youth are sent abroad in numbers from Egypt (there are nearly 200 in France alone), to be instructed in the arts and sciences of more advanced countries, and in the refinements of civilization, while genius and knowledge, from whatever quarter, are invited to her shores; no distinctions are made founded upon a difference of religious persuasion.† European

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\* We hope, however, in this respect, that the Viceroy will not be led into error, for his is strictly an agricultural country.

† During one season when the Nile did not rise, an order was issued that, all of whatever modes of faith, should offer up prayers in their respective mosques and

officers are allowed to take rank in the army and navy, and all who are found worthy enter into the service of the state, without distinction of race or creed. All agricultural products, cotton especially, sugar, indigo, corn, have increased in proportion to the demand, both foreign and domestic. From the new arsenal, constructed at an immense expense, three first-rates were launched before it had been three years in existence, and its triumphant arms have made the self-styled "shadow of God over two hemispheres" to tremble, and "the distributor of earthly crowns" to be a suppliant for his own. ■

We regret to add, that little has been hitherto done to amend the condition of the Fellahs or Arab population engaged in agriculture; they have exchanged their many masters for one: but still, we fear, there is but little left to them beyond the necessities of life—too hardly earned, and too scantily afforded, in a country where labour is quickly followed by exhaustion. It is not surprising, therefore, that in some districts their numbers have diminished more than the drafts for the service of the state will account for. The only gain, if gain it can be called to the wretched, which they have derived from the government of Mehemet, has been security to life. Every man in Egypt may now reckon upon and provide for a morrow. It is no longer the common law of the land, that a Mameluke or Janissary may kill an Arab, and for the best of all reasons—there are no longer either Janissaries or Mamelukes to abuse their power. It is upon the abolition of these privileged classes (which, indeed, included all the Turks settled in Egypt), that we found our strongest expectations of the continuance of her regeneration. We are assured, moreover, that the changes which are contemplated in the administration of justice and in the collection of the revenue, have for their object, the better condition of the Arabs. Having gained security to life, the next step is to allow them full security to property. This Mehemet Ali is called upon to grant, no less imperatively by his own interests, than by the principles of justice and humanity. It is really all that is wanted, with their industrious and frugal habits, and with the abundance and riches of their country, to make them as happy and prosperous a peasantry as can be found amongst the nations of Europe.

The origin of this war is to be found in the disputes which had for some time subsisted between Mehemet Ali and Abdoullah, Pasha of Acre, on account of the protection and encouragement given by the latter to the Egyptian fellahs, who had emigrated in

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churches, that the annual blessing might not be withheld: and in the famous island of the Nile, near Cairo, their different ministers met under one roof for the same purpose.

considerable numbers to Syria. On a former occasion, when Abdoullah, whose character was that of a turbulent neighbour and rapacious tyrant, had entirely thrown off his allegiance to the Porte, and incurred its vengeance, Mehemet Ali interfered on behalf of the Sultan with his forces, and compelled Abdoullah again to submit to his authority; after which he generously interposed his influence to procure his pardon and re-instatement, and actually advanced him a large sum of money in order to secure it. Forgetful of these important obligations, Abdoullah now flatly refused, either to send back or deliver up the Egyptian fugitives, or to repay the sums lent to him; to these wrongs were added vexations and frauds committed by him on the Egyptian commerce with Syria. Mehemet had long applied to the Porte for its interposition, and failing that, for leave to take upon himself the redress of his grievances. On the subject of the Egyptian emigrants, the reply of the Turkish government was neither deficient in preciseness nor in a show of justice: "the fellahs were Ottoman subjects, not slaves of the Pasha, and were therefore at liberty to remove wherever they pleased." On the other heads of complaint, it returned evasive answers, till the revolt of the Pasha of Scodra made it of importance to procure the assistance, or at least to secure the neutrality of Mehemet. In consequence, a show was made of giving orders to the Capitan Pasha to proceed to Alexandria with his squadron, and form a junction with the Viceroy's fleet, and afterwards to commence operations against Abdoullah. This, however, was nothing but show, for the Capitan Pasha, on pretence of avoiding the cholera, which was then making dreadful havoc in Egypt, remained with his fleet quietly anchored in the Dardanelles. After the Grand Vizier had succeeded in putting down the insurrection of the Pasha of Scodra, the Porte, elated by this success, and following its ancient system, ceased to pay any attention to Mehemet's demands, and flattered itself that its recent triumphs would deter the viceroy from taking any step of aggression without a regular firman, which it determined not to grant him.

Mehemet, however, had made up his mind that he would not be trifled with any longer, and judging the moment favourable, urged forward the preparations for his expedition with the greatest activity. Although his real, as well as ostensible motive, was to obtain redress of his grievances from the Pasha of Acre, there can be no doubt that he was glad to avail himself of the opportunity which it afforded him of accomplishing his ultimate object, namely, the possession of that part of Syria contiguous to Egypt, which to the ruler of that country was of the greatest importance, as the means of securing its eastern frontier from the attacks to which it had, from the most remote times, been exposed from that quarter.

Had the Porte really taken pains to inform itself of its own inability to support a war with its powerful vassal, and acted with the liberal policy which might have been expected towards one from whom, on various occasions, it had received such important services;—had it at once gratified his ambition by adding the Pashalick of Acre to the government of Egypt, we have no doubt that Mehemet would never have provoked a contest, by which he had nothing to gain, and might possibly be a loser, and the Sultan would have been saved the disgrace which has fallen upon his arms, and the loss of the territory which he has been obliged to cede. We are aware that the disclosures which Mustapha, Pasha of Scodra, made after his defeat, and when he was a prisoner at Constantinople, would charge Mehemet Ali with intrigues against the Porte, and with instigating him to revolt by promises of assistance, both in money and arms, and of a simultaneous declaration of independence. But the Pasha's motive was too obvious in these self-exculpatory statements to admit of much importance being attached to them. At all events, there can be no doubt that offers of assistance and opportunities of throwing off his allegiance, had not been wanting to the Pasha of Egypt: opportunities far superior to that which he is supposed to have chosen, at the moment when the Porte had some cessation from its troubles upon the effectual suppression of the insurrection in Albania. For instance, either during the Russian war, or immediately after the peace of Adrianople, when the resources of the Sultan had been exhausted, and when Bagdad at one extremity of the empire, and Albania at the other, had started into revolt. On two occasions also, if not on more, he peremptorily refused the proffered negotiations with England and France, when, not very creditably to themselves, they offered to treat with him independently of his sovereign;—England, when his troops were in the Morea, and France, when about to proceed on her expedition against Algiers. That the language of Mehemet Ali was occasionally unfriendly to the Sultan,—that he openly censured his conduct in forcing the Russians into a war before his reforms were properly matured, and for paying more attention to the forms than to the substance in his attempted improvements,—are facts notorious to all who have had opportunities of conversing with him. All this, however, is far short of open revolt, and a declaration of independence.

It should also not be forgotten, that, though many Pashas have thrown off their allegiance, not one in the present day has ever made such exertions, or spent so much money in the service of his sovereign, as Mehemet Ali. The sums which he has paid as tribute for his Pashalic, at different times, have been enormous, and these payments have been continued (we grant irregularly) up to



the present day. A large instalment was transmitted immediately on the termination of the Russian war, when of course it was the most wanted. He has also, by the Sultan's orders, put forth all his military power and resources in expeditions which have been successful against the neighbouring Pashas, who were in revolt, (amongst others, against this very Pasha of Acre, whom he has now defeated,) against the Wahabees, and against the Greeks of the Morea.

Moved by these various considerations, towards the end of October, 1831, the Viceroy put his army in motion, under the command of Ibrahim Pasha, his step-son. It proceeded by land, passing along the sea-coast, and entered Syria by El Arish, and after taking possession of Gaza and Jaffa, on the 27th of November it laid siege to St. Jean d'Acre,—no slight undertaking, when we consider the known strength of the place, and the character of those who have failed before it. Abdoullah Pasha, who had long been more than half a rebel,—who had never sent his contingency of troops to the Sultan's aid, and but seldom any pecuniary contributions, had consequently always looked to the possibility of an attack, and provided against it. His fortifications were in good repair, his garrison was numerous, well disciplined, and well disposed, and provisioned for more than a year. The Pasha himself was a man of resolute and daring character, neither wanting in skill nor intelligence. The Egyptian fleet supported the operations by land, and, jointly with the army, laid siege to the town, and at the same time strongly blockaded the port.

This movement of Mehemet Ali appears to have taken the Sultan completely by surprise, at least if we may judge (though that certainly is no safe criterion) by his total want of care and preparation, either to prevent or oppose it. It was not till the 3rd of December, 1831, when the siege of Acre had already commenced, that the fact of an Egyptian army having invaded Syria was officially announced to the Ottoman world. On that day a firman was published at Constantinople, stating that the Pashas of Egypt and Syria having disagreed, the former had dared, without orders from the Sultan, to invade Syria. That the Sultan was, nevertheless, willing to make himself the arbiter of their differences, provided they laid down their arms and submitted themselves to his authority. But that, if they refused immediately to obey this injunction, he would take the necessary measures for inflicting terrible and exemplary chastisement upon them both. Commissioners were also sent to Alexandria; but Mehemet Ali, having now taken the first step, and committed the first overt act of hostilities, felt that he had but one course to pursue. Redress

at the Sultan's hands, or reconciliation with him, were for the moment entirely out of the question. He, therefore, upon the arrival of the Sultan's emissaries, found a sudden necessity for a more strict enforcement of his sanitary regulations, and subjected them to a rigorous quarantine. When released from this, he received them with the greatest distinction, made them presents of considerable value, exhibited the various signs of his power, (amongst other things, they witnessed the launch of a three-decker of more than 100 guns, from his new arsenal, which was to proceed forthwith to join his naval forces off Acre,) and dismissed them with his demands on the Sultan, which are understood to have been, compensation for his losses, and that the Pashalick of Acre should be united to his government. He solemnly declared, however, that after obtaining redress from Abdoullah, he had no ulterior views. The Sultan refused to listen for one moment to these demands. His late successes in the east, and against the Albanians, had made him too sanguine, and too confident in the magic of his name, when used against a rebellious subject. He once more, however, despatched Nasif Effendi, one of the former commissioners, (who was also one of the ministers of the Porte) to remonstrate with Mehemet Ali; but after a further delay of two months, during which he had no tidings of his messenger, he published a second firman, announcing, that as the negotiations were not likely to terminate favourably, he should immediately proceed to the punishment of the rebel. Thus, it was not till near the end of March, that the Turks made preparations in good earnest for carrying on the war. On the 25th of that month a firman was published, appointing Husseyn Pasha to be commander-in-chief of the Asiatic army, and elevating him to the rank of *Serdari Ekrem*, (or Field Marshal,) a rank then for the first time known in the Turkish army. Extraordinary powers were granted to him, extending over the whole of Anatolia,\* but with the new and unheard of limitation, that punishment was on no occasion to be inflicted on the soldiers, except after trial, and by the sentence of a court-martial. Among the reforms which have been regarded as indicative of increasing civilization among the Turks, the introduction of such a tribunal is not unworthy of mention. The choice of this individual as a general was not in the end fortunate, but there was no one who, in the war with Russia, had given proofs of equal military skill, though his was not great; in per-

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\* The powers with which Husseyn was invested had never before been granted to any but the Grand Vizier, who is the Sultan's military representative. In this instance, the Grand Vizier was forced to continue his work of pacification in Bosnia, having completed so effectually and creditably that of Albania.



sonal courage, firmness, and energy of character, he was excelled by none. He had been one of the most daring and efficient of the Sultan's agents in the destruction of the Janissaries, and had distinguished himself greatly in the Russian war, and more recently in Albania. His appointment was, therefore, well calculated to inspire confidence in the army. The Seraskier Pasha, in his report to the Sultan, stated the number of regular troops to amount to 60,000; it is probable that not above half that number ever really joined the ranks. They were to proceed by different detachments, rendezvous at Koniah, and thence advance as speedily as possible upon Antioch and Aleppo.

In the mean time the siege of Acre continued, although but slowly. Ibrahim, so early as the 9th of December, 1831, made a vigorous attack both by sea and land, which had, however, been wholly without success. The Egyptian account states the army to have fired more than 60,000 shots, and the bombardment lasted during eight hours; but the firing from the town was so well sustained and directed, that great damage was inflicted upon the Egyptians, especially upon their fleet, the greater part of which was obliged to return to Alexandria to refit, leaving only a sufficient number of vessels to maintain the blockade.

The Sultan, previous to the departure of Husseyn Pasha, sent orders to the different Pashas whose provinces lie between Koniah and Aleppo, to furnish troops and supplies, and to march against Ibrahim. Mehemet, Pasha of the district which passes in Europe under the name of Caramania, who had been much distinguished in the late war against the Pasha of Bagdad, was raised to the rank of three-tailed Pasha, and appointed commander of these forces, which, when the different contingents were united, amounted to above 15,000 men. In an army so composed, however, there is as little unity of purpose among the different chiefs, as there is subordination or discipline among the troops, and its deficiency in both these respects in the end proved the cause of its destruction. By enabling Ibrahim to attack them in detail, they were easily defeated, and the disorderly conduct of the troops was such, that the inhabitants every where declared against them.

Ibrahim having, shortly after his entrance into Syria, placed small detachments in the different towns of the sea coast between Jaffa and Tripoli, attacks were made by the Turks upon them at different points, and in some instances with considerable success. Osman, the Beglerbey of Tripoli, having collected a considerable force, amounting to above 5,000 men, took up his quarters at Latakia, and thence proceeded to the attack of Tripoli, which was held by the Egyptian troops. He made two attempts to dispossess them, in both of which he failed, but having taken up a

position at Mineh, a league from Tripoli, he was there attacked by the Egyptian colonel, Dries Bey, with little more than 1,000 men; Osman succeeded in repulsing him with considerable loss, and followed him as far as the city, which he invested. Ibrahim, who was with the besieging army before Acre, hearing of the hostile movements of Osman, brought up a body of 5,000 men with six pieces of artillery to the relief of Tripoli, and on the 31st of March, succeeded in putting him to flight, after a severe engagement. Osman retired upon Hammah, and Ibrahim encamped on the plains of Homs. Here he was attacked on the 15th of April, by a Turkish force, considerably superior in numbers. In the contest which ensued, both sides claim a victory; we must infer, that on neither side was the success very decisive, though it is probable that it inclined to that of the Turks, as Ibrahim thought proper to retire, though unmolested, upon the ruins of Balbeck. His object was for the present, to keep the communications open with his troops in the different stations which they occupied along the sea coast, to menace Damascus and Aleppo, and cover the siege of Acre, while waiting for reinforcements from Egypt, to enable him to bring that to a conclusion. Ibrahim *le petit*, (as he was called by the French officers, to distinguish him from his uncle, Ibrahim *le grand*) had been left in command of the besieging force, which amounted to little more than 5,000 troops. Abdoullah in the mean time was not idle, but, taking advantage of the absence of Ibrahim, made several very successful sorties on the besieging army, and once having, by a simulated retreat, induced the Egyptians to pursue his forces till within range of the guns, opened a tremendous fire, which threw them into confusion, when another sortie was made, and the Egyptians sustained a severe loss of men; the enemy, after destroying their advanced works, and spiking their guns, again retreated into the town.

It was at this period that the prospects of the Egyptians wore the least favourable appearance. During four months, little had been effected towards the conquest of Syria; they had, on the contrary, sustained heavy losses in their army, and the greater part of their fleet had been so much damaged as to be obliged to return. The spirit of the army no longer remained what it had been, and it was obvious that Ibrahim, if there was no favourable turn of affairs, would soon be driven to act on the defensive. Had this intelligence, instead of confirming the ministers of the Porte in their obstinate belief of Mehemet Ali's weakness, and their distrust of his offers of peace, induced them really to put forth their strength, and at that moment to have pressed hard upon the viceroy: had they made the exertions then which they did

subsequently, and when it was too late, the result of the war might have been very different. Mehemet Ali felt that the moment was critical. He roused his energies, and called into action all his resources. A valuable portion of his army which had gained experience in Arabia, in the Morea, and subsequently in Candia, was now in that island; he immediately gave orders that two regiments from thence should join the army in Syria, and sent in their place the new levies as fast as they were raised in Egypt, there to be trained and disciplined, and to maintain order in the island. Provisions were at the same time forwarded to the army, and the ships being refitted, again put to sea. From the negligence and inactivity of the Turkish fleet, the communication by sea with the army in Syria was never interrupted. Orders were sent to Ibrahim to stake every thing upon the fall of Acre, to collect all his forces before it, and push the siege with vigour; and to allow nothing to deter him from the one great object of its capture. The siege had, in fact, hitherto been ill conducted, and but little had been done to justify the general expectation of success, founded upon the military experience and sagacity of Ibrahim, and the skill of the Europeans who accompanied him. Their works\* were injudiciously placed, and imperfectly constructed; the firing, moreover, was ill-directed, and spread over too large a surface, no attempts being made to concentrate it, and at such long intervals, that the besieged were enabled to remove the rubbish, and restore the parts that had been destroyed or damaged. The men at the batteries were also much exposed. The moment Ibrahim had received his reinforcements, he again took the command, in person, of the besieging army: the siege, however, still lingered on to the end of May, 1832; and during that period, the Egyptians suffered greatly from the continual sorties of the besieged. At length, three breaches having been effected in the walls, which appeared practicable, Ibrahim ordered an assault to be made simultaneously upon them all. His precautions were also taken with skill and judgment; reserves were placed for two of the parties which were likely to meet with the strongest opposition, and every division of the army was made thoroughly acquainted with its duty. During a portion of the night of the 26th of May, the batteries kept up a constant fire; and at day-break the next morning the attacking parties advanced. The resistance was vigorous, and well maintained at all the points of attack. On two, the assailants, consisting of the brave and well-disciplined troops from Candia, kept their ground; but from the

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\* Four batteries had been raised, mounting 20 pieces of 36, with 10 mortars of 16 inches; but their disposition was bad, none bearing upon the same points.

third, after some fighting, they were repulsed, and had already begun to retreat in confusion, when Ibrahim, forcing his way into the midst of them, and striking down with his sabre some who were flying, and encouraging the others by his voice and manner, succeeded in rallying them, and himself led the charge. The besieged three times forced back the assailants and passed the breach, and were as often driven in again by the Egyptians, who pressed so closely upon them, that with the third vigorous charge they effected their entrance into the town, which then immediately surrendered. The fighting was desperate, and lasted from day-break till four in the afternoon. A deputation, consisting of the Mufti, Imaums, and chief officers of the garrison, presented themselves as suppliants to Ibrahim, who promised to save the town from pillage, and to grant his life to Abdoullah. It is not to be supposed that the town, thus taken by assault, after so long and desperate a resistance, could be entirely preserved from the violence and excesses of the victorious troops; but the endeavours which were made by their officers to restrain them were not without success; and restitution of property was, in many instances, enforced by Ibrahim. At all events, to compare two similar occasions, it should be mentioned to their credit, and in favour of their habits of discipline, that the excesses, particularly in plunder, were much fewer than had been committed at the capture of Algiers, although the latter was not taken by assault, and the faith of a Christian commander was pledged to the preservation of order and the security of property. The official return made by Ibrahim stated his loss on the occasion as 512 killed, including 23 officers, and 1,429 wounded. Other accounts, with greater probability, estimate the number of killed at above 1,000. From 12,000 to 15,000 men were engaged on the side of the besiegers.

It was on the 2d of June that Abdoullah arrived at Alexandria in an Egyptian ship of war; preparations had been made to receive him with the highest distinction. He was conducted to the palace of the viceroy, who is represented in the French accounts as having met his great rival, "*avec une teinte de tristesse due à la compassion*;" he made him rich presents, called him his son, and assigned him a palace at Cairo for his residence.

Nothing could exceed the consternation produced at Constantinople by the news of the fall of Acre, which the Turks regarded as impregnable. They had, at all events, relied upon its holding out until Husseyn should arrive with his army to relieve it. Their delays had been consequently in proportion to their blind confidence in the strength of the place.

Considering now, that the only good troops which the Sultan possessed, and on whom he could depend, were still engaged in

another extremity of his empire (against the Bosniacs), the length of time that would elapse before Husseyn could arrive in Syria, and that his army would be in no condition to compete with its victorious enemy, which in the interval could hardly fail to overrun and conquer the whole country; it was the obvious policy of the Porte to make peace with Mehemet Ali, even upon his own terms, which were then more moderate than those that were afterwards granted to him. But the pride of the Turks, which, when they were in the ascendant, was one of the great elements of their success, now stood in the way of these timely concessions, and finally aggravated the conditions of their defeat. To be wise in time is a maxim which all who know them best are convinced they will never learn. The Sultan issued another firman, abounding in vituperation, after the oriental style, of the two arch-rebels and apostates (Mehemet and Ibrahim); but added, that he had sent an emissary into Syria to promise a free pardon to their deluded soldiers if they would leave the ranks of the traitors, and also to the natives of Syria who had been seduced into joining the Egyptians, if they would return to their allegiance.\* Mehemet and Ibrahim had previously been deprived of their governments, the one of Egypt, and the other of the Holy Cities, which were given to Husseyn, and an order sent to the authorities in Egypt to put in execution, by any means they could, the sentence pronounced against them.† A note was also addressed

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\* This person was Nedgib Effendi, formerly the Egyptian chargé d'affaires at Constantinople. We never heard that he had any success in his mission.

† This sentence, and the permission to the Sultan to have recourse to arms against Mussulmans was accorded by the civil and religious authorities of the state. And in the firman or decree appointing Husseyn, there is a curious account given of the mode in which the Sultan is compelled to obtain a legal sanction for proceedings in such a case. Whenever an opinion is formally asked of the grand mufti, the case is always stated under fictitious names. We give the account in French to avoid the double translation.

“ Amrou, qui de la part du souverain légitime des Musulmans et serviteur des lieux saints, dont l'arrêt et le firman imposent le devoir de l'obéissance, a été nommé gouverneur d'une contrée, vient de s'écarter de ce devoir de l'obéissance. Il a envoyé des troupes et des chefs ses complices contre Bekir, autre gouverneur, investi comme lui par le souverain légitime de la fonction de défendre une place; il l'a fait dans le but de verser le sang Musulman; il a investi la place et commencé l'attaque.

“ Le sultan des Musulmans, instruit que Amrou s'est laissé entraîner au dernier degré de la révolte, et convaincu de ce fait par la demande de secours de la part du gouverneur Bekir, conçoit pour première pensée l'espoir de ramener l'agresseur à l'obéissance, et d'éviter le mal que sa conduite va amener. Il envoie à Amrou un commissaire et des dépêches successives. Les ordres souverains, les intentions généreuses du sultan des Musulmans, sont méconnus par lui; l'insensé n'écoute ni représentations ni conseils: il insiste dans les prétentions qu'il a émises; de plus il ose conjointement avec ses complices faire passer sous sa main oppressive quelques unes des forteresses de l'empire. Le premier il attaque Khalid, nommé à son poste par le sultan des Musulmans, qui est accouru au secours de l'une de ces forteresses.”

to the ambassadors of the different European powers, recapitulating all the circumstances of the revolt; of course, according to the Turkish version. It called upon them to prevent their subjects from rendering any assistance to the rebels by supplying them with arms or provisions, or aiding them in any other way. To this application Russia alone immediately acceded, by withdrawing her consul\* from Alexandria. For this ready compliance, M. Bouténieff, the Russian minister, was presented by the Sultan with a diamond snuff-box, and the consul received a decoration. Austria also subsequently recognized the blockade of the Syrian and Egyptian ports by the Turkish fleets (although, in fact, it never was a blockade at all), and ordered her subjects not to render assistance to Egypt, or even to carry any freights on Egyptian account. The preparations at Constantinople continued; the fleet was also for the first time ordered to put to sea, after remaining for seven months inactive at Constantinople and the Dardanelles, without attempting to relieve Abdoullah, or to prevent the Egyptians from pouring in troops and supplies into the different parts of Syria. Husseyn, after a dilatoriness

This statement being made, then follow the questions founded upon it, and the replies of the judges.

*“ Demande. L’extermination des provocateurs et fauteurs d’insurrection étant prescrite comme un devoir, et la démarche d’Amrou, exposée ci-dessus, ayant pour but la revolte et la provocation à ce crime, dans le cas où il ne serait pas possible d’étouffer la revolte d’aucune autre manière que par l’extermination jusqu’à dispersion de leur rassemblement, la mort d’Amrou et de ses complices devient-elle légale ?*

*“ Réponse. Ils sont rebelles, et leur extermination devient un devoir sacré au sultan des Musulmans et à tous les croyans.*

*“ Demande. Ainsi ceux qui ayant de leur propre et pleine volonté, embrassé le parti de la revolte d’Amrou, ont osé engager le combat, devant être considérés comme des rebelles; et ceux qui proclameraient qu’il ne serait pas juste de soumettre par l’épée les auteurs de la revolte devant être regardés comme des impies qui bravent les prescriptions d’Alcoran; la mort de ces deux partis devient-elle légale ?*

*“ Réponse. Oui.*

*“ Demande. Ainsi pour étouffer la revolte, si le sultan des Musulmans donne l’ordre de les combattre ceux qui reçoivent cet ordre, sont-ils dans l’obligation sacrée de s’y soumettre ?*

*“ Réponse. Oui.*

*“ Demande. Ainsi les troupes impériales ayant été envoyées pour combattre les rebelles, ceux qui tuent ces rebelles sont-ils considérés comme légitimes vainqueurs? et ceux qui sont tués par les rebelles sont-ils considérés comme des martyrs ?*

*“ Réponse. Oui.”*

These opinions were signed by the grand musti, 3 ex-grand mustis, 14 kadileskers, 12 mollahs, 9 professors, and the 2 head sheiks of the mosques of St. Sophia and Akmet. Nothing in short, was wanting to the formalities of the sentence—little to the justice—every thing to the execution of it.

\* When this gentleman (M. Lavisonoff) took leave of Mehemet Ali, the pasha said “ puisque vous partez, monsieur, c’est moi qui demeure chargé de protéger les sujets et les intérêts Russes. Soyez certain qu’ils le seront efficacement. J’en répond sur mon honneur.” Russia has, however, but little commerce with Egypt. Only 55 vessels under her flag entered the port of Alexandria during the year 1831.



which it is difficult to account for even by Turkish apathy and indifference, was not suffered to depart until the end of April. The Sultan took leave of the army in great form. He gave solemn audiences to all the general officers; and is represented in the *Moniteur Ottoman* to have conversed with them on tactics and on the organization of regular armies. He also made them magnificent presents, and abundant promises of rewards and distinctions. The Imaums also bestowed upon them their blessings and their promises of heavenly rewards. Much time, indeed, appears to have been wasted in idle forms. If their ceremonies had been fewer, and their expedition greater, their chances of success would have been much increased. The army had to traverse the whole of Asia Minor before it arrived at the scene of operations, to encounter the commencing heats of summer, (it being the end of April when it started,) and to pass through a country nominally indeed Ottoman, but in which the inhabitants, if they did not oppose, would certainly do nothing to assist it. The fear of pillage and of violence made them everywhere flee from its presence.

Ibrahim's object, the moment his army was left free to act by the capture of Acre, was, of course, to follow up his success as fast and as far as possible, before the arrival of Husseyn. The repairs of the fortress of Acre were commenced the day after its capture, and a garrison being left in it, Ibrahim, with the main body of the army, consisting of 20,000 regulars, and from 6,000 to 8,000 Bedoween cavalry, on the 8th of June commenced his march upon Damascus. He met with no opposition till within two hours march of that city, when, having taken up a position at Awahdié, he discovered a Turkish force drawn up round the city for the purpose of opposing his advance. At day-break on the morning of the 14th, this force, though consisting of not more than 2,000 cavalry, with some levies hastily made in the town, made demonstrations of advancing, but they were not of a character to produce much effect on their opponents. Perceiving their weakness, Ibrahim immediately ordered an attack to be made upon them from all sides. His Bedoween cavalry charged with impetuosity; and after a stout, though ill-maintained resistance, the Turks fled in disorder. Damascus being an open town, could offer no obstruction to the entry of Ibrahim. The Pasha Ali, having passed out on the opposite side with such force as he could collect, and with the civil and military authorities, the inhabitants sent a deputation intreating Ibrahim to take possession of the city, but to spare their lives and properties. Ibrahim accordingly surrounded it with troops, which encamped at some distance, and allowed only two regiments to enter, who took posses-

sion of the citadel under the command of his nephew, and no disorder ensued. It would here be injustice not to mention that one of the principal causes of the success of Ibrahim throughout the war, was the admirable discipline and orderly conduct of his troops. They were everywhere hailed as protectors and friends; and the natives willingly furnished them with supplies, which were regularly paid for, and facilitated their advance. The Turks, on the contrary, treated both friends and enemies equally ill; so that their approach was universally regarded as a calamity.

It is impossible on this occasion to refrain from contrasting the result of the reform introduced into the Egyptian, with that effected in the Turkish army; but it must be admitted, that the Pasha has had far better materials to work upon than the Commander of the Faithful. The Turks are accustomed to despise the Arab character; and their language knows no word of reproach to a human being more expressive of contempt than the appellation of Arab. Whatever may be the sum of the characteristic merits and defects of the two races, the Arabs are certainly devoid of the distinguishing qualities of the Turks, namely, pride and indolence; and if for no other reason, they are calculated to make so much the better soldiers. They are much more docile, and more readily admit of training and discipline; added to which, they possess great courage and activity, and are sober, frugal, patient, and indefatigable.\* In the higher ranks, also, the Egyptian officers have shown greater aptitude for acquiring scientific knowledge; and their acquaintance with military tactics is much greater, and more generally diffused, than among the Turkish officers.

In addition to the assistance which the inhabitants of Syria rendered in furnishing the necessary supplies to the Egyptian army, the Christian population of Mount Lebanon (the Druses) declared for Ibrahim. They are a brave, warlike, and powerful race, living under a prince, their Emir Bachir, and can occasionally bring from 20 to 25,000 men into the field. The nature and position of their rugged country have enabled them to maintain a virtual independence. This was an important aid; and at the taking of Damascus, the Emir Bachir had already joined with 5,000 men. The warrior patriarch, as he is described, accompanied the army, carried in a litter, and attended by his sons and grandsons.

The Sultan excused the fall of Damascus in his announcement of that event, by stating, that as he did not wish to make one of

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\* As the season advanced, their perseverance and endurance is described as above all praise, marching sometimes twelve and thirteen hours during the heat of the day, and over a rugged country at night, exposed to the unwholesome damps, and often suffering from want of provisions.



the Holy Cities the seat of war, no attempt had been made to fortify it; and that he had supposed, that even the rebel Ibrahim would have abstained from shedding Mussulman blood on such a spot. But that as he had disregarded all religious considerations, as he had before trampled upon every thing which the Faithful respect, and had attacked this city, the governor being unprepared, had retreated without making any resistance, and left the city to his mercy. The Turks were, however, assured that one portion of Husseyn's army had already arrived at Antioch, and that when the field-marshal himself should have joined, he would not delay a moment to inflict summary vengeance upon the presumptuous rebels. The Turkish army was, in fact, approaching Syria. By the 8th of May several divisions had arrived at Koniah, in Asia Minor, about four hundred miles from the capital, and were followed by Husseyn himself on the 10th. He immediately sent forward to Antioch a brigade under Bekir Pasha; and by the 1st of June, the whole army had left Koniah; but at least a month elapsed before they reached Antioch. Ibrahim, in the meantime, having taken all necessary precautions for the security of Damascus, left that city with his army, intending to advance against Aleppo as the next place of importance. The forces, however, of the different Asiatic Pashas, which were now united under the chief command of Mehemet Pasha, to the number of 30,000, mostly irregulars, had taken up their station in the neighbourhood of Hammah. This is a town of considerable importance, occupying a central position, and in the direct line of communication between the northern and southern provinces of Syria. They were here awaiting the arrival of the Turkish grand army, prepared, should Ibrahim attempt to advance on Aleppo, to oppose his passage. Ibrahim consequently fixed his head-quarters at Balbeck, in the neighbourhood of the friendly Druses.

The moment was now fast approaching when the strength of the two parties was to be measured in the field—when the Egyptians would no longer have to contend solely with the undisciplined and irregular troops of the provinces—and when the relative merits of the two new organizations (the new Turkish and the new Egyptian regulars) were to be fairly put to the test. No sooner were the Pashas joined by the advanced body of the Turkish regular army, than they quitted their encampment at Hammah, which is situated in a very mountainous district, and descended into the open plains that extend on every side round the town of Homs. These plains are famous as the scene of many a contest. It was on them, in ancient times, that Zenobia contended with Aurelian, and made her last vigorous efforts against the domination of the Romans. This place Ibrahim also

was approaching, and on the 7th of July the conflict took place which decided the fate of Syria.

The actual amount of the Turkish army was considerably greater than that of Ibrahim's, being above 30,000 men, but the number of regular troops was much less than his, consisting of not more than four regiments of infantry and two of cavalry, in all between 9 and 10,000 men. The irregulars charged with impetuosity, but could make no impression upon the solid compact masses of Ibrahim's army. His infantry were placed in the centre, and the two wings consisted of cavalry. The battle on the Turkish side was, in fact, maintained by the regular troops. It is stated in the Turkish accounts that they had advanced by forced marches, and had to engage the very day of their arrival. At all events, it is certain that the men could have had no time to recover from the fatigues of a long and rapid march. The battle lasted the whole day, and twice the Turkish troops seemed to gain the advantage, which they were however unable to maintain. The Asiatic troops, long before the battle was over, had ceased to render much assistance; but upon the last charge which Ibrahim ordered with his guards, a panic, which nowhere spreads faster than in a Turkish army, seized upon all, both regulars and irregulars, and a precipitate flight ensued. Night put an end to the pursuit, but the slaughter of the Turks was very great, and their overthrow complete. They were, moreover, as if in a hostile country, overwhelmed by the natives, who, after their defeat, every where rose against them, and completed the work of destruction, wherever it had been left unfinished by the Egyptians. Nine Pashas of three tails with their respective forces were defeated on that day, and Ibrahim in his letter to Mehemet Ali says he should not fear to engage 2 or 300,000 such men. From two to three thousand perished on the field, and a far greater number in the subsequent flight. The prisoners were sent to Acre, there to be enrolled in the Egyptian army, or passed into their own country, as they thought fit. The moral effect of this victory, in a country where all are fatalists, was even of greater advantage to the Egyptians than the dispersion of the army which opposed their progress; for although failure is ever ascribed to personal demerit, success is not the less supposed to arise from the help of Providence, and consequently to be irresistible. It was fatal to the spirit and courage of the remainder of Husseyn's army that such an event awaited its arrival.

Early on the 8th of July, Ibrahim advanced with his army upon Hammah, where the fortified camp of the Turks had been placed, but so far from rallying, upon reaching it in their flight, none of them appeared to have even entered it; when Ibrahim arrived

there on the 10th, he found every thing as it had been left on the morning of their advance upon Homs. The plunder was very great; the papers of Mehemet Pasha also fell into his hands, containing all the Sultan's denunciations and anathemas against his father and himself. Amongst these papers was one which Ibrahim mentions in his bulletin, containing an order for the levy of some thousand troops from the Anezee Arabs, a warlike tribe, who, instead of aiding, actually lined the roads along which the fugitives had to pass, and cut off every Turk who came within their reach; a striking proof how little the Porte knew the real state of feeling of the natives towards it. All the Turkish cannon that had not been taken on the field were left on the road, as impeding the celerity of their flight. Between twenty and thirty pieces were taken.

Being now master of all that part of Syria which is included on the coast between Tripoli and the southern frontier, Ibrahim made a division of his forces, sending one detachment in the direction of Antioch, and pushing forward himself with the main body towards Aleppo. The main body of the Turkish army had now entered Syria, and was encamped in the plains of Antioch. Including the Asiatic levies which had joined it on the march, it probably did not amount to 35,000 men, of which not quite 20,000 were regular troops. From his first arrival, Husseyn's troops appear to have suffered severely from the want of provisions, the inhabitants everywhere refusing to aid them, or rather concealing their means of doing so. In addition to their miseries from this cause, the cholera was raging in the army and in all the country round about.

The Turkish army was in motion and proceeding southward to the support of its advanced detachments, when news reached Husseyn of the defeat at Homs. His first report to Constantinople conveyed the intelligence of that defeat, and of the retreat of the fugitives upon Antioch. He himself immediately changed his direction, and made a rapid movement upon Aleppo, with the view of saving it from the Egyptians. By the time, however, that he arrived near that city, so ill had he taken his precautions, that the provisions of his army were nearly exhausted, and no relief or assistance could be obtained from the inhabitants, who refused even to admit him within their walls. Husseyn made no attempt to force an entrance, and the Egyptians were now advancing; in consequence, after remaining in the neighbourhood for two days, he returned to Antioch without having effected any thing.

In his absence, the Egyptian commander, who had been sent in the direction of Antioch, advanced without opposition, and proceeded to take possession of the town. He was not suffered

however to remain there quietly. Mehemet Pasha, with 20,000 regulars and irregulars, attacked him, and the conflict which ensued was one of the most desperate and sanguinary which occurred during the war, and perhaps the most brilliant on the side of the Turks. Ibrahim's troops were obliged to retire, and the Turks began to think that fortune had at last turned in their favour. Provisions had now been brought for the army by the Turkish transports to the port of Scanderoon; but Husseyn is stated in private accounts to have been so fearful of being again exposed to a similar destitution, that he commenced building storehouses and providing securities for the safety of the provisions, while his men were dying of hunger and disease.

Halil, who now held the post of Capitan Pasha,\* had arrived in the waters of Rhodes about the 9th of July, and had from thence sent those supplies to the army in Syria. But of all the gross and palpable blunders committed by the Turks during this war, there is none more obvious, nor more deserving of censure, than the little use which they made of their fleet. The admiral did not even arrive at Rhodes till the eighth month of the war, and then, with the exception of convoying a few transports and occasionally giving chase to a stray Egyptian vessel, the fleet remained quiet spectators of the struggle that was going on.

The Turkish fleet was superior† to the Egyptian in numbers, and greatly so in weight of metal; and this might have been considered as some counterbalance to the inferior quality of the sailors. It is manifest, that coming so late into the field, when Ibrahim was already in possession of most of the strong places of Syria, and nearly all the country had declared in his favour, the object of the Turks should have been to have made a diversion on Egypt. Exhausted as that country was by its efforts to maintain the war, and drained of all its troops, a much smaller Turkish force than that which was defeated by Ibrahim in the field, would have sufficed to make Mehemet Ali tremble in his divan. It is true, that as soon as Halil arrived off Rhodes, the whole of the Egyptian fleet put to sea, and it would have been no easy matter for him to

\* An office similar in its functions to that of Lord High Admiral. Halil was originally a Georgian slave, in the service of the Seraskier Pacha, and had on several occasions distinguished himself, as in the destruction of the Janissaries and in the Russian war. At Petersburg, whither he was sent as ambassador after the peace of Andrianople, he left a favourable impression from his intelligence and his agreeable manners.

† The Turkish fleet consisted of six sail of the line, two of which were three-deckers and four of 74 guns, 8 frigates, 8 brigs, 10 corvettes, 2 cutters, and a steam-boat. The Egyptians had 4 ships of the line, three of which were three-deckers, 7 frigates, and 19 brigs, corvettes, and brulots. It has been generally remarked, that there is a great aptitude in the Arabs to become good sailors. There were also some English and French officers on board the Egyptian ships.

have beaten them, or to have eluded their vigilance; but when all was being lost by land, something should have been risked by sea. Mehemet Ali acted with great judgment in giving strict orders to his fleet to act solely on the defensive: so long as the Turkish naval force was kept in check, and reduced to inactivity, he could have no further object. Nothing was to be gained by risking his own ships to deprive his enemy of a power which they did not know how to use, or choose to exert.

Ibrahim had now advanced upon Aleppo in an orderly manner, and principally by night, in consequence of the intense heats and the scarcity of water; when within two days march, being informed that Husseyn had been refused admission into the town, he pressed forward himself with a detachment of his army, in the hope of arriving while Husseyn was still there, and cutting off his retreat. But he was too late. Some pieces of the heavy artillery however, left by the enemy in his precipitate retreat, and about five hundred prisoners, fell into his hands. The inhabitants of Aleppo immediately advanced to meet him, hailed him as their deliverer, and surrendered the city to him. He made his triumphant entry into it on the 15th of July, and was soon after joined by his nephew at the head of the remaining portion of the army. He appointed civil and military authorities in the place, and left a garrison to hold it. He then took all the necessary steps for securing the possession of the adjacent country, and having given his army time to rest, proceeded towards Antioch, with the determination of giving battle to Husseyn, wherever he might find him.

The Turkish field-marshal seems to have been completely bewildered from the first moment of his arrival in Syria. The hostility of the inhabitants, the discouragement of his army, and the scarcity of provisions, seem to have completely paralyzed his exertions. He displayed a singular want of prudence in his arrangements and of skill in his manœuvres; and, indeed, in no part of his conduct do we find any traces of the energy and courage which had previously distinguished him. Syria was lost without his striking a blow. Upon the approach of Ibrahim his army was suffering greatly from the climate, wasted by disease, and thinned by constant desertion of large bodies of men. Despairing, therefore, for the present of regaining what had been lost, he took up his position behind the pass of Bylan Boghaz, the ancient Pylæ Syriæ, situated between the port of Scanderoon and the town of Antioch: it is the north-western inlet into Syria, and a position of great natural strength, and he made every preparation to defend it with vigour. He ranged his troops along the heights, and posted artillery on all the commanding points: his cavalry

were also dispersed in different parts of the defile, and he determined there to await the attack of Ibrahim. It was not slow in arriving.

The Egyptian army reached the pass on the 28th of July, and on the succeeding morning proceeded to force it. There are two roads which lead to it, and the army, having been divided, proceeded along both; Ibrahim, with four regiments and the guards, advancing along the main road on the right hand, which the enemy had most strongly fortified. The resistance on the part of the Turks appears to have been most determined, and although their fire was ill-directed, and caused but little damage to the Egyptian troops, the latter were repulsed in their successive charges, and made but little progress during a great portion of the day. When, however, by a well-sustained fire of their artillery, they had succeeded in dismounting some of the Turkish guns, and produced confusion in their ranks, Ibrahim sent round his guards to endeavour to take the heights on one side, where they were accessible, and made a simultaneous charge in front. This manœuvre was completely successful. A panic similar to that at the battle of Homs again seized the Turks, and communicated itself to the whole of their army. They fled in the direction of Adana in the greatest disorder, leaving their guns, ammunition and arms, and were pursued by the Egyptians with dreadful slaughter. The loss of the Turks in killed is stated at 13,000 men: nearly forty pieces of artillery and one mortar were left on the ground. They may be said to have lost the whole of their artillery, ammunition and baggage. The next day the Egyptian cavalry were sent to disperse any re-union that might take place, and brought in from four to five thousand prisoners. Others deserted and voluntarily joined the Egyptians, and the remaining few made their way as they best could to Koniah.

The grand Turkish army had thus in fact ceased to exist, and that within one short month of its entrance upon the scene of action; and its commander, from whom so much had been expected, and upon whom so many honours and distinctions had been conferred, in the certain anticipation of his success, was a fugitive like the rest.\* The artillery and ammunition, together with the store-houses built with such care at Scanderoon, and filled with provisions, had all fallen into the enemy's hands. Ibrahim, in short, was master of the whole of Syria, without an enemy before him or behind him.

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\* He put his own treasure, and that of the army, on board a Greek vessel, which, instead of proceeding to Constantinople, made for Greece; but by the exertions of the Greek government, and, as it is said, of the English resident, the greater part was recovered and sent to its destination.



The affair of the pass of the Beylan was certainly that in which the Egyptian commander gave the greatest proofs of his superiority in military skill and tactics, and his troops of determination and bravery. The advantages of position, numbers, and artillery were all on the side of the Turks.

On the 1st of August, Ibrahim received the principal inhabitants of Antioch, who surrendered their town to him; and on the 2d, the inhabitants of the large district of Orpha, which forms the north-eastern portion of Syria, sent a deputation with their submission. Judging from all accounts, there was but one feeling of satisfaction throughout the country at being delivered from the Turkish irregulars, who had everywhere committed the most frightful ravages. It was not, however, solely to the superiority of the Egyptian army, and the skill and bravery of its commander, that the Turkish army owed its defeat; pestilence and famine claim an equal share in its destruction. On the whole, this short and miserable campaign adds one more instance to the many on record, how easily an army may be sacrificed, its strength wasted, and its substance destroyed, not only by the military incapacity of its commander, and his ignorance of tactics, but by that passive imbecility which exposes it to the action of natural causes, which vigilance and prudence would have anticipated and prevented. It is by no means to be supposed, from the almost uniform success of the Egyptians, that there was any backwardness or cowardice shown by the Turkish regular soldiers; on the contrary, their conduct on many occasions would have done honour to the best European troops. In every instance they showed a decided superiority in discipline, in order, and in firmness, over the irregulars, or old military force, and proved that they could in all instances be depended on. They often, however, fought at a great disadvantage, by being brought into action when exhausted by long forced marches in the heat of the day, and by want of food; and they suffered extremely from the pestilential climate in which they had been first placed in the neighbourhood of Antioch. But it is one thing to train and discipline troops, and to inspire them with the confidence which springs from a consciousness of strength in orderly combinations: it is another, and far more important matter, to educate officers, and to possess generals of skill and genius. In this respect the Turkish army was still, as it had been in the Russian war, wholly deficient: it was, in fact, a body without a soul. The troops were always exposed to their enemies at a disadvantage, and for ever sacrificed to the blunders and incapacity of their leaders. Ibrahim, on the other hand, was not only possessed of far greater military skill than any of the generals opposed to him, but was surrounded with able and expe-

rienced French officers. The best European officer in the Sultan's army was an Italian,\* who had been of great service in training his cavalry, and teaching them to ride in the European fashion; but his pretensions were of no higher order: and even he was dismissed after a short time. Nations, either in their infancy or their decrepitude, should take care to fill the public situations, which require superior minds, with men of talent, of cultivation, and of experience from other countries, wheresoever they may be best obtained. This is equally true as applied to a country in a state of regeneration, which has been described as *caduc sur un rapport, enfant sur un autre*. The Russians, though a far more intelligent race than their rivals, have long pursued this system, and found their advantage in it. But the prejudices and pride of the Turks, which equally prevent them from seeing their own deficiencies, or seeking to supply them, have hindered them from following so good an example.

The intelligence of these disasters produced the utmost consternation and alarm at Constantinople. The brilliant success which had attended the progress of Ibrahim, as well as the rapidity of his movements, were well calculated to arouse even the indolence and apathy of the Turks. Their fears, and the imperfect information which was allowed them, magnified the danger, and led them to expect nothing less than that Ibrahim's army would bring to the Bosphorus the next tidings of its progress. Discontent, as on all former occasions, showed itself chiefly by the frequency of fires; and the Janissary spirit, ever ready to start up, was again in action. The Sultan, powerless himself for the moment, could only look for foreign assistance. His first determination was to apply to England, notwithstanding the offers of Russia, and though France was equally with us a maritime power in the Mediterranean, and equally interested in the preservation of Turkey. He relied, no doubt, upon our professions of good will, and perhaps upon our good faith, in not taking undue advantage of his distress, or expecting recompense for our services. The application for some assistance by sea was first made to our minister at Constantinople, and subsequently, M. Mavrojeni, the Turkish chargé-d'affaires at Vienna, was sent to London to forward the application. Although it appears to have been backed by the Russian government, it was attended, as we all know, with no success. The reasons assigned for rejecting it are thus summed up in a contemporary journal of high authority in such cases. "The application came in a form and at a time when it was hardly possible for our government to comply with it; for

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\* M. Caluso.



it was in October, when the late parliament, though not yet defunct, had closed its labours, and could not with any decency have been re-assembled, and when there was no possibility for the new parliament to meet till January. That government, therefore, would have been rash and inconsiderate, which, without the power of soon acquiring the sanction of parliament, should have complied with a request that would instantly have involved the country in a very large expense, and incurred the hazard of a general war. We had also other important affairs upon our hands. Portugal and Belgium, &c. . . . . At the same time we must have appeared to the Turks, who cannot possibly comprehend the working of a free government, to have coldly neglected their interests." \*

The Sultan, though anxiously hoping for foreign assistance, was himself far from idle. He had still resources, and he was determined to employ them to the utmost. His pride forced him to continue the struggle, and his throne, as well as his personal safety, might be involved in its success or failure. Since the first great reverses in Syria, he had consented to receive the proposals of Mehemet Ali; but after the destruction of his army, he still refused to accede to them. Mehemet Ali had written to Halil, the capitan-pasha, proposing that he should come to Alexandria, and there treat with him about the peace. This, as he was commander of the fleet, he was not allowed to do, but the viceroy's proposals were forwarded to Constantinople. To the credit of Mehemet Ali, it must be said that he never rose in his demands in proportion to his successes, and that those which he made at the conclusion of the war did not vary from those which he made after the battle of Homs. Having now obtained complete possession of Syria, so essential to the security of his Egyptian dominions, the summit of his wishes was attained; and it was his obvious interest to bring the war to a speedy conclusion. It had been extremely onerous to him, and was likely to become more so as the seat of it was removed to a greater distance. He had never for a moment contemplated the possession of the Ottoman throne; he was too well aware of the prejudices, the superstition, and the obstinacy of the Turkish character to suppose that, even if the throne were vacant, and the Sultan without an heir, he would be allowed to take possession of it. He was also sufficiently acquainted with the policy of Russia to be certain that any such design on his part would meet with her determined opposition. On the other hand, as Mehemet offered to hold Syria of the Sultan in a similar form to all other Pashlicks, and to pay more

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\* *Edinburgh Review*, No. CKVII. p. 133.

than double the tribute for it which former Pashas (and especially the displaced Abdoullah) had only nominally paid, it would have been in the best and truest interest of the Sultan to accede at once to his terms, without listening to the advice of disguised enemies, or soliciting the assistance of lukewarm friends. Mahmoud, however, either distrusted Mehemet Ali, or overrated his own strength. His hopes now rested upon Redschiid Pasha, the grand vizier, who had since the peace of Adrianople been engaged in the western provinces of the empire, first in quelling the insurrection in Albania, and subsequently that in Bosnia, which he did most effectually. His conduct in both instances was such as to reflect the highest credit upon his courage, his administrative qualities, and also (though not unchequered in this respect) upon his humanity, and would have fully justified his new appointment, if his reputation as a commander had been upon a par with his other qualifications. In this respect, however, he had been already tried and found wanting, and that too on a memorable occasion. It was he who had been out-manceuvred by Diebitsch, and forced into the famous battle of Kouleftcha, the loss of which left the road to Constantinople open to the Russians. The fate of Turkey was, however, a second time to be entrusted to him. The Sultan issued a firman revoking the powers and dignities conferred on Husseyn, and bestowing them on Redschiid. The expressions, however, with respect to Husseyn were singularly mild for a country where failure is in all cases synonymous with crime. It was simply stated, that, through the will of God, a fatality had attended all his operations, and that he had been able to succeed in none of them. An order was also issued, and read in all the mosques, forbidding everybody to talk upon public affairs; and this was the only notice, on the part of the government to the people, of the disasters which had befallen their armies.

Redschiid Pasha, who was still engaged in the west, was directed to repair forthwith to Constantinople, and to bring with him his Albanians, and whatever regular troops he had, together with the levies he might make in the countries he passed through in his way to the capital. This summons was obeyed with alacrity—troops were collected from every quarter—a draft was made from the fortresses of the Danube, in which the best troops are always placed as a security against Russian aggression—and new levies were made in Albania and Bosnia. The result was, that within two months of issuing the above order, more than 40,000 men marched through Adrianople on their way to the capital. The expedition shown in collecting an army so considerable in point of numbers, and consisting for the most part of men, who, if not trained in the discipline of regular armies, were

at least accustomed to arms, is a proof that the military resources of Turkey, even at the present day, are far from contemptible.

A formal military report was in the mean time made to the Sultan by the Seraskier Pasha on the events of the late campaign in Syria. The Seraskier Pasha, though inferior in rank to the grand vizier, is the generalissimo of the Ottoman forces under the new system. He is a remarkable man, if only from this circumstance, that he has grown old in the active service and continued favour of the Sultan—a privilege of which but few can boast in Turkey. The Sultan is indebted to him, amongst others, for the destruction of the Janissaries, and he has the entire merit of the new organization of the army. He is a man of a thousand murders—a characteristic which hardly amounts to a reproach in a country where indifference to human life and suffering is too universal to be considered criminal; of an intelligence, however, and activity of mind and energy of character rarely to be met with in a Turk. He is also the old and inveterate personal enemy of Mehemet Ali, with whom he once contended on the spot for the sovereignty of Egypt. His military skill and experience are considerable, and perhaps he may be said to be the only person who really understood the value and importance of the recent military changes; at all events he was the one who best knew their practical application. After Husseyn's defeat, he was desirous of being appointed to the command of the new army; but the Sultan, in consideration of his advanced age, declined complying with his request. In his report to the Sultan, the Seraskier went seriatim over the different events of the campaign, and pointed out clearly and judiciously the various faults committed by Husseyn, to whose inexperience and ignorance in the command of regular troops, he justly ascribed the destruction of the army. His report concluded by the strongest anticipations of success from the talents of the grand vizier and the strength of the army, the numbers of which were studiously exaggerated, in order to inspire greater confidence.

Upon the first news of the defeat in Syria, Reuff Pasha, who had been formerly grand vizier, was sent into Asia to assume the interim command, and to collect, if possible, at Koniah, the fugitive remains of Husseyn's army.

In the mean time, Ibrahim, whose great characteristic, so long as he has an enemy to contend with, is the rapidity of his movements, appeared disposed not to take advantage of his successes. Instead of negotiating with the Sultan at the head of his army before Constantinople, he and his father were contented to send emissaries to the Porte with propositions, which, as was evident, it only received in order to gain time, while another army was

being collected, and preparations made for fresh resistance ; and he himself remained in Syria, apparently inactive. No course, however, under the circumstances, could have been more judicious. His object, from first to last, was Syria : having become master of that by a rapid series of victories, he was yet far from having secured it ; if his army were too suddenly withdrawn, he had reason to fear that the inhabitants might rise against his authority, and entail upon him the work of conquest anew, placing him at the same time, if he advanced northwards, between two enemies, in a country where his language was not spoken, and where, it was probable that the dispositions of the inhabitants would, upon the least reverse, be unfriendly. He allowed not, therefore, the excitement of conquest, nor the ardour of his soldiers, to lead him beyond the limits of prudence ; nor the apprehension of a fresh Turkish force under a new general, to precipitate his movements in the hope of forestalling its attacks.

Ibrahim, therefore, proceeded to assure his dominion over Syria, to receive submission from the different parts which still held out, and to strengthen his army by incorporating the Syrians and Turkish deserters in its ranks, by which means he was enabled to garrison the towns by a portion of his own troops, on whom he could more fully depend. He proceeded to the north-eastern part, and took possession of the district of Orpha, and the towns of Biré and Aintab. He still met with annoyance—for it could hardly be said to amount to resistance—from his old enemy, Mehemet, Pasha of Aleppo, who commanded the irregulars at Homs, and still held some of the strong places in the north. But above all, he endeavoured, by pacific measures, to restore order, tranquillity, and confidence. In the settlement of dispute he displayed the strictest impartiality and justice, and by this course he acquired—what all his victories could not have gained for him—the love and gratitude of the people. The effect, indeed, of such a course, in a country where oppression has had no limit but in the will of the powerful, is instantaneous. We, with whom justice is a right, hardly, perhaps, know its value ; with that, as with all other goods, there must have been privation to render enjoyment perfect.

Having devoted two months to this work, and sufficiently recruited his army, both with Syrian levies and reinforcements from Egypt, he left one nephew, Ibrahim, in command at Aleppo, and another, Abbas Pasha, at Beylan, and passed into the province of Adana, which forms the angle with Syria at its north-western extremity. He had been in possession of this since the defeat of Husseyn, at Bylan Boghaz, the pass which gave him admission into it. Here he remained until the beginning of October, establishing (as he had done in Syria) order in the province, and securing possession of the towns ; preparing also his

attack upon the mountain passes of Caramania, and his subsequent descent into Asia Minor. These passes are of great natural strength, and, if well defended, capable of becoming a formidable barrier to an invading army, however numerous. In the present instance, however, they offered but little resistance to the progress of Ibrahim. The Asiatic irregulars defended them, with some regulars that had been got together after the dispersion of Husseyn's army. Ibrahim carried the heights almost by a *coup-de-main*, and defeated a large body of Turks who had taken up their position near Ereklé, the first town in the northern extremity of the mountains. His army then passed down into the extensive plains of Asia Minor. Its numbers have been variously stated, but it appears, that at that time, they could not have been more than 20,000 men, with 25 pieces of artillery, subsequently increased to nearly double, both in men and artillery. The army advanced in two divisions, the main body with Ibrahim taking the direct road to Koniah, the other going to the east, in the direction of Kesarieh: both to meet the attack that was expected in that quarter from the Pasha of Trebizond, who had collected an army in Turkish Armenia, and to assist and strengthen the disaffected, who everywhere, and in great numbers, rose upon their approach. Ibrahim arrived at Koniah on the first of November. It is a place of some importance, situated half-way between the frontiers of Syria and Constantinople, and formerly of great note in Turkish history. The remnants of the Turkish army, which did not amount to more than 3,000 men under Reuff Pasha, evacuated the town upon his approach. The grand vizier, in the meantime, arrived at Constantinople, from Bosnia, on the 25th of September, and immediately busied himself with great activity in providing necessaries for his army, and forwarding them into Asia. He brought with him his own Albanians, who appear to have made a great impression in the capital from their warlike appearance, their high state of discipline, and their devotion to the cause of the Sultan. The Bosniac chieftains also, lately in revolt, appeared to do homage, and brought their contingents of soldiers and money to his aid. One hundred pieces of artillery were sent with the army, and there was a series of reviews and ceremonies as on the former occasion. Confidence was much restored in the capital. Ever in extremes, as ignorant and ill-educated men will always be, the Turks had inferred from the apparent inactivity of Ibrahim, that he was either unable to follow up his success, or that his presumption had reached its limit; that he dreaded, perhaps, the hostile disposition of the inhabitants of the countries through which he would have to pass, and that the defiles of the Taurus were impregnable. At all events, they anticipated that no

fresh attack would be made till the spring, before which time negotiations might end the contest. Relieved from the apprehension of immediate danger, they relapsed into their wonted indifference. The government, though not wholly participating in this change of feeling, was to a certain degree influenced by it. The grand vizier was still at Constantinople when the Egyptians arrived at Koniah, nor did he quit it till the 14th of November, thirteen days afterwards. By that time the news of Ibrahim's advance had arrived, and again excited some alarm among the people. Murmurs were heard in the divan, and from the orthodox, that the Sultan, by his sacrilegious reforms, had brought down the wrath of heaven upon the nation; notwithstanding this, great confidence was placed in the army which had now been collected under the auspices of the grand vizier. Namik Pasha was, at the same time, despatched to the different courts of Europe to solicit their interference in the settlement of the dispute between the Sultan and his viceroy, and protection for the former in the event of its unfavourable termination. Without penetrating now into the tedious mysteries of diplomacy, the result showed that his application was without success. In the month of November, indeed, England and France appointed ambassadors to the Porte; and we shall see in the sequel, that but little advantage resulted to the Sultan from their appointment.

Although Ibrahim was well informed of the movements of the Turkish army, and learned upon his arrival at Koniah that the grand vizier was still at Constantinople, he was satisfied that the Turkish preparations were sufficiently advanced to render it impossible for him to reach Constantinople without a conflict. Convinced that the impatience of the Sultan to punish his audacity would admit of no delay in making an attack upon him, he judged it more prudent to await its arrival in the strong position which he had taken at Koniah, than to push forward. This plan had the double advantage of allowing his own troops time to recruit from their fatigues, and of exposing the enemy to all the inclemencies of the season, and to the fatigues of a march, which from their neglect of proper precautions, and the inefficiency of their commissariat, could not but be attended with extraordinary difficulties. The result fully justified his expectations. The Turks exhibited more than their usual improvidence and unskilfulness, and the winter set in with unusual severity: continued falls of snow rendered the roads impassable for heavy conveyances, for artillery, baggage, and provisions; of the latter there was an entire dearth in the country. The grand vizier, however, having positive orders to allow no impediments to stop his progress, his troops were hurried on by forced marches till they arrived at Ak-



Shehr, three-fourths of the way to Koniah, and the second place of re-union for the army. Here he was obliged to wait several days for the arrival of his artillery, and for provisions ; from the want of which his army was already suffering. It was the middle of December before he advanced with the main body of his army ; but from the improvidence of his arrangements, his ignorance of the nature of the country through which he had to pass, the difficulties to be encountered, and the amount of delay which they would occasion him, he was led into a ruinous series of mistakes and false calculations. Having ascertained that an advanced body of Ibrahim's army had taken post at the village of Zilléh, an hour and a half's distance from Koniah, he directed a division of his troops, amounting to 5,000 men, to march against it, under the command of his selictar ; and having calculated the time at which he could arrive with the rest of his army by a different route at Koniah, he ordered the attack to be made on the same day simultaneously with his own ; and should the place be carried, the selictar was then to advance to his assistance, and take part in the general engagement. On the appointed day, accordingly, the attack was made by the selictar on the advanced guard of the Egyptians, and the Turkish force, being superior in numbers, would have been successful, but that intelligence was instantly conveyed to Ibrahim of the enemy's approach ; the latter having no apprehension of an attack from the grand vizier, instantly sent two divisions of infantry and cavalry to the spot, and decided the affair (which did not last altogether more than three hours) in favour of the Egyptians. The Turkish division was completely routed, and a number of prisoners were taken, with whom the Egyptians returned into the town. The grand vizier, in the meantime, having had to struggle against innumerable obstacles and difficulties, which completely exhausted his soldiers, was unable to reach Koniah on the appointed day. The roads were everywhere blocked up, and in many parts utterly impracticable for artillery. These had to be cleared ; and his troops for several nights were bivouacked in the snow. Redschild, however, was firm : his orders were peremptory ; and he himself felt the necessity of attempting some bold stroke to justify the high expectations that had been formed of him and the army under his command. Under all these disadvantages, with his troops worn out by their sufferings, which are described to have been dreadful, and dispirited by the obstacles they had already encountered, he arrived in the neighbourhood of Koniah on the night of the 20th of December. The next morning he made such a disposition of his force as upon a hasty observation, and with no previous knowledge of the ground, he deemed ad-

visable. In this disposition there were many errors, and amongst others this capital one (according to the Turkish report of the battle), that in the hope of ultimately surrounding the Egyptians, in the event of their breaking through his centre, he had directed his line to extend itself on both sides, but on the left the ground would not admit of this extension. His left wing, consequently, was crowded into a dense mass, and exposed to a well-directed fire from the Egyptian artillery. The Egyptians took up their position on the outside of the town; and their arrangement is described as admirable. At daylight they advanced upon the enemy. The battle began by a discharge from the whole of the Turkish artillery, which was much more numerous than the Egyptian, and kept up a continued fire during two hours; but the guns had been placed too far back between the divisions of the army, and did but little execution. The grand vizier, who had so little to expect from the favourable position of his soldiers, or from their discipline as regular troops, seemed to have placed all his confidence in the impetuous onset of his irregulars, a general charge by whom succeeded to the ineffective fire of his artillery. But the Egyptian regiments, which were formed in squares upon two lines, nowhere gave way. On their right wing, indeed, some impression was made by a charge of the Turkish infantry; but Ibrahim, having quickly sent reinforcements to its aid, directed a charge of cavalry on the left flank of the Turks, which was completely successful. The conduct of the Egyptian cavalry is spoken of on this occasion in the highest terms. The Turkish right having in the meantime failed in repeated charges, and being closely pressed by the Egyptians, began to retreat in disorder, which, indeed, soon became prevalent throughout the whole of their line. The grand vizier, at the head of a division which he had succeeded in rallying, now charged impetuously against the third and fourth regiments of the Egyptian guards; but they stood the shock, and no impression could be made upon them. Fresh disorder ensued among the Turks, and it was manifest that the day was irretrievably lost. But the grand vizier had staked all upon this battle: he had secured no place on which to retreat; and there was no *corps de reserve* nearer than Ak Shehr, which of course could not arrive in time to be of any service to him. In vain did he try to rally his troops; the panic had already spread too far. Putting himself, therefore, at the head of his fine Albanians—men of determined courage and tried fidelity, who had, in fact, sustained the brunt of the engagement, he made a last desperate charge, in the hope of forcing a passage into the town of Koniah, and taking possession of it. His followers, however, did not amount to more than 2,000 men, a number much too small to



effect his object ; but they were men without the fear of danger or of death, who knew not what it was to retreat ; and they were cut off or taken prisoners to a man. The grand vizier himself succeeded in reaching the town ; but he was unsupported and alone. He had forced his way, with the courage of despair, through the centre of the enemy's troops ; but being separated from his followers, and surrounded on all sides by the Arabs, he was at last made prisoner. He proclaimed his name, and was instantly conducted to the presence of Ibrahim. The rout of the army had, in the meantime, continued, and night alone put a stop to the work of destruction. Three thousand prisoners were taken, and forty pieces of cannon. The slaughter was dreadful during the day ; and immense numbers perished in the snow and from the severity of the weather during the night : no provision having been made for their retreat, and no place in which they could take refuge. The numbers engaged on this day are very differently stated by the respective parties. It appears, however, most probable, that the Turkish force amounted to about 40,000 men, with 60 pieces of cannon, and the Egyptian to more than 30,000 and 40 pieces of cannon. In every thing else but numbers, in order, in discipline, in the nature of its position, the Turkish army was decidedly inferior to its opponent, and a portion of it was little better than an armed rabble. From the first moment, perhaps, the issue may be said not to have been doubtful ; but a portion of the Turkish force maintained the contest throughout the day with the most determined bravery. Victory, therefore, was not so easily won as to be deprived of its glory. Ibrahim and his army added fresh laurels to those they had gained in Syria ; and in this one day ended the war and laid prostrate the Turkish power, which had now exhausted all its resources. This, its last army, never rallied : some of the fugitives rejoined the *corps de reserve* at Ak Shehr and Eski Schehr ; and these, with the few troops that had been sent from Constantinople, might, perhaps, have amounted to 10,000 men ; but they were wholly insufficient to think of offering a moment's resistance to the victorious Egyptians. They had, moreover, no leader ; and bad as their two former commanders had been, there was no one of equal pretensions to supply their place. If the idea of further resistance, therefore, ever crossed the Sultan's mind, as is implied in the Seraskier's report, it was but for a moment, and during the first burst of indignation. A sense of the hard necessity to which he was reduced, must quickly have forced itself upon him. In this extremity of his distress, without an army, without resources, an enemy within a few days' easy march of his capital, with disaffec-

tion and treason spreading around him, we need not be surprised that he should be ready to accept any offer of assistance, come from whatever quarter it might.

At a former crisis, Mahmoud had sought in vain the aid of those whom he considered his friends; on the present occasion, he was compelled to ask it from those he had always known to be his enemies—he was compelled to throw himself into the arms of Russia, now for the first time extended to him in friendship. The fears and jealousies, however, of the ministers of the other European powers, were roused by this determination of the Sultan; nor was he suffered quietly to put it into execution. He had to pass through a previous stage of diplomatic interference. The advice of each of the foreign ministers at his court, given according to the fancied interests of his country, or to his own views of the proper policy of the Porte, added perplexity to fear in the Sultan's mind; and in the end, they nearly deprived him of any assistance by their difference of opinion as to the mode in which it should be given. It is to the present day a matter of dispute whether Russia out-manceuvred France, or France Russia. We have no hesitation in deciding for the former. We will state the principal occurrences. Early in December, when the grand vizier was marching upon Koniah to attack Ibrahim, and the unsuccessful result of the Sultan's application to the court of St. James's was known, General Mouravieff arrived at Constantinople with a letter from the emperor of Russia, offering to his friend and brother, Sultan Mahmoud, to place any amount of force, by sea and land, at his disposal. The general had also orders to proceed to Alexandria, and threaten Mehemet Ali with Russian displeasure, if he did not instantly suspend hostilities and accede to the Sultan's terms. The Porte, however, was itself at that very time treating with Mehemet Ali, though not in good faith, as it relied upon the success of the grand vizier's army, or at all events never anticipated the almost instant destruction of that army. It had also just obtained from Mehemet Ali a distinct statement of his demands, which were as before, the governments of Syria and Adana; and a promise, that if the Porte would send a minister to treat on this basis, hostilities should instantly cease. The Turkish ministers on their part were endeavouring to obtain some mitigation of these terms. The proposal brought by General Mouravieff was, therefore, at first declined, and impediments thrown in the way of his journey to Alexandria. The Sultan's distress had not yet reached that height at which Russian protection was indispensable: he still paid some respect to the remonstrances of his ministers, and the feelings—we will not call them prejudices—of his people. In this state of affairs, the battle

of Koniah came upon him like a thunder-bolt. In the first moment of alarm he accepted the offer of Russian ships, fixing the number at twelve, and requested General Mouravieff to proceed immediately to Alexandria. The indignation, however, which this step excited amongst all classes of his subjects, was too formidable for the Sultan to contend with, while any other resource remained untried. He, in consequence, revoked his application for Russian aid, and endeavoured to stop General Mouravieff's departure. But that officer pleaded his orders from St. Petersburg, and proceeded on his journey.

The Porte now determined to treat directly with Mehemet Ali. On the 2d of January, 1833, a great council was held, at which all the highest authorities in church and state were present. The question of peace or war was propounded: there could be but one answer. It was unanimously resolved, that the *fetwa* (or sentence) of excommunication against Mehemet Ali and Ibrahim should be revoked—that they should be again admitted within the pale of Mohammedan society—and that the Pashalick of Syria should be conferred upon Mehemet Ali, under the sole condition of his acknowledging the sovereignty of the Porte. Information was sent to Ibrahim of the resolution of the Divan; and Halil, the late Capitan Pasha, was the bearer of it to Mehemet Ali, with instructions to negotiate the peace. General Mouravieff had already left Constantinople, and Austria again, as she had throughout the whole affair, followed in the wake of Russia. An assurance was sent to Mehemet Ali of her entire concurrence in all that General Mouravieff should urge, and further, in all that he should threaten.\*

There needed, however, no representation—General Mouravieff was said to have been far from using threats—to induce Mehemet Ali to receive Halil Pasha with the greatest distinction, instantly to acknowledge himself a true subject of the Porte, and to send a positive order to Ibrahim to suspend hostilities, and to advance no further on the capital. His conduct clearly proves, what we have before asserted, that he never contemplated the assumption of independence, still less the usurpation of the Ottoman throne.

During the time that elapsed before an answer could be received from Alexandria, disturbances were apprehended in the capital: fires were of almost daily occurrence, and other signs of discontent had shown themselves. Ibrahim also, who felt the

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\* Upon the conclusion of this business, the Austrian minister at Constantinople received the grand cross of the order of St. Anne from the Emperor of Russia, who states that he confers it on him, as "un témoignage de sa haute satisfaction pour sa loyale co-operation."

importance of concluding the peace while the impression of his victory was yet recent, artfully suffered reports to be spread that he was advancing, and that he meant to take up his winter-quarters at Broussa, within a short distance of the capital. The disaffected in Asia, encouraged by the hope of his support, were everywhere in insurrection. The French chargé d'affaires (who had been active in his endeavours to effect the peace by negotiation) wrote in the strongest terms to remonstrate with Ibrahim upon his conduct. Ibrahim, in reply, disclaimed all knowledge of the proclamations which had been issued, declared that his intentions were no longer hostile, and that he should wait the pleasure of the Porte to accede to his terms. In fact he was still at Koniah at the end of January, though about to put his army in motion.

The Sultan's fears, however, a second time got the better of him: in an evil hour for himself and his empire he turned a deaf ear to the remonstrances of his divan. Alarmed for his personal safety, distrusting the professions of Ibrahim, and eagerly catching at the hopes, insidiously fostered and treacherously disappointed, that his concessions to Mehemet Ali would be reduced within the narrowest limits, he persisted in requiring the armed support of Russia; and on the 2nd of February a fresh demand was made, both for troops and ships. On the 6th, however, intelligence was brought from Alexandria, by General Mouravieff, of the pacific disposition of Mehemet Ali, and of the favourable reception given to Halil Pasha. It was also certain that Ibrahim had stopped at Kiutayah, to which place he had advanced, as he positively declared, solely for the greater convenience which it afforded in the supply of provisions and of wood for his army. The French chargé d'affaires, seconded by the English secretary of embassy (the new ambassadors of both powers not having yet arrived), strongly pressed upon the Sultan the propriety of again renouncing Russian assistance. The Reis Effendi was consequently permitted by the Sultan to sound the Russian minister upon the possibility of countermanding the armament. A note was addressed to M. Bouténieff, dated the 17th of February, stating that the presence of Russian troops was not now necessary in the capital, but at the same time requesting that they should be directed to some neighbouring port, where they might be within call and ready on the shortest notice. To this the Russian minister assented, if it were yet possible to prevent their arrival, as they had already sailed from the Russian port; but it was settled that in that event they were to put into the Gulf of Bourgas, in the Black Sea. On the same day on which these notes passed, Admiral Roussin, the new French ambassador,

arrived.\* He insisted upon an immediate audience with the Reis Effendi, which was granted him on the 19th, when he urged most strongly upon that minister the impropriety and impolicy of the step which the Turkish government had taken. The Reis Effendi was much impressed with these representations; and presuming that the ambassador had arrived with full powers from his government, and with the latest knowledge of its intentions towards Turkey, he promised on his part that the best endeavours of the Porte should be used to prevent the arrival of the troops. It was, however, too late. On the 20th, the very day after, the Russian squadron sailed into the Bosphorus.

The importance of the moment was strongly felt by all the diplomatists of Pera. The conduct of the French ambassador, who appears to have been the only man who endeavoured, even at the last moment, to avert the evil, was equally prompt and decisive. He instantly declared to the Porte that he should decline to disembark his effects or take up his residence at Pera, unless the Russian force was immediately dismissed. The Sultan hesitated; but on his demand, M. Roussin went so far as to guarantee the conclusion of a treaty with Mehemet Ali, upon the basis of the terms which Halil had been instructed to propose at Alexandria. He signed a convention to that effect; in consequence of which the Porte immediately engaged to renounce, from that moment, "all foreign assistance, of whatever kind, which circumstances had compelled it to require." The Reis Effendi, in consequence of this convention, addressed a note to the Russian minister on the 23d of February, stating that the affair had been negotiated with the French ambassador, and terminated to the satisfaction of the Sublime Porte; and that, as the presence of the Russian fleet was, in consequence of this, no longer necessary, the Porte had engaged that it should sail with the first fair wind. Up to this point, Admiral Roussin's success appeared to have been complete. The Russians, without the least intention of violating the letter of their engagements, had no such apprehension. The Sultan had readily entered into the French ambassador's proposal, because he was himself happy to be released from the presence of the Russian force, and because he hoped to obtain peace upon the terms he had already offered: these excluded the cession of Adana. This, the Russians well knew, Ibrahim would not give up unless compelled by force, which the French government were not prepared to employ. It

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\* Lord Ponsonby, the British ambassador, was appointed about the same time with Admiral Roussin (November 9), and arrived at his post in the month of May following, three months after the transactions we are now detailing.

is added also, and it is an important fact towards obtaining a right estimate of the conduct of Russia, that Ibrahim was informed, that however much Russia might interfere to protect the Sultan's person and the capital, the conditions of the peace should be left to him to settle. Authority, moreover, had been given to Halil by the Turkish government to yield the government of Adana in the event of its being insisted on; and this he had actually done at the moment Admiral Roussin was pledging his country to effect the peace without it. Two French aides-de-camp were despatched by the ambassador; one to Ibrahim, and the other to Mehemet Ali, informing them of what had taken place; but as they had already settled the terms of peace with the Turkish plenipotentiary, they refused to accept of any others. France had not the means at hand to compel them; in fact it would have been bad policy in her to have attempted it; and even if force had been resorted to, it would have arrived too late to prevent a catastrophe at Constantinople.

The famous convention of Admiral Roussin, therefore, which produced so lively a sensation in Europe, and was declared to be one of the greatest achievements ever effected by diplomacy, (but which is now as much ridiculed as it was at first applauded,) fell to the ground; the French government, without disavowing the act of its minister, backed out of the affair, by saying that Turkey had failed in her part of the engagement by not dismissing the Russian forces. It should be mentioned however in favour of the success, however partial, of this intervention, that immediately upon the receipt of the Reis Effendi's communication, the Russian fleet was actually put under sailing orders; but a long prevalence of contrary winds (which in the straits of the Bosphorus, with its rapid current, cannot be contended with) prevented its departure. Subsequently, indeed, the serious disturbances at Smyrna made the Sultan little anxious to hasten its departure; especially after it became doubtful whether Admiral Roussin's convention would be acknowledged and acted upon by his government. The whole ended therefore in the Russian troops being disembarked on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, and in a fresh supply being sent from the shores of the Black Sea, constituting a total force of nearly 20,000 men. The emperor also now announced that he would no longer be trifled with, that his troops should not leave Turkey until Ibrahim had evacuated it, and with his army was again behind the Taurus.

It is quite manifest that the moral support of any one of the great European powers (if granted in time) would have been quite sufficient, without the intervention of force, to have upheld Turkey and effected peace between her and her vassal. Still more easily



of course would the joint interference of more than one of these powers have attained that object, on the expediency of which all of them professed to be agreed. It is equally manifest, that if the Sultan had been well advised in himself, or allowed himself to be moved by the strong representations of the foreign ministers, and made timely concessions, he might, at any moment, have put an end to the contest without any foreign interference whatever; for, after having had two armies annihilated and his resources exhausted, and subsequently after wasting four months in fruitless negotiation, he was at last obliged to grant the same terms to the fullest letter which had been demanded of him at an early period of the war, and repeated in the hour of victory.

The little province of Adana, so long the cause of delay in bringing the arrangements to a conclusion, was certainly an object, the importance of which to both parties we do not wish to deny. Although the Sultan's authority in the districts south of the Taurus had long been little more than nominal, it was still most desirable for the strength and security of his empire that no part of them should be in the possession of Egypt. But when the Russian government, unlike the French ambassador and more prudent (and unwilling to weaken Egypt, whose growing\* greatness she had never discouraged), had refused to dictate to either party the conditions of peace, or to interfere in what she was pleased to call the arrangement of family disputes, it was the height of impolicy, it was madness, in the Sultan to persevere in his refusal.

The avowed motive of Ibrahim (and probably a true one) in demanding and insisting so pertinaciously on the government of Adana was the advantage to Egypt of having some place within its dominions, on which it could depend for a supply of timber for all purposes, and especially for ship-building. That country has long been in the habit of importing timber from this and the contiguous provinces, but their wretched condition and unsettled†

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\* It is well known that it was part of the Empress Catherine's great schemes against Turkey to erect Egypt into an independent sovereignty. Vide *Eton's Account of Turkey*. The author's known devotion to Russia renders his evidence perfectly trustworthy, where he is admitting against its government intentions of robbery and spoliation.

† Captain Beaufort, in his work on Caramaina, thus describes these districts.

"Sheltered from the effectual controul of the Porte by the great barrier of Mount Taurus, the independent and turbulent Pashas, amongst whom they are parcelled, are engaged in continual petty hostilities with each other, so that their respective frontiers change with the issue of every skirmish. Thus groaning under the worst kind of despotism, this unfortunate country has been a continued scene of anarchy, rapine, and contention; her former cities deserted, her fertile vallies untilld, and her rivers and harbours idle. Perhaps nothing can present a more striking picture of the pervading sloth and misery, than the hardly credible fact, that on this extensive line of coast, which stretches along a sea abounding with fish, the inhabitants do not possess a single boat."

governments under the Turkish rule, have always rendered any intercourse with them very precarious. Perhaps, also, Ibrahim might contemplate the extension of his dominion along the shore, situated exactly opposite to Egypt, abounding in natural advantages, in harbours and conveniences for commerce.

“ Its numerous creeks,” says Captain Beaufort, “ and easy access will always render it a favourite resort of the small and timid coasters of the Levant; while its great extent, its bold shores, and the facility of defence may hereafter point it out as an eligible place for the rendezvous of a fleet.”

Another, and perhaps the strongest reason of all, was that this province gives its possessor the keys not only of Syria but of Asia Minor. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the possession of Adana is a most important addition to the resources of Egypt, and to her security against all aggression from Turkey, should that power be ever again in a state to resume the contest. In the event, also, of an insurrection in Syria, which has been always so confidently predicted, the Turks are now precluded from rendering any assistance to the insurgents, the country being inaccessible to their army. We rejoice, therefore, in the interest of Egypt, that the cession was demanded and exacted; and we rejoice at it in the interests of humanity; for we are convinced that, under the strong yet just government of Ibrahim, order and tranquillity will be restored; an essential condition to the moral and physical improvement of these long desolated countries.

The Sultan at length yielded to the necessity, daily becoming more urgent, of concluding the peace. The mere presence of Ibrahim's army had nearly disorganized the whole of Asia Minor. On the 26th of April, the annual list of Turkish Pashas was published at Constantinople; at the head of it appeared the name of Ibrahim as Pasha of Abyssinia and Djidda, and Governor of the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina; and to that of Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt and Candia, was added the Pashalick of Syria. But it was early in May before Ibrahim was informed that the Sultan had finally acceded to his request, and granted him the government of Adana. The intelligence was accompanied by a demand on the part of the Turkish government for the immediate withdrawal of his troops. Ibrahim signified his readiness to comply with this demand, and returned a letter of acknowledgment and compliment, with a fulsome panegyric on the Sultan, too exaggerated, we should have thought, for even Oriental hyperbole.\*

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\* *Moniteur Ottoman*, 31st July.



On the 6th of May a general amnesty was published to all the inhabitants of Anatolia, and a strict injunction addressed to the authorities, civil and military, throughout the country, to follow the Sultan's example, and bury all past transactions in oblivion. In the course of the same month the whole of Ibrahim's army had left Kiutayah, and begun its retrograde march. Turkish commissioners accompanied it, and reported from time to time the different stages of its progress. A Russian officer was also sent personally to ascertain the fact of its having passed the frontier, in order that the Russian forces might then, according to promise, return to their own country.

Thus terminated for Turkey, as far as her enemies were concerned, this disastrous war. She had yet to learn what could be effected by her friends.

While the Egyptian troops were retiring from the country, the Sultan and the Russians were engaged in a course of mutual dalliance, as offensive to the Europeans who witnessed it, as it was revolting to the pride of his own subjects. He reviewed their troops, had medals struck in honour of the occasion, decorated their officers, gave diamond snuff-boxes to their diplomatic agents; Turkish soldiers were mingled together in harmony with the Russians, and ordered to embrace them as their brothers and best friends. Russia on her part was not merely passive; tender speeches and professions of most disinterested attachment were reciprocated *ad nauseam*; and all the Turkish ministers received substantial proofs of her consideration and good will. The way being thus prepared, Count Orloff was sent, with his soldierlike bearing and his frank and open manners, to finish the conquest of the Sultan's heart, and to lead him gently into the trap which had been prepared for him.

True it is, however, that on the very day after the return of the Russian officer who had seen the passage of Ibrahim's army across the Taurus, the Russian commander requested permission of the Turkish government for his troops to return to their own country, which being granted, they actually embarked and sailed. Nobody on the spot thought it probable that they would go; nobody, indeed, would believe that they had gone until the last vessel had rounded the Symplegades; then all at once burst forth a general chorus in praise of Russian honour! The sincerity of the emperor's professions and the loyalty of his conduct were everywhere vaunted. Had Russia, indeed, acting in the *spirit* of her engagement, withdrawn her troops without obtaining any recompense; had she not taken advantage of the weakness of her ally to further her own selfish ends; then, though she would have acted only with common honour and honesty, yet looking at the

general course of her policy, we should have acknowledged with praise that in this instance she had pursued a straightforward course. But this—true to herself—she has not left it in our power to do. The Europeans at Constantinople had not recovered from their surprise at seeing Russia, with openness and readiness, fulfilling her engagements, when a report arose—hardly credited at first, as originating with the dishonest dragomans—that the long interviews between Count Orloff and the Reis Effendi, and subsequently with the Sultan, had not been without result. A treaty was talked of, of what kind does the reader think?—a treaty of mutual protection between Russia and Turkey. The report was confirmed, and as no secret in that land of corruption may not be discovered,—a copy of it, though not for some time officially given, was soon obtained by the alarmed ambassadors of other countries, who, innocent themselves, “thinking no ill where no ill seemed,” had been rejoicing over the termination of their embarrassments, the moment they saw the Russian squadron sailing up the Bosphorus.

The basis of this treaty (of July 8th) is declared to be that of reciprocal defence; its object being the protection of the two contracting parties against all attacks, whether foreign or domestic; and each engages to give to the other such effective aid and assistance as will ensure that object; and that the auxiliary forces, whether by sea or land, which circumstances may compel either party to require by virtue of this treaty, shall not be at the expense of the party who asks for the assistance, except in the supply of provisions. By a separate article, the Porte, “*acting in the spirit of this treaty, and to promote its object,*” engages to close, *in case of need*, the straits of the Dardanelles. The intention of the contracting parties is, that this treaty should last for ever, but for the present its duration is limited to eight years. All preceding treaties are confirmed, especially, amongst others, the treaty of Adrianople; and the parties pledge themselves to everlasting peace and amity.

Looking at the state of the relations between Turkey and Russia previously to this treaty, we shall find that the latter power had secured too firm and solid a footing in the other to be easily shaken. By the ninth article of the treaty of Adrianople, Turkey acknowledged a debt of nearly five millions sterling, as an indemnity for the war. It was subsequently agreed that this sum should be paid by regular instalments in ten years, during which time Russia was to hold the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia as security for the payment. We need hardly add that Turkey never will, never can discharge this debt; and she has the less inducement to do so, since Russia has, by other regula-

tions of the same treaty, so far taken the principalities under her protection, and deprived the Turks of all advantage from them, that the nominal suzeraineté of the Porte, and the equally nominal tribute, cannot be worth possessing, certainly less so than the large sum which must be paid to recover them. By the same treaty it is agreed that the commerce of Russian subjects is not to be checked in any case, or under any pretence, by any prohibition, restriction, regulation, or measure, whether of administration or legislation. Russian vessels are never, under any pretext, to be visited, or spoken to, or interfered with in any way by the Ottoman authorities; and Russian subjects, who, be it mentioned, have of late greatly increased in Turkey, are placed throughout that country under the exclusive jurisdiction and police of the ministers and consuls of Russia. By this last treaty of Constantinople, the Porte not only binds itself to have the same friends and enemies as Russia, but to close the Dardanelles against the vessels of every other country, in case of need, which, means, if it have any meaning, at her request. Is it not little else than a delusion, under these circumstances, to call Turkey an independent country?

It is true that a similar treaty was made between Russia and Turkey at the end of the year 1798, when France had invaded Egypt, in which assistance was mutually promised by each party to the other. They were then, however, much more upon a par, and the treaty contained a clause which stipulated that as neither party desired to make conquests, but only to defend the integrity of their possessions, and to preserve the balance of power and the general tranquillity, other countries should be invited to become parties to the treaty. Great Britain was so invited, and instantly acceded to the invitation. The avowed object of that treaty, as of the present, was to preserve the integrity of Turkey. But this time Russia thinks proper to effect it by herself.

The fact is, Russia has at last driven into Turkey the end of that fatal wedge by which she has contrived to dispossess so many other countries of their governments and independence, and to substitute herself in their place. She has afforded her protection and gained the right of interference. Her course has then been uniform; she mixes herself up in every question between the government and its subjects: she foment the dissensions which she interferes to allay; she corrupts where there is strength, and oppresses where there is weakness, until exhaustion and treachery finish for her the work of subjection.

In the present case, be the cause what it may, whether disturbance within, or attack from without, and in the actual restless and unhappy state of Turkey, the crisis may arrive at any moment

which will require Russia's interference. Russian troops will again be called to occupy Constantinople, and Europe will find, as in the late instance, that it would have been easier to prevent than to remedy. From the large pecuniary claim which she has upon Turkey, Russia must, if that government is attacked, look after her securities. She has a deep stake in the trade of the Black Sea, the very existence of which depends on the will of whatever power possesses the Dardanelles, and she must therefore protect her interests, should the approach of an enemy endanger them in that quarter. Should the Sultan, who has now asked her assistance and signed this fatal treaty, wish to shake off the yoke of subjection, Russia will no doubt consent when her war indemnities have been paid up. There is the same check upon him if he should resist—not the commands, for no such harsh form would be used, but—the recommendations of his new ally, be they on what subject they may. We hesitate not therefore to say, that the Russian monarch is at this moment more safely and more decidedly master of European Turkey, and his word more absolute law at Constantinople, than if his flag were flying at the Seraglio,—for perhaps a less quiet and secure possession might then be allowed him. So, we have no doubt, he would be willing for the moment to allow matters to remain; the distressed condition of his southern provinces would make him for the present but little desirous of extending his frontier in that direction, into districts of greater fertility and resources, which would entirely remove the trade, and destroy the little prosperity which they may actually enjoy.

With reference indeed to the late events which we have been describing, if we regret the backwardness of England, it is not that we are so Quixotic as to wish that she should espouse the weak side of every contest, and throw her shield before the distressed in every quarter of the globe; still less are we so fond of Turkish barbarians as to wish that they should remain for ever in Europe. To assist the Turks, we can never look upon as an end desirable in itself, but only as the means of preventing the aggrandizement of Russia in that direction where it is likely to be the most hurtful to us. For, to say nothing of her increased preponderance in the councils of Europe from her increase of power, the possession of Constantinople and Turkey will be a most important step in furtherance of her designs upon our Indian possessions—designs, be it mentioned, which she never for one instant loses sight of, nor ceases to prepare the way for their execution. Her maritime power also will rapidly increase when she has an unlimited supply of sailors from the Levant—and she will obtain at the Dardanelles the entire command over our trade

in the Black Sea, which is now considerable, and readily admits of augmentation to an almost indefinite extent.

There are many, however, we are aware, who conceive that the aggrandizement of Russia is not to be feared, by reason of the weakness inseparable from overgrown empires ; and indeed, supported as the argument is by the experience of past ages, it may well be considered as not inapplicable to an empire now extending over a ninth of the habitable globe. But experience may in this instance mislead us, if we fail to take into consideration all the circumstances of the case. A great distinction is to be drawn between an empire that has shot up by conquests of rapid growth and slender structure, and one that has crept into greatness by slow and imperceptible increments,—between the territorial acquisitions of a conqueror, and those of a country pursuing through successive ages a uniform system of aggrandizement. Of the former it may at least be said, that they are lost as easily as they are won ; they depend for the most part upon the life of the conqueror, who sometimes outlives them ; the aggrandizement may be considered his rather than that of his country. He may overrun nations with his armies, and may hold them in subjection ; but he cannot subjugate, much less assimilate the habits, manners, and feelings of different races of mankind : he is powerless against opinion, which sooner or later bears its fruit, and that fruit is disunion. In a word he can unite nations, but he cannot produce nationality. His empire is a rope of sand, an accumulation without adhesion.

The mighty growth of Russia has been effected in a far different manner. With her, appropriation is incorporation ; she has depended upon the power and character of no one individual ; she has raised up no Alexander the Great nor Napoleon, men who pursue through blood and devastation their own selfish ends—who blaze indeed as meteors on an astonished world, but, as if their course had really been through space, leave nothing but their fame behind them. From Peter the Great to Nicholas the course of Russia has ever been slow but sure ; so slow as to have met with scarcely any interference ; yet so sure as to have within a hundred years nearly doubled her territory, and more than trebled her power and resources ; none of her rulers have ever been hurried too fast, or forgot the show of moderation. In war they have always stopped short at that point at which they would have alarmed the jealousies of other powers ; and after victory their demands have been small, or have been reduced down to that which it was not worth a war to refuse. They have never sought by violence what they could gain by intrigue. Though they boast a million of men enrolled in their army, though all savours

of military ardour,—rank and distinction, for whatever service, being expressed in military terms, even priests and bishops ranking among the men of blood,—they have no recourse to their military prowess until their crafty diplomacy has failed. In the arts of chicane and intrigue, Russia surpasses all the nations of the earth. Her emissaries, down to the lowest agent, have all the same character, and the basis of that character is cunning. With apparent simplicity and openness of manner, they are perfect masters of flattery and all the arts of deceit, they pass into the confidence of those with whom they are associated, and gain, without deserving, their sympathies and affection.

Let the means, however, be what they may, by which Russia has so enormously advanced her power, the fact that she has done so is undoubted, and the influence is proportionably great which she exercises (always, be it remembered, in opposition to *our* views and interests) in the settlement of every European question. And who can say, looking at the condition of countries most exposed to her aggression, that her power has yet reached its zenith, or that her influence will not more and more preponderate? There can be no doubt to those who look at facts without exasperation of feeling, and not through the medium of their passions, that the balance of power is threatened at this moment more than at any time since the downfall of Napoleon.

Of the countries interested in the settlement of every question that regards Turkey, no one, from its position, is more deeply so than Austria. And there is no more remarkable circumstance connected with the affairs in that part of the world during the last few years, than the apparent indifference and neglect, or the insignificant interference, when there has been any, of that power. It is impossible that any one, in passing from the history of the last century to that of the present, should arrive at the important events which have occurred of late years in that part of the world, without exclaiming, where upon all these occasions was Austria? That power, which formerly, though united to Russia in resistance to the Turks, as the common enemy, was ever her staunch rival in aggrandizement. Did Russia rob Turkey in the East, Austria was to be appeased by an equivalent in the west. Has she ever now made her remonstrance heard? When there was every prospect in the last year of the Emperor Alexander's life, that, in the words of Mr. Canning, "Russia would swallow up Greece at one mouthful, and Turkey at another," was she to be found ranked with those who interposed to prevent that consummation? Where was she when a Russian army was defiling through the Balkan; or now, when a Russian diplomatist, by a furtive treaty, was robbing Turkey of her independence? The



murmurs of her ill-omened voice have indeed on one of those occasions been heard in the Divan. At the period of the Greek insurrection, frightened at the notion of successful revolt, and fearful for her trade in the Mediterranean, should Grecian prosperity revive, it was she who whispered into the ear of the too-confiding Turks, that the Christian league against them was nominal, not real,—that the parties to the Greek treaty were neither sincere nor united,—and that their mutual jealousies would never permit them to carry into effect the provisions of the treaty. Credit in an evil hour was given to her, and it was she therefore who thus procured the famous Hatti Scheriff which summoned the Mussulmans to arms against Russia, because she had made the Porte indifferent to the result of the war, through her assurance that England and France would interfere for its relief, and that then would be the moment for the recovery of Greece. And this, too, after she had, in the early conferences of St. Petersburg, been the first to profess her willingness to recognize the independence of that country. Well indeed might Mr. Canning talk of the delusive and worn-out policy of Austria. She has her reward; she may fancy herself indifferent to the destruction of Turkey. Greece, however, is now an independent power, with a commercial navy rapidly increasing; and the principalities on the Danube, one of which she has always hoped to place among the most valued jewels of her crown, are, to all intents and purposes of power and profit, in the hands of Russia. While she, powerless but when she works for ill against outnumbered and enervated Italians, and alarmed by the murmuring slaves whom she oppresses in her dependencies, yet hopes, by subserviency to Russia, that she shall, as far as that power is concerned, be allowed to retain her own in quiet. This feeling, and her deep-rooted hatred of liberal principles, appear to us to afford the only explanation of her so obstinately shutting her eyes against the evidence of the danger to her best interests arising from the constant and steady march of Russian aggrandizement.

From Prussia also no assistance is to be expected in checking the encroachments of Russia. She is overawed at this moment by the immense body of troops which that power keeps upon her frontier, and may be considered as giving a certain vote in her favour upon this as upon all other questions. Her interests in the East are moreover too indirect and contingent for her to risk her tranquillity by any interference.

There is, however, one country, powerful as our own, to which we hope we can look for hearty and effective co-operation on the present occasion. The union of England and France, which at

no period of their histories has been more close and sincere, is the bright spot in the otherwise gloomy aspect of our foreign relations. Bound by the attraction of common interests, and the sympathies produced by a civilization of higher order and more generally diffused than in other nations, we trust they will long continue to afford, as they have for the last three years, an effective guarantee for the peace of Europe. We say this, notwithstanding the late discussions in the French Chamber, and though the explanations of M. de Broglie certainly show the influence which Russia exercises at the French Court. For to those who would dwell on the treachery and inconstancy of attachment which has before marked the conduct of France towards this country, we would answer, that the government of France is daily becoming less absolute than it has been at any period before or since the revolution; that the people—not in Paris but in the provinces—are becoming daily more conscious of their power, and more enlightened as to their real interests; and that they will make their voice be heard and obeyed, whatever be the inclinations of the Government. The secure bond of union between us is the extent of our commercial intercourse, and as that increases (which it has already done, and will, in spite of party sneers on this side of the water, and interested opposition on the other, we are convinced, continue to do), that bond must be strengthened. It is impossible to doubt the altered state of opinion in France with respect to commercial interests, if we refer to the powerful provincial press. The newspapers there, as elsewhere, speak the language of their supporters, and furnish a palpable and decisive proof of the truth of our assertions, and, as we hope, the correctness of our prognostications. It is to the journals of Bordeaux and Lyons, and not to the professions of French statesmen, that we look; and from them, as regards our foreign interests, we derive our only comfort in the present, and our best hope for the future. The settlement of the great and important questions in the East of Europe is one of the results which we expect from this union. We certainly do not expect that France should fight our battles, or join with us in matters in which she has no interest, but as far as the temporary preservation of Turkey is concerned, the two nations have strictly a common interest, and France has on many occasions distinctly avowed that she would not tolerate the absorption of Turkey by Russia. It has, in fact, been generally understood that the French and English Governments have awakened to the importance of what is passing in Turkey. England, of course, will never permit the terms of the treaty to be put in execution against her, though she could hardly remonstrate



against the treaty itself, as Russia is too wary to have violated the letter of the law of nations. The treaty is alarming, when viewed in conjunction with the circumstances of the parties, and the spirit in which its stipulations will be executed. We will not believe, however, that Russia will be mad enough to provoke a war with England and France. Her commerce once stopped, there is an end to her internal tranquillity, and she will be slow to doom to certain destruction the navy that she has been rearing with such anxious care.

With respect to Turkey, we speak not without knowledge of fact, when we say, that every means of corruption have been resorted to with that Government (always accessible to such influences) to induce it to stand upon its right to enter into alliance and to make treaties, with whatever country it chooses, and to persist in its determination of abiding by the terms of that which it has last entered into with Russia. At the same time intrigues have been at work in the Pashalicks of Asia to produce disturbances and insurrectionary movements, and accelerate the crisis which will cause the prolonged interference of Russia to be required, and which, as we said before, may now at any moment arrive.

There is one circumstance on which, before concluding, we would wish slightly to touch. The symptoms of approaching dissolution in Turkey are so unequivocal, that if it were not for the surprising manner in which her existence has been prolonged during so many years of weakness and decay, we might well doubt whether it will be possible even for the powers of Europe to prevent the fabric of her empire from falling to pieces. Disaffection and hostility to the Government everywhere exists, and the Sultan once removed, with only an infant heir, anarchy will prevail from one extremity of the empire to the other. It is worth while then to consider how much the events of the last few years have lessened the difficulties which attend the removal of the Turks from Europe. Several countries have been detached from their dominion, are now growing in strength and independence, and closing in upon the remaining portion of their territory from every side. This we consider as the most favourable circumstance that could have occurred; and if we believe in the improved condition of the rayas of Roumelia, and the cheering prospect which is opened to them of becoming thriving and prosperous; if we acknowledge with him the great resources of their country, and the ready means which they possess of indefinitely extending their commerce and augmenting their wealth; we rejoice at the facts, not as presenting the means

of regenerating the Turks, but of supplying their place. It will be the duty of all governments who are opposed to the aggrandizement of Russia, to support and bring forward those countries, to rejoice in every step which they make in improvement, and to recognize them as free states, so soon as they have shown themselves substantially capable of maintaining an independent existence. This process of substitution will necessarily require time; and should the course of events proceed too rapidly, and the Turkish Government become too weak and helpless to maintain a struggle with its internal as well as external foes, recourse may be had to other schemes, according to the exigencies of the circumstances. The passage of the Dardanelles, which should *never* be Russian, may be placed under the guarantee of the European powers, and a confederation formed, under the same protection, of the towns of Roumelia, the commercial population of which, be it remembered, is entirely Christian. Some such constitution might be allowed them as was obtained by Russia, at the beginning of this century, for the Ionian Islands, when she insisted upon their being formed into an independent state, a precedent which, as being afforded by herself, she would perhaps be less likely to object to.

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*\* \* \* Owing to the length to which the preceding article has extended, we have been unwillingly compelled to omit the usual articles of Miscellaneous Literary Intelligence.*

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# THE FOREIGN QUARTERLY REVIEW.

By Sir Edmund Head.

ART. I.—1. *Noticia de los Quadros que se hallan colocados en la Galeria del Rey Nuestro Señor.* (Notice of the Pictures in the Royal Gallery.) Madrid. 1828. 12mo.

2. *Dictionnaire des Peintres Espagnols*, par F. Quilliet. Paris. 1816. 8vo.

3. *Diccionario Historico de los mas illustres Profesores de las Bellas Artes en España*, compuesto por D. Juan Agustin Cean Bermudez, y publicado por la Real Academia de S. Fernando. (Historical Dictionary of the most celebrated Professors of the Fine Arts in Spain. By Don J. A. Cean Bermudez.\* Published by the Royal Academy of St. Ferdinand.) Madrid. 1800. 6 tom. 12mo.

IN comparing the different results of human genius, we can scarcely avoid remarking the contrast between the progress of poetry and the fine arts on the one hand, and that of the exact sciences and their application on the other. The former class seem to strike root we know not how, shoot up unperceived, reach their maturity, blossom and perish, without our being able satisfactorily to account for their rise or assign the causes of their decline. They are aided indeed or retarded by external circumstances, but their constitution sometimes seems so capricious, that the very efforts made to foster them only accelerate their decay, and political events often produce results totally opposite to what we should have anticipated. On the contrary, in mechanical art, successive generations go on painfully adding grain to grain; the knowledge of the previous age forms a foundation on which that of their successors may be erected, and the amount gained is in proportion to the facilities afforded and the labour bestowed. It is, in a great measure, from this mysterious nature of all works of imagination, that the history of ancient and modern art derives its interest. We are aware that it is not unusual among a considerable and intelligent class in this country to treat all such subjects as trifling; only having reference to the amusement of mankind, and utterly unconnected with their happiness; as if the two things were or could be disjoined; or as if the cultivation of the highest pleasures of the intellect were not of as much import-

\* For a biographical notice of Cean Bermudez, see our VIIth Vol. p. 279.

ance to the species as many of the improvements of mechanics or agriculture. If man be to contemplate nothing but necessities, his range would indeed be limited :

————— “our basest beggars  
Are in the poorest things superfluous :  
Allow not nature more than nature needs,  
Man's life is cheap as beast's.”—*Lear*, Act II. Sc. 4.

If it be once granted that luxuries deserve our serious attention, we confess we do not see why those of the mind should not merit consideration as much at least as those of the body ; except indeed that the class which is capable of appreciating the former is the less numerous ; but, on the other hand, it is surely the interest of all that this number should be enlarged, and those powers of enjoyment cultivated which may be said neither to admit of excess, nor be in the same degree exposed to decay.

Again, if the history of the human mind and its developement by different means and under different circumstances be an object of general interest, art and its progress is of the highest importance. Man is a compound being ; and to estimate properly the character of an age or nation, we must know how they *felt*, as well as how they *reasoned*. Now we have no means of learning this but from the different branches of imaginative art,—poetry, painting, sculpture, and music ; not distinct streams, but rather separate channels, each filled with one and the same current from a common source, the impressions and feelings of the people to whom they belong. The language they utter is in each case the same ; the character in which it is written is all that varies. In short, that place which Professor Sedgewick, in his late eloquent Discourse, claims for the imagination in systems of metaphysics, we would vindicate for her productions in the history of the human race. Thus, it is not the literature of ancient Greece which will convey singly the complex idea of the genius of that wonderful people, but the remains of their writers viewed in conjunction with the remains of their art. Their epic and dramatic poetry, their bas-reliefs and their statues, bear equally the impress of the refined taste and unrivalled sense of beauty which marks their national character. This is, however, a path still untrodden by the majority of English scholars, who, with their eyes fixed on the details of grammar and metre, have neglected one half of the sources of information respecting the people whom they professed to study. Modern art, though perhaps it has never been so interwoven with the feelings of a whole nation, has still been connected with Christian worship, and is almost as necessary a subject of consideration in history as that of the ancients. The painting, sculpture and architecture of Italy have assumed, as they deserved, the first place, and may

be said to be well known to all Europe. We in England are less aware what the promise of Germany was, before it was nipped in the bud by the Thirty Years' war. The League and the Fronde seem in like manner to have nearly destroyed those seeds which had taken root under Francis I. and his successors, so that the glimpses of a purer taste in France were eclipsed by the tinsel splendour of the age of Louis XIV. But of art in Spain, where there was a succession of great masters from early in the sixteenth to the conclusion of the following century, we are almost totally ignorant. The names and pictures of Murillo and Velasquez have travelled from their native country, but it is still only *there* that they can be properly estimated; and few of the other great Spanish artists are known even by name beyond the Pyrenees. The political history and the poetry of the Peninsula have been written and illustrated by our own countrymen and by the Germans; and we heartily wish that some one well qualified for the task would undertake to make us thoroughly acquainted with its progress and maturity in the fine arts. With the view of calling attention to so interesting a subject, we have placed at the head of our article the titles of three works published some years back, and we shall speak of their merits after endeavouring slightly to sketch for our readers the history of Spanish painting, by enumerating a few of the leading masters and some of their most celebrated works.\*

A distinguished contemporary not long since pointed out the analogy between the ancient Romans and the Spaniards of the middle ages: what the former were to the Greeks, the latter were to the modern Italians. The parallel may be carried further; "*Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes intulit agresti Latio.*" Ancient Greece gave its arts and literature to Rome; modern Italy to Spain. Such men as Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, whether acting as ambassadors, or ruling the subject cities with the sternness of Spaniards, did not neglect the opportunities thus

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\* The only works on the subject of the Spanish Painters which we know to have been published in England, are—

1st. *A Compendium of Palomino*, in Spanish. 1 vol. 8vo. London. 1744.

2nd. In the same language, and sometimes bound up with the last work, an *Account of the Cities, Churches and Convents in Spain*, where Pictures of note are to be seen. London. 1746.

3rd. *Richard Cumberland's Anecdotes of eminent Painters in Spain during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century.* 2 vols. 1782. The same author published a *Catalogue of the Pictures in the King of Spain's palace at Madrid*, with some Account of those in the *Buen Retiro.* 1787.

4th. The first part of a *Dictionary of Spanish Painters.* By M. O'Neill. Published by Simpkin and Marshall. 8vo, 1834. This work is printed with rather unnecessary luxury, and consequently the price of the first part (1*l.* 1*s.*) appears, on a cursory view, to be somewhat high for the amount of matter it contains.

offered them by a residence in a more cultivated land, and enriched the libraries of Spain with manuscripts collected in Italy. A young soldier, Garcilaso de la Vega, imbibed in his campaigns the plaintive melancholy of the Italian poets, and, though killed at the age of thirty-three, changed the taste of a nation, by stamping that character on the poetry of his native land. Whether the literature of Spain gained as much in correctness as it lost in force and originality, it is not our present business to inquire. The Roman and the Spaniard also both received their art in full vigour from the countries where it had been nurtured and perfected; but here the parallel ceases. The fine arts, as unconnected with immediate utility, never struck root in the rough and practical nature of the Romans: the soil was ungenial, and successive importations of Greek works and Greek artists alone enabled them to exist as exotics. Their roads indeed and their bridges, their aqueducts and their amphitheatres, show us that architecture was an exception: but this art was cultivated as being the only one of which utility is the basis, and we owe the monuments of their genius to their lust of military sway or their brutalizing pastimes. Such works are to the remains of the Greeks, what the jurisprudence of Rome is to the philosophy of Plato. On the contrary, in Spain, although we find artists who certainly bear too strongly the marks of their Italian education, and whom we should see no reason for assigning to their true birthplace, if we judged only by their works, yet in such men as Navarrete, Zurbaran or Murillo, there is a feeling as thoroughly national and peculiar as any that we can trace in a Venetian picture or a Greek statue. They were not Spaniards, who, by dint of copying and diligent study, had become Italian or Flemish painters: but they were Spaniards applying, under the influence of their native sky and native manners, the same grand principles of art as the masters of other nations had applied, and betraying at every touch of the brush the character and tone of thought of their own land. In other words, painting had found a resting-place and an abode in Spain.

The period at which the Spaniards became intimately connected with Italy was singularly fortunate. By the union of Castile and Arragon, and the conquest of the last Moorish kingdom, they had been raised from a people of borderers, occupied in petty pillage, or the seizure of some mountain hold, to the rank of one great nation. The same year planted the cross on the Alhambra, and bore it over the Atlantic; and thus, by the time the wealth of a new world was ready to supply the means for developing the taste of Spain, her share in European politics had laid open to her the stores of Italy. Much of this wealth, of

course, found its way into the hands of the clergy; and although the peculiarly devotional spirit of Spanish catholicism, and the constant bondage of the Inquisition, necessarily narrowed the path of art and repressed the genius of its professors, still its connection with the worship of the people was in every case the best patronage it could enjoy. In fact, it seems hardly possible that historical painting should ever be cultivated with success, except under the auspices of great and wealthy public bodies. The range of scripture history and the innumerable legends of saints supplied a constant stock of subjects: the monasteries and churches vied with each other in illustrating the lives of their patrons and portraying their miracles; and thus, whilst painting was excluded from the wider range it enjoyed in Italy, it perhaps acquired a stronger stamp of national character than it would otherwise have possessed.

We have little knowledge of the state of painting in Spain previous to the sixteenth century, but still it is interesting to find that so early as the year 1291, in the midst of the rebellions of the houses of Haro and Lara, of the contests with Arragon, and the pretensions of the branch of la Cerda, Rodrigo Esteban was recognized in Castile as painter to King Sancho IV. We do not know of any contemporary artist, nor in fact does any name appear, for nearly a century afterwards. On what kind of works he could have been employed must remain doubtful, but the fact itself is curious in such a country and in such an age. About the beginning of the fifteenth century it appears that foreign painters of some note sought the patronage of the Castilian court. Gerardo Starnina, a disciple of Antonio Veneziano, was employed by Juan I., and another pupil of the same school, Dello, gained such repute in the turbulent though literary times of the grandson Juan II., as to have been ennobled by that prince. Vasari's anecdotes of these two masters are very amusing: according to him, Starnina learnt good manners as well as acquired riches in Spain. "*Essendo nondimeno molto duro e rozzo, cio piu á se cheá gli amici portava danno e maggiormente gli havrebbe, se' in Ispagna, dove imparó á esser gentile é cortese, non fusse lungo tempo dimorato.*" And again, "*andato dunque in Ispagna, e per quel Re lavorando molte cose si fece, per i gran premii che delle sue fatiche riportava, ricco e onorato.*" After his return to Florence, he executed many works, of which the same author speaks in the highest terms. Of Dello also there is a very characteristic story related by Vasari, as to the vanity which forced him to return to Castile and induced him when there to paint in a brocade apron. These two were the first who carried the new Italian style to Spain: the latter of them



executed principally small subjects, as ornaments for rooms or furniture; and such appear to have been the subjects of another foreigner, Maestro Rogel, a Fleming, who painted in the same reign: at least if we may judge from Cean's description of a small oratory by him, which Juan II. gave to the Carthusians of Miraflores in the year 1445. Maestro Jorge Ingles, who was appointed by Don Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, the justly celebrated Marquis of Santillana, to execute the "retablo" or altarpiece of his hospital at Buytrago, may be conjectured by his surname to have been a countryman of our own. His work, which is highly spoken of, was removed from its original place, and where it now exists we know not; but it must have been doubly interesting as a specimen of ancient art and as preserving the portrait of that literary nobleman. Seville still possesses some of the pictures of Juan Sanchez de Castro and his pupil Juan Nuñez, who painted towards the close of the fifteenth century. But the great patron of the artists of this period was the chapter of Toledo. No less than eighteen were employed on the great altarpiece of that church about the year 1500; it is however useless to enumerate their names. If we are to judge of the merits of the school of those days by the works still remaining in the winter chapter-house of that cathedral, we may rate them very high. The pictures which decorate this beautiful room are by Cean Bermudez attributed to Juan de Borgoña, and said to have been executed about 1512. They have usually been assigned to Berruguete, that is of course to Pedro, the father of Alonzo, whose existence and office as painter to Philip I. are clearly proved by Cean, in opposition to the doubts of Ponz and the silence of Palomino. Many of them remind us forcibly of Perugino, resembling him in the purity of style and feeling of simple beauty, especially in that of the Annunciation; they certainly are very far superior to the Conquest of Oran, a later work by Juan de Borgoña in the Mozarabic chapel. Two other celebrated painters who worked with Pedro Berruguete at Toledo, were Juan de Villoldo and Antonio del Rincon. From the style and excellence of the latter, it is inferred that he had been a pupil of Andrea del Castagno or Ghirlandaio. He stood high in the favour of the Catholic kings Ferdinand and Isabella, since they honoured him with the order of St. Jago, and their portraits, formerly in the church of St. Juan de los Reyes at Toledo, were acknowledged to be by his hand. Where these pictures now are we know not; but they seem to have disappeared, and perhaps were the prey of some plunderer during the war, or have since been sold privately by the monks. At a village called Robledo de Chavela, a few miles to the west of the Escorial, there still exists a whole altar

painted by Rincon, which is highly praised by Cean and others who have visited that place.

Painting was at this period and long afterwards in Spain intimately connected with, and in some degree subservient to, architectural decoration. A picture was only a portion of the whole, and went to complete the effect of the *retablo* or architectural altarpiece that served for its frame, and to gild and finish this was a great part of the artist's business. Thus Alexo Fernandez, though by profession a painter, was with his brother and Andrea de Covarrubias, employed on gilding and colouring the magnificent retablo of the great altar in the cathedral of Seville. In short, an artist was required to be his own frame-gilder.

During the first half of the sixteenth century, the names of Nicolas Francisco Pisan, Juan de Flandés, Francisco de Amberes, Jerome Bos, and to omit less celebrated masters, Titian, prove that foreigners were not backward in profiting by the patronage of the court and church of Spain. On the other hand, Juan de España was established at Spoleto about 1521: whether Fernando Gallego owed his close imitation of Albert Durer to studying the works of that master out of Spain seems to be doubtful. Salamanca is, we believe, the only town which possesses undoubted works of this master, and if the assertion of Quilliet (p. 124) is to be relied on, so great is the resemblance between Durer and Gallego, that Lebrun persisted in maintaining an Oratory really by the latter, to have been the work of the former.

In the year 1520 Alonzo Berruguete returned from Italy to Spain. This artist, who was born at Paredes de Nava, near Valladolid, about 1480, was the son of Pedro Berruguete already named, and is mentioned by Vasari among the students of Michael Angelo's celebrated cartoon of the War of Pisa in the Sala de Consiglio at Florence. He accompanied his master to Rome, and besides aiding him in various works in that city, executed one of the waxen models of the Laocoon, from among which Rafael selected that of Sansovino. Berruguete subsequently returned to Florence, and after remaining there several years went back to Spain, where he was nominated painter and sculptor to Charles V. This prince employed him in the year 1537 in the construction of his Alcázar, or palace, at Granada: a building in itself striking, though we may regret its being thrust into the midst of Moorish remains, utterly different in character, and to us far more interesting. However, the general form of the palace and the splendid circular court in the interior, with its colonnade of breccia, do credit to Berruguete's taste. It may be said to mark the commencement of a purer and less loaded architecture

than that which Ponz, and after him other Spanish writers, have termed the "Plateresque" or silversmith style, in which the principle of profuse and minute ornament is retained from the Gothic but the details are Italian, and of which the Casa del Ayuntamiento at Seville is so noble a specimen. The wood work of the choir of Toledo (with the exception of a small portion of an earlier date) is likewise the work of this artist, who was more remarkable as a sculptor and architect than as a painter, though in this latter art he seems to mark an epoch, by having been the first to introduce into his country the grand forms, and correct though overcharged anatomy of Michael Angelo. He died at Toledo in the year 1561.

The example of Berruguete shows that the Spaniards were disposed to profit by the opportunities of studying Italian art afforded them in the reign of Charles V.; that the cultivation of the fine arts was not held derogatory to high birth and the profession of a soldier, may be seen in the case of an amateur, Don Felipe, the third son of Don Diego de Guevara. The father was Lord of Escalante and Treceño, and had been successively page to duke Charles of Lorraine, councillor of the archduke Albert, his minister at the courts of Paris and Madrid, and ambassador for Charles V. in France. The son, Don Felipe, accompanied the emperor to Bologna, on his coronation in that city by Clement VII., and there became acquainted with Titian. Five years after this, he distinguished himself in the expedition against Tunis. Cean does not mention any pictures executed by him as still known to exist; but his *Commentaries on Painting* were first published by Ponz at Madrid in 1788.

It would be inconsistent with our purpose, and lead us beyond our limits, to name all the foreign artists who at this time sought employment in Spain: still the subject is important, as they must have exercised an influence on the native schools by their instruction and their works. With this view it is impossible to avoid mentioning two Flemings, Francisco Frutet and Pedro de Campaña, who painted at Seville about the year 1550. The productions of their pencil yet remaining in that city show a diligent and successful study of the Roman and Florentine schools. The altarpiece by Campaña, in the Capella del Mariscal of the Cathedral, and his Descent from the Cross, now in the sacristy, are both fine pictures. It is recorded of Murillo, that when some one asked him what he was waiting for, as he stood gazing on this latter work, he replied, "I only wait till those holy men shall have taken down our Lord's body." Perhaps the most eminent of those Spanish masters who became thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Italian design, and remind us strongly of the school of

Rafael, whilst they are deficient in national character, was Luis de Vargas. This artist was born at Seville in 1502, and returned to his native city after twenty-eight years of study in Italy, part of which time he is conjectured, from the resemblance of their works, to have spent as a pupil of Perin del Vaga. The earliest known work of Vargas in Seville is the altar-piece of the Birth of Christ, close to the west door of the Cathedral. The Evangelists on the sides of the retablo show a study of Michael Angelo, whilst the principal picture and the smaller compartments are beautiful in composition and correct in drawing. But a still more celebrated painting of his is that in the south transept of the same church, commonly known by the name of the "Gamba," from the extraordinary manner in which Adam's leg appears to project from the canvass. We are told that Perez de Alesio, a Roman scholar of Michael Angelo, after finishing the gigantic figure of St. Christopher in the same part of the church, exclaimed, looking at this picture of Vargas, "*piu vale la tua gamba che il mio S<sup>a</sup>. Cristoforo*;" and Palomino goes on to say, that he returned to Italy, feeling the superiority of Vargas, and the claim he had to the patronage of his native city. But the latter part of the story at any rate is incorrect, for according to the date on Alesio's St. Christopher, Vargas was dead fifteen years before that figure was executed. Unfortunately, this picture of the "Gamba" is so badly placed, that it is impossible to see it satisfactorily in the very brightest day: but even thus, much that is admirable may be discerned in it, besides the extraordinary foreshortening from which it derives its name. One figure of a child on the ground almost rivals in beauty the matchless Cupids of Rafael himself. However we may regret that its situation should thus hide this noble painting, it is a thousand times more grievous to reflect that a large portion of the time of Luis de Vargas must have been devoted to works, of which not even so much remains as will bear testimony to the excellence of what is lost, for excellent they must have been if we judge by his other productions. The Moorish niches of the beautiful Giralda, or tower of the Cathedral of Seville, were filled with frescoes of saints and apostles, of which faint traces are now with difficulty visible. His Christ bearing the Cross, or "*Calle de Amargura*," as it is termed, outside the court of Orange-trees, had already faded so much, in 1594, that Vasco Pereyra, a Portoguese, was in that year employed by the chapter to repair it. This painting was formerly held in great reverence by the people, and from criminals being allowed to stop before it and pray when led to punishment, it obtained the name of "*El Cristo de los Azotados*." Another work of Vargas, which is still tolerably well preserved, decorates a side-altar or

Santa Maria la Blanca—the church which boasted the two celebrated Murillos of the Patrician's Dream. It represents our Saviour dead in the arms of his mother, with the Magdalen, St. John, and other figures. There is a very high expression in the faces of the mourners; and the deadness of the body, with the head thrown back, is perfect. The picture is well composed, and the drawing, with great correctness, has something of that squareness of form which pleases in the early masters, partly as suiting the solemnity of their subjects, and partly perhaps as being directly opposed to the graceful contortions in which affectation generally meets us. The character of Vargas was as amiable as his piety, according to the notions of his own day must have been exemplary. After his decease, the instruments of his penance, and the coffin in which he was wont to lay himself and contemplate death, were found in his chamber. Palomino tells us that he died in the year 1590, which will account for the statement referred to above; but the better notion is, that that event took place in 1568. His works at this day are rare even in Spain; so much so, that perhaps not more than eight or ten genuine and well-preserved pictures by Vargas could be cited. The Gallery of Madrid does not, we believe, boast a single specimen. In private hands there is a Christ in the Garden, belonging to the Duke of Dalmatia; a Virgin, in the possession of Mr. Williams, at Seville; and another, in the Esterhazy Palace, at Vienna.

The next artist of whom we shall speak is Alonso Sanchez Coello, who is said by Palomino to have been a Portuguese, although there seems little doubt that he was really born in the province of Valencia about the beginning of the sixteenth century. The error may have arisen from his having accompanied Antonio Moro to Lisbon, and having resided there some time under the protection of Don John, who had married the daughter of the Emperor Charles V. After his return to Spain, we cannot help being struck at the manner in which he was treated by Philip II., inasmuch as it seems to show how strong that monarch's passion for art and its professors must have been, thus to have subdued the haughty coldness of his personal character, and broken through the etiquette of a Spanish court. It is said that the king would enter the apartments of the painter by a master-key, surprise him at table or at his easel, place his hands on his shoulders, and converse without suffering him to rise. When absent, he often wrote to him with the address, "Al muy amado hijo, Alonso Sanchez Coello." It requires not to be told that Philip's favourite was courted by the great and powerful, and that they lived with the painter on a footing of friendship and equality. The most remarkable of Coello's works are his portraits, although the five

large pictures of Saints, in the church of the Escorial, are very good. In the Royal Gallery at Madrid there is a very beautiful portrait of Doña Isabel, afterwards wife of the Archduke Albert; and another of a person unknown. That of the unfortunate Don Carlos, in the same collection, is highly interesting, but we are unable to trace in the features any marks of the idiocy ascribed to that prince. But for individual truth and life, all must yield to the portrait of the artist's friend, the Padre Siguenza, in the Prior's Cell at the Escorial. Gaspar Becerra was another Spaniard, who, like Berruguete, returned from Italy eminent in sculpture, architecture and painting, and enjoyed, like the master we have been speaking of, the liberal patronage of Philip II. He had worked with Vasari at Rome, and pursued his anatomical studies with such success as to make the drawings for the work on that subject of Giovanni de Valverde. After a marriage in Italy he returned to Spain, and in 1562 received a pension of 600 ducats from the king, who employed him in the Alcázar of Madrid, and the Palace of the Pardo. His works in the former perished in the fire of 1735. Sculpture, however, was that in which Becerra was most distinguished; so much so as to have surpassed all his predecessors in his own country. He died at the age of fifty, in the year 1570.

One of the most remarkable colourists that Spain ever produced was Juan Fernandez Navarrete, born at Logroño about 1526, and surnamed, "El Mudo," from being dumb. It appears that an illness deprived him of the sense of hearing at three years old, and consequently that he never learnt to speak. His inclination for painting was first shown by attempting in his childhood to imitate with charcoal anything that struck his fancy; and his father was thus induced to procure him the instruction of Fra Vicente, a Hieronymite monk from a neighbouring monastery. The advice of his first master was the cause of his visiting Italy, where, after seeing Rome, Naples and Florence, he is said to have studied in the house of Titian. It is curious, that the little picture of the Baptism of Christ, which he presented to Philip II. after his return, as a proof of his ability, and which is now in the Royal Gallery at Madrid, bears no trace of the Venetian school; on the contrary, the pinkish draperies, and the tone of the whole picture, as well as the forms of the figures, are much more Florentine, and in point of colour totally unlike Navarrete's later works. The king was so well satisfied with this specimen of his talents that he assigned him a pension of 200 ducats, and employed him in the Escorial. Of the eight pictures which he first painted for that monastery, three perished by a fire. Another celebrated work of his which formerly adorned the same treasure-



house of art, is probably known to many of our readers as one of the most brilliant ornaments of the collection of the Duke of Dalmatia. It is Abraham receiving the Angels, and with a very fine tone of colour, possesses a depth of shadow and an impressive gloom, highly characteristic of the artist and his country. Cean records a curious contract between the monks of the Escorial and Navarrete, of which the substance was as follows:— That Navarrete should execute thirty-two pictures for their church, twenty-seven of them to be of the dimensions of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  feet by  $7\frac{1}{2}$ , and the other five, 13 feet by 9. That he was to be at all the costs of canvass, &c., and that none but himself was to touch any important part. That for each he should receive 200 ducats, besides his ordinary pension from the king, who was to approve of them as they were finished. The standing figures were to be six feet and a quarter high, and if the same saint occurred twice, his face was to be repeated, *after an authentic portrait, if any such were accessible*. The painter, too, was forbidden to introduce a cat, dog, or other unbecoming figure: all were to be saints, and such as would excite devotional feelings. The last clause was probably occasioned by his having placed a cat and dog fighting in a Holy Family which he had painted for the cloister, and thereby perhaps provoked the laughter of some incautious novice. But the whole contract is highly interesting, as showing the extreme strictness with which the monks bound down the artists whom they employed, and how many probably of the errors of taste, or peculiarities in composition, may be attributed to the painter's want of free will. Fernandez did not live long enough to complete his gigantic undertaking: the eight first pictures, representing the twelve Apostles and four Evangelists, two in each, are still to be seen in the church of the Escorial, and it is difficult to speak too much in praise of some of them; they are almost equal to Fra Bartolomeo in dignity, and to Titian in colour. The remainder of these altar-pieces were executed by Alonso Sanchez Coello and Luis de Carabajal, and they would appear fine pictures if they did not stand by those of El Mudo. Notwithstanding his misfortune, Navarrete is said to have been able to read and write, to have played cards, and expressed himself by signs with wonderful precision. The scene which passed when Philip II., without his usual feeling for art, and with the impatience characteristic of a sovereign, ordered Titian's picture to be reduced in size, so as to fit its place in the refectory, would make a fine subject for a painter. The Spanish artist expressed by signs his readiness to make an exact copy on peril of his head, and earnestly besought the king not to mutilate the work of his ablest instructor. He died at Toledo in 1579; and Padre Siguenza



hardly said too much when he affirmed that it was worth a long journey to the Escorial only to see the works of this great man. We know of no picture by him in any English collection, except that in the possession of the Marquis of Lansdowne, which represents the widowed heroine of the Comuneros, Doña Maria de Pacheco, as, arrayed in mourning, she paraded the streets of Toledo on her mule, and roused the sinking energies of its patriots.

There are few Spanish painters whose names are so well known out of their own country, or so often misapplied both there and elsewhere, as Luis de Morales, surnamed—either from the sacred nature of his subjects, or his excellence and beauty of expression—“*el divino*.” He was born at Badajoz about the beginning of the sixteenth century, for his death took place in 1586, and five years before that event, as Philip II. passed through that city on his return from Portugal, he saw the artist and said, “thou art very old, Morales.” The reply was, “Yes, Sire, and very poor,” upon which the king assigned him a pension of 300 ducats. Quilliet pays Morales a high compliment by saying that he surpassed Bellino in *energy*; without precisely understanding what he means by this, we must say that whilst we are fully aware of the merits of the Spaniard, as far as the *very few* authentic pictures which we have seen will enable us to judge, we cannot allow that he either equalled the Venetian master in colour or in the beauty of his countenances. The character of Morales’ female heads sometimes resembles Parmigianino, and his brownish tints and softened gradations of shadow approach the Lombard school. Nothing can exceed the pains he bestowed on finishing his pictures; every hair is touched singly. It is impossible to deny the force and beauty of expression of his Virgins and Ecce Homos, but in the latter it sometimes strikes us that the soul is too much subdued, and that resignation has degenerated into a languid abandonment, hardly consistent with the character of a human martyr, much less with that of the Saviour. However, we are speaking on too small an induction to give much weight to this opinion, and we believe that to judge Morales rightly, his native place should be visited, where there are pictures by him of a larger size than those usually met with. He had a son and many pupils who imitated his manner, and an Ecce Homo or Christ bearing the cross, with a smooth surface, a high finish, and an exaggerated expression, is sure to be attributed to “*el divino Morales*.”

Dominico Theotocopuli, commonly called “El Greco,” though shown both by his name and the addition to it not to have been a Spaniard by birth, cannot with any propriety be omitted in an

account of the Spanish school. It is said that he was a pupil of Titian, and his works give us every reason to suppose so. In 1577 he was resident at Toledo, and then began the noble picture of the "Espolio de Christo," or stripping of Christ before the crucifixion, which is still the altarpiece of the sacristy in that cathedral. His talents also as an architect and sculptor enabled him to compose and execute the retablo and its ornaments, in which it was to be placed. The figure of Christ is in the centre, clothed in a deep crimson, and from its position and the warmth of its colour as well as the grouping of the subordinate personages, gives a unity to this work which has rarely been surpassed. The brilliancy of the whole picture is such as would be worthy of the artist's reputed master. Another celebrated work of El Greco in the same city is in Santo Tomé, and represents a singular miracle, of which all the details are authenticated by an inscription placed underneath. It appears that in the year 1512 a Conde de Orgaz, the pious founder of this very church, died, and his friends and relatives were proceeding to bury him in the usual way, when to their great surprise St. Augustin and St. Stephen descended from heaven, and testified their esteem for the deceased nobleman by saving the attendants the trouble, and depositing him in the grave with their own hands. The family and mourners are represented as looking on, rather astonished, but of course highly gratified. At any rate, the story has had the merit of supplying a subject for a splendid picture; the lower figures, many of which were portraits, are very fine, and not unlike Tintoret; Christ and those in the sky betray more of El Greco's later manner, and a similar difference is visible between the portraits and the figure of the Saviour, in the chapel of the convent de la Reyna. The extreme inferiority of some of this master's later productions is one of the most inexplicable points about him. There is absolutely no connection between the correct drawing and fine colour of his earlier, and the exaggerated length of limb and ashen grey tone of his later style. Palomino said of him, "lo que hizó bien ninguno lo hizó mejor, y lo que hizó mal ninguno lo hizó peor;"\* and most assuredly two of his pictures of saints in the Sala Capitular of the Escorial are sufficient to confirm the truth of the sentence. He died at an advanced age in the year 1625 at Toledo, where he had formed several good artists in his school; among the rest Mayno and Luis Tristán, the latter of whom Velasquez himself did not disdain to imitate. Another artist of celebrity, whom Toledo produced about the same time (1580), was Blas del Prado. Palomino records that he was despatched to Morocco by Philip II., and returned from that court, as Gentile Bellino did from Constan-

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\* What he did well, no one could do better; what he did ill, no one could do worse.

tinople, loaded with wealth and honours. The date of his birth, as given by this author, does not agree with the facts which Cean found stated in the archives of the cathedral. He appears to have, in some degree, imitated the style of Andrea del Sarto, and the three pictures of the Virgin with St. Antony, of St. Blas and the Infante Don Fernando, and of St. Cosme and St. Damian, usually ascribed to him, but affirmed by Cean to be the work of his fellow citizen Luis de Velasco, seem to bear traces of this similarity. However, these are now stowed away in so dark a room and in such a manner that it would be extremely difficult to arrive at any conclusion without better opportunities for examining them.

The great leader of the Valencian school was Vincent Joanes. There is good reason to think that he was born in 1523, and consequently could not have been a pupil of Rafael, who died in 1520; but at any rate his works forbid us to doubt that he studied in Italy, and probably under one of that great man's disciples. His style, like that of many Spanish painters, is a reflection of what had already disappeared in Italy, and if found in that country, would be assigned to an earlier period than the one to which it really belongs. To say much of Joanes, without having seen what is at Valencia, would be absurd, but his works in the Madrid gallery are sufficient to give a very high opinion of his merits, though hardly to support the comparison with Rafael which Palomino has ventured to draw. One of them indeed, the portrait of Don Luis de Castelv, does strongly call to mind Rafael's productions of the same class, admirable as they always are. Joanes threw into the heads of the Saviour a fine character of tranquil dignity, and there are in the Royal Gallery two small pictures not unlike Garofalo. His Last Supper, once carried to Paris, but now restored to Spain, is a striking composition, though perhaps altogether not so much so as the series of the martyrdom of St. Stephen. Five of the six which form this set are painted by him; that of the Ordination was executed from his design by another hand. The unmoved piety of the saint is throughout well contrasted with the rather exaggerated rage of his persecutors; but there was another reason why the artist expressed their violence so strongly in their features, and that was, to convey better the character of Saul. In the picture where they are conducting the martyr to execution, Saul walks by his side with a stern but mournful look, perfectly tranquil, whilst the mob are insulting the saint, and actually grinning with the brute pleasure of anticipated bloodshed. It is a very nice and a very successful distinction between the persecutor from conviction against his better feelings, and the persecutor for mere cruelty's sake. An

auto-de-fé must have been to the Spanish painter a fine school for studies of this kind. Joanes was taken ill whilst finishing an altar-piece, and died in the year 1579.

Philip II. was unremitting in his zeal and profuse in the expense lavished on his favourite work of the Escorial. The mixture of monastic solemnity and kingly splendour seems to have accorded with his character and feelings. Often during its progress he would watch the growing fabric from the brow of the dark mountain at its side, and after its completion attended mass with the monks, sitting in that corner of the choir, where he is said, while thus occupied, to have received the news of the battle of Lepanto. In his last illness he lay in the royal tribune with his eyes on the high altar, and the solemn services of the church ringing hourly in his ears, until he expired actually within the walls of his own magnificent temple. This devotion of the king to his favorite project attracted, after the death of Navarrete, and towards the close of the sixteenth century, a crowd of Italian artists, who hoped to profit by the employment thus afforded; but there do not seem to have been many of very great eminence. Among them the Florentine brothers, Bartholomew and Vincent Carducho, exercised considerable influence over the theory and practice of art in Spain. In the year 1633 the latter published his *Dialogues on Painting*, which Cean Bermudez reckons the best book on the subject in the Spanish language. Whilst the narrow limits of an article necessarily prevent our dwelling on these or on very many Spanish masters, whose mere names would convey no information, we feel bound to mention Pedro de Villegas Marmolejo, the friend of Arias Montanus, and Alonso Vazquez, who have both left a testimony of their skill in the cathedral of Seville. Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, a pupil of Coello, trod in the footsteps of that painter; but his portraits, though good and highly finished, are perhaps rather timidly executed, and not equal to the works of his master. There are in the Madrid gallery, two curious and well-painted pictures by him, representing the Birth of the Virgin and of Christ, in which all the principal figures are portraits of the court and family of Philip III. Pablo de Cespedes, a native of Cordova, and a member of the chapter of that cathedral, was perhaps more distinguished for his literary acquirements than as a painter. The eight compartments however by him, in the chapter-house at Seville, which were afterwards retouched by Murillo, would seem to show that he possessed considerable merit in the latter capacity. Cespedes, like his friend Arias Montanus, was an oriental scholar, and acquainted with Hebrew and Arabic as well as Greek. Several of his works are extant at this day, and Cean has printed some fragments and his

poem on the Art of Painting at the end of one of the volumes of his Dictionary. He was not the only author who claimed celebrity as an artist, for the translator of Tasso's *Aminta*, Don Juan de Jauregui, is recorded in the verses of Lope de Vega as equally eminent with the pen and the pencil.

The seventeenth century must be considered as the golden age of Spanish art, which put forth all its strength in the peninsula at the time when it was about to fade in Italy; for though Nicolas Poussin and Andrea Sacchi, together with Albano, Domenichino, and Guercino, prolonged its excellence beyond the middle of this period, such men as Pietro di Cortona, Carlo Dolce, or Maratti, with their constant repetition of conventional forms, were immeasurably inferior to their contemporaries, Velasquez, or Zurbaran. One most decided imitator of the Bassans, Pedro Orrente, was born in the province of Murcia, and painted about 1610. Many of his works are superior to a large portion of those which pass under the name of Bassano. But no man ever applied the principles of colouring of the school of Venice more successfully than the licentiate Juan de las Roelas, or, as he is more commonly called, "El clérigo Roelas." We do not mean that he was a close or servile imitator, nor are we able to see the very great resemblance to Tintoret, which could induce Lebrun to persist in attributing the picture of the Martyrdom of St. Andrew to that master. (*Quilliet*, p. 300.) Roelas was born at Seville about 1560, of a good family, and in 1616 made a journey to Madrid, for the purpose of obtaining the post of painter to the king, in which attempt he failed, and returned to his native city. In 1609, he had executed the Santiago defeating the Moors in the battle of Clavijo, which is in the cathedral, and possesses very great merit. The saint is bursting on the foe in full career, and there is a dismay in the looks of the vanquished which shows a conviction of superhuman power in their destroyer. The Holy Family, in the church of the University, combines, with considerable force, a softness both of expression and execution by no means characteristic of Tintoret. But the state in which it now is diminishes considerably the general effect. The figures of St. Jerome and St. Ignatius Loyola, in the lower part of the picture, are fine, and the countenances of some of the angels, both in this and other works of Roelas, possess a very peculiar beauty, which Murillo has certainly in some instances imitated. But the great production of this artist's pencil is the Death of St. Isidore, in the church of that name; a picture which, from the devout expression of the expiring saint, upheld by his sorrowing clergy, the truth and force of colour with which these are painted, and the beauty of the heavenly figures, would hardly shrink from a com-

parison (and we can bestow no higher praise) with the great painting of a similar subject—Domenichino's St. Jerome. Roelas died in 1625, and no idea of his talents can be formed but at Seville; the Madrid gallery possesses only one, and that we believe a doubtful, specimen of his powers.

About the same time, the school of Valencia boasted one of its most distinguished ornaments in Francisco de Ribalta, who was born somewhere between the years 1542 and 1563, but the exact date seems doubtful. Love, if it did not *make* him a painter, as it did the blacksmith of Antwerp, at least urged him forward to eminence in the profession he had already adopted. Ribalta became enamoured of his master's daughter, and disclosed his suit to the father, who rejected him with disdain, as not sufficiently master of his art to entitle him to her hand. The lady however seems to have had great and just confidence in her lover's capacity for improvement, and promised to wait three or four years, whilst he pursued his studies in Italy. She was constant, and he was diligent; so much so, that on his return he entered the painting room of his former instructor, and in his mistress's presence finished a picture which her father had left on the easel. When the latter returned, struck with the ability displayed in this work of an unknown pencil, he exclaimed to his daughter, "Ah! this is the man I would marry thee to, and not to that dauber Ribalta." An explanation of course followed, and the lovers were united. The reputation of this artist was very great, and we should think most deservedly so; but here, as in the case of Roelas, and so many other Spanish masters, their native place is the only spot on which they can be properly estimated. His death took place in 1628, and he left a son, Juan, who inherited not only his father's profession, but what is far more rare, his father's excellence; indeed it is said that connoisseurs have great difficulty in distinguishing between their works.

But the rival school of Seville was fast hastening towards the times of Murillo and Cano. Juan de Castillo, the master of both these great men, as well as of Pedro de Moya, had himself been educated under Luis Fernandez, the instructor of Pacheco and Herrera *el viejo*. A journey which Castillo made to Granada was, as we shall see, the cause which fortunately induced Miguel Cano, the father of Alonso, to transfer his residence to Seville. We say *fortunately*, from the result, for Castillo's own works have few charms. Of his six great pictures in the church of Monte Sion at Seville, the Annunciation and Salutation appear to us rather meagre in colour and defective in drawing, though the Virgin's head and hands in the former are well painted. The Assumption is better; for the figure of the Virgin herself, and the



old man gazing upwards, as well as the person looking into the tomb, are fine.

Francisco Pacheco was born at Seville, probably about the year 1571, and is more remarkable in the history of the Spanish school as having been the father-in-law and master of Velasquez, than by any extraordinary merits of his own as a painter. However, he was also distinguished by his poetry, and by the "*Arte de la Pintura*," published in 1649. There seems no authority for the assertion of Palomino, that Pacheco had visited Italy; his studies and subsequent employment were mainly confined to the walls of his native city. There, in 1594, he painted on crimson damask the arms and emblems for the standards of the South-American fleet, and in 1598, executed a large portion of the cenotaph raised on the death of Philip II. He was the first in Seville who carried to perfection the art of painting statues, and among others, coloured the crucifix of the Carthusian convent, and the St. Jerome of the Hieronymites at Santiponce, both sculptured by his friend Montañes. But we shall allude to these great works again when we speak of Cano. Pacheco held the highly honourable charge of inspector of pictures to the Inquisition! For the Holy Office, in its anxiety for the spiritual welfare of mankind, laid down certain rules, and maintained a strict watch over all paintings of sacred subjects exposed to sale in shops or public places, lest any breach of decorum or unbecoming mode of representation should scandalize good Catholics. Any pictures which appeared thus likely to offend, were seized by their officer and conveyed to the tribunal of the Inquisition, where they, as well no doubt as the unlucky painter and vendor, were duly corrected. When Velasquez was summoned to Madrid by the Count-Duke of Olivares, his father-in-law accompanied him, but afterwards returned to Andalusia and died at Seville, much respected and regretted, in 1654.

Before Velasquez entered the school of Pacheco, he had been a disciple of Francisco de Herrera *el viejo*, and there can be little doubt that the style of this artist had considerable influence in forming the peculiar boldness of his illustrious pupil. Herrera was the first who had abandoned the careful and rather timid manner of his predecessors, and painted with a sort of fury, which in his case was an index to his general character and temper. He employed the very coarsest pencils, and it is even said that when he had no pupils, (as was not unfrequently the case, owing

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\* "No le dió menos honor el encargo que le hizo el santo tribunal de la Inquisición, &c."—*Cean Bermudez*, vol. iv. p. 9.



to the harshness of his disposition,) he made his servant-maid smear the colours on the canvass with a large brush, and afterwards, before they dried, he would form them into figures and drapery. However, his works certainly show considerable genius, and to that genius he owed his escape from the consequences of a very serious accusation. He was remarkably fond of engraving on brass, and had thereby subjected himself to a suspicion of coining; on this account he took refuge in the Hermitage of St. Hermenegild, then belonging to the Jesuits, and there painted his large picture of that royal martyr in glory, his head cloven with the hatchet which punished his rebellion against his father and his adherence to the orthodox doctrines of the church. In 1624, Philip IV. was at Seville, and struck with this painting, inquired the artist's name; Herrera's story was told, he was summoned by Philip to his presence, and the king said, "that one possessed of such talents could not abuse them." The painter returned home, more it would seem to his own satisfaction than that of his family, for his younger son not long after robbed him and fled to Rome, and his daughter entered a convent. The father died in 1656, at the age of 80. The picture to which Herrera owed his liberty now hangs on the staircase of the University in Seville, but unfortunately has been so much retouched as to convey no idea of its original effect. Another of his works in the church of St. Basilio is more striking. The fugitive son, or as he is commonly called, Herrera *el mozo*, did not profit so much by his residence at Rome as he might have done, had he pursued a severer course of study. He applied himself mostly to colour, a portion of the art not then in its very best state, and became remarkable for the excellence with which he painted fish, so much so as to be called "*Il Spagnuolo degli Pesci*." After his return to Spain he became painter to the king. There is a good deal of softness and affectation about his works, as, for example, the angels in his picture of St. Francis, in the cathedral of Seville; but that of the Doctors of the Church adoring the Sacrament, which is in the hall of the "*Hermandad del Santisimo*," in the court of Orange-trees, has a breadth of light and shadow which makes it far more effective. Both these paintings were engraved by Matias Arteaga. The artist seems to have had a law-suit with the brotherhood respecting the latter of these two works, for the original entry is still on their books of the payment of 7000 reals, "*despues del pleyto*."

We shall postpone the mention of several inferior artists, and proceed at once to notice the greatest painter, (perhaps without excepting even Murillo,) of all whom Seville produced, or the schools of Spain can boast. DIEGO VELASQUEZ DE SYLVA was born in the year 1599, of parents whose family came originally from

Portugal; the inclination of their son for drawing induced them to place him, as we have seen, under the care of Herrera *el viejo*, but that artist's roughness of temper soon drove his pupil to the school of Pacheco. There he profited more by the suggestions of his own good sense, than the instructions of his master: by accustoming himself constantly to sketch every expression and attitude of a young countryman whom he paid as a model, he, probably, laid the foundation of that admirable truth and feeling of character which distinguishes his portraits. The power of handling the pencil and the practice of colour he improved by painting fruit, fish, and still life, from the objects themselves. The next range of subjects which occupied him was more in the way of the Dutch school, such as scenes of low life and figures of a familiar character, and then it was that he executed his celebrated "Aguador de Sevilla." The Nativity, now in the possession of the Conde de Aguila, belongs to this period: in it the bend of the Virgin's hand and arm is rather stiff and angular, but the extremities themselves of all the figures are wonderfully painted, as is also the old woman looking over at the child. The cast of the countenances would lead us to suspect that he had taken gipsies for his models. Señor Bravo and Mr. Williams likewise possess early works of Velasquez, but, probably, both rather later than the one we have just mentioned. That belonging to the latter gentleman is a very splendid picture. After five years spent by Velasquez in the school of Pacheco, that master bestowed on him his daughter's hand, and he continued to study diligently the works of the Italian or Flemish artists to which he had access, and imitated those of Luis Tristan. In 1622 he made a journey to Madrid, and from this time the whole life of our painter forms a strong and pleasing contrast with the common instances of talents struggling with overtly and neglect. For in the following year the Count-Duke of Olivares, then in the plenitude of his favour, summoned him back to Madrid, and bestowed on him a pension, with the title of painter to the king. It was in the same spring that our Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham arrived at the court on the mad project of wooing and winning the Infanta. The Prince appears to have struck the Spaniards by nothing so much as by his knowledge of art, and his zeal in amassing its productions. At that time pictures were the fashionable taste in Spain, and very many persons had devoted themselves to forming collections, but none more warmly than Philip IV. himself. Charles bought a great number from the cabinets of the Conde de Villa Mediana and the sculptor Pompeo Leoni, and the courtiers and aspirants

to favour made him presents of valuable paintings;\* among others, an artist Don Geronimo Fures y Muñiz gave him eight, and Philip himself presented him with three magnificent Titians. Two of these were packed up, but never carried off, owing to the hurry of his departure: the third was that which was valued at 500*l.*, and sold for 600*l.* at the sale of the king's effects by the Commonwealth, under the name of the "Venus del Pardo."—(*Walpole's Anecdotes*, v. 4. p. 202.) This is said to have been the first instance of a large exportation of works of art from Spain; the number afterwards carried out was very great, especially in the time of Philip V. Charles was not content with what he had thus secured, but commissioned one Miguel de la Cruz, as the Spanish writers call him, or Cross, as he is named by Walpole, to copy all the Titians in Spain. Whether this young man, whose talents are highly spoken of, was an Englishman or a Spaniard, does not seem perfectly clear. Our unfortunate king little thought all this time how much of his own cabinet was destined afterwards to decorate the palaces of Madrid. Velasquez began a portrait of Charles, but unhappily the hasty conclusion of his visit hindered our having the satisfaction of seeing how that great master would have treated a subject that so often employed the pencil of Vandyke.

Another task on which Velasquez was engaged shortly afterwards, was a painting in honour of Philip the Third's piety, as shown in the most remorseless and impolitic of all the acts even of Spanish bigotry—the expulsion of the Moriscoes. The manner in which he executed this work procured our painter the charge of usher of the chamber, with a salary, and he then became permanently attached to the court. Soon afterwards Rubens arrived at Madrid, and the personal acquaintance of two such kindred minds must have been in the highest degree gratifying to both. Few men can have been so well qualified mutually to judge of each other's merits as the Flemish and the Spanish

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\* The returns to be made to all the private individuals who thus gratified the prince's favourite passion, may in part account for the enormous expense incurred in presents. Mr. Mead, in a letter to Sir Martin Stuteville, dated May 16, 1623, says, "it is said there be jewels gone from the Tower to Spain of 600,000*l.* worth."—*Ellis's Letters*, 1st series, vol. 3, p. 151. And Buckingham, with his usual impudence, urges James to send them in his postscripts to the prince's letters of the 22d and 25th of April—in the latter he even says, "but if you doe not send your babie jewels enough, I'll stope all other presents. Therefore louke to it." (*ib.*, iii. pp. 145, 148.) However, if, as Mr. Mead (*ib.*, p. 161,) evidently believed, the catalogue of presents given at parting was correctly stated in that curious tract of "The Joyfull return of the most illustrious Prince Charles, &c. London, 1623," there was enough lavished at that time to draw deeply on the Jewel office. Mr. Mead evidently suspects that part were as bribes to secure the prince's liberty.

artists, or so precluded by their respective situations from having that judgment warped by jealousy. Rubens' conversation and his remarks on the pictures in the Escorial, awakened Don Diego's ancient longing to visit the birth-place of modern art, and with difficulty he obtained permission from the king to make a journey to Italy at the end of 1629. His outfit and letters of recommendation on the part of Philip and the Count-Duke showed their great esteem for him, and secured him the highest consideration. At Venice, where he lodged in the ambassador's palace, he copied much, and especially two pictures of Tintoret. Hence he proceeded through Ferrara, Bologna and Loretto, to Rome. Urban VIII. put into his hands the keys of the Loggie of the Vatican, and Velasquez, notwithstanding a severe attack of the fever indigenous to the Campagna, continued in Rome a whole year. During this time, the only original productions of his pencil were his own portrait, the Forge of Vulcan, now at Madrid, and Joseph's Tunic in the Escorial. Fine as these two last pictures are, they are still to us not so characteristic of Velasquez as what he executed in Spain. The feebleness of the figure of Apollo in the former of them savours of imitation, but the jealous rage of Vulcan is thoroughly Castilian. From Rome he proceeded to Naples, where he spent much time with Ribera,\* then at the height of his reputation, and just made a member of the Academy of St. Luke. Velasquez returned to Madrid in the beginning of 1631, and was, if possible, received into greater favour than before his departure. During his absence, the king had suffered no one to paint him, and after he came back he was employed on the portrait of Don Baltasar Carlos, as well as on one of Philip, from which Tacca, of Florence, was partly to model his equestrian statue.

The disgrace of the Count-Duke in 1643 does not seem to have diminished the esteem in which his protégé was held by the king. None of Velasquez's works display more of his characteristic energy and truth than his portrait of that minister. In the picture of Philip IV. with his gun and dogs, the dignified look of a prince is preserved in the air and manner, notwithstanding the difference of the dress. Indeed no point is more

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\* The reader may be surprised that we make no mention of Ribera in an account of Spanish artists. It is not because we believe that he was born in the kingdom of Naples, (a tale set at rest by the register of Xativa, or St. Felipe, as quoted by Lanzi,) but because his early and long continued residence in Italy, and the masters from whom he received instruction after Ribalta, rather place him in the school of his adopted country, though he still preserved traces of the Spaniard in his works. Many of the finest of these are in Spain, but none that we have seen superior to the celebrated *Pietà* at Naples.

striking in the Spanish Vandyke than his power of giving that undefinable look of a gentleman, which we find so strongly marked in the works of the Flemish artist. Velasquez made a second visit to Italy in the year 1648, principally with a view to purchasing works of art, as there was then an idea of establishing an academy at Madrid. He again spent some time at Venice, and having a second time studied on the spot the school which may be looked upon as the link between the art of more southern Italy and that of Flanders, proceeded through Parma and Florence to Rome. Thence, almost without stopping, he continued his journey to Naples, and after taking the steps necessary for fulfilling his commission, returned to Rome. He was admitted a member of the Academy of St. Luke, having astonished the artists there by a wonderful portrait of his slave Pareja, and in that city he left a lasting memorial of his genius in the extraordinary picture of Innocent X. now in the Doria palace. The king was impatient for his return, and he landed at Barcelona in June, 1651, but the project of an academy was not realized. Velasquez obtained the place of "Aposentador Mayor," and in the discharge of his office, was despatched to Irun in March, 1660, with a view to prepare the royal apartments on the road and at the frontiers, after the conclusion of the peace of the Pyrenees. On the 7th of June, Philip IV. gave away the Infanta, Maria Theresa, in the Isle of Pheasants, and thus, in spite of all precautions, paved the way for the further misery of those dominions which his own imbecile administration had mainly contributed to ruin. Don Diego immediately on his return to Madrid was taken ill, and before the end of the summer Spain had to mourn the loss of her greatest painter.

We have purposely avoided interrupting the narrative of the life of Velasquez by noticing many of his works, but he is so generally known only as a portrait painter, that we feel it necessary to dwell more particularly on a few of his pictures which represent a different class of subjects, and are executed with, at least, equal excellence. Perhaps his chef-d'œuvre is the Surrender of Breda to Spinola. The subject is beautifully conceived; the Spanish general receives the keys from the governor, with the air and attitude of a man who feels esteem for a brave enemy, and is anxious to soothe the wounded feelings of a vanquished soldier. All this is as well expressed as it is imagined, and the composition of the picture is admirable: the back-ground, seen between the two groups of Spaniards and Flemings, conveys at once the nature of the country and the horror of the recent struggle. The quiet repose of the famous Interior, which Luca Jordano surnamed the "Theology of painting," contrasts well

with the subject of the last picture. One of her ladies is offering a cup of water to the Infanta Doña Margarita; on the right is another of her attendants and two dwarfs, one of whom has his foot on the back of a large sleepy looking dog; on the left is Velasquez at his easel. Pierre Hooze never painted an interior with a more magical effect; the open door in the distance, with the light it admits, clears up the whole, and completes the wonderful air and tone of the picture. There is a story that the king on seeing this work, said there was one thing wanting, and taking the brush, painted on the breast of Velasquez the cross of Santiago. Be this as it may, it is certain that he received that order, though the defects in his pedigree rendered a dispensation from the Pope necessary. The "Bebedores," or drinkers, must astonish any person who has hitherto only known Velasquez as a portrait painter. No Dutch master could have expressed the bacchanalians' respect to their mock monarch, or the spirit of drunken revelry, with greater force or finer colour. But this great man still remains to be spoken of as a landscape painter: his sketches in the gallery at Madrid, and the back-ground of his picture of St. Anthony and St. Paul the Hermit, stamp him as a first rate artist in this department also. We cannot undertake to institute a detailed comparison between Velasquez and other eminent portrait painters, but few can be put on the same line with him, perhaps none but Titian and Vandyke. In his hand the pencil seems to have possessed a sort of free agency, and to have followed instinctively the flow of line which best expressed the character of the original form. If the style of a painter be considered as the medium through which he exhibits nature, in no other master is that medium so completely transparent, and free from all that distorts the object he wished to represent. There is nothing merely conventional; his freedom of touch is not *touch* without meaning; and whilst all vulgarity is avoided, every feature which marks individuality without marring beauty is clearly conceived and forcibly expressed.

Pareja, whom we have mentioned as the slave of Velasquez, was himself a painter of some merit. It seems that this class of persons was at that time numerous in Spain, and we may recollect the eagerness with which Sancho hopes to pocket the profits arising from the sale of some of his future subjects. Pareja was usually occupied in preparing the pallet of his master, and he thus acquired a knowledge of painting, which was considerably improved by his two visits to Italy. He painted a picture which he placed in the studio of Velasquez: the king one day desired him to turn it round, as he usually did all that were standing with their faces to the wall; Pareja, on Philip asking whose work it



was, threw himself at his feet, and confessed that he had pursued the study unknown to Velasquez ; upon which that prince turned to Don Diego and said, that one who possessed such talents ought not to be a slave. However, gratitude for his freedom made Pareja continue in attendance on his former master, and after his death on his daughter, who had married Martinez Mazo, the most eminent of her father's pupils, and an excellent landscape painter, as is sufficiently proved by his view of Saragossa.

We ought just to mention Eugenio Caxes, Antonio de Pereda, and Jusepe Leonardo, all of whom died a few years before Velasquez, and have left at Madrid works which do them credit. Francisco Collantes painted a very extraordinary picture, in the Royal Gallery of that capital, of the vision of Ezekiel. The skeletons are re-fleshing themselves. "Lo! the sinews and the flesh came upon them, and the skin covered them above." But the landscape in this work is the finest part, both from its character, and the manner in which it is executed. Sebastian de Llanos y Valdes belonged to the school at Seville, having been a pupil of Herrera *el viejo*, and died in that city in 1660. The works of this master are so rare, that Cean Bermudez only names two in any public buildings; one of them, that from the college of Santo Tomas, we believe to be now hanging in the same room with the Angels and Abraham of Navarete, in the collection of Marshal Soult. If this is the case, Llanos y Valdes must have been a distinguished artist, for the picture we allude to is very striking. Jacinto Geronimo Espinosa and Esteban March were of the Valencian school, and from the very few specimens of their works which we have seen, we should say that the former excelled in portraying pain and terror, whilst the latter, though a good battle-painter, was in his heads rather exaggerated and mannered.

But we now turn to Francisco Zurbaran, or as he has been called, the Spanish Caravaggio; a name which is quite as great a compliment to the Italian painter as it is to the Spaniard. The town of Fuente de Cantos, in Estremadura, was his birth-place in 1598, and his parents sent him to Seville, that he might cultivate in the school of Roelas the taste for art which he had already shown. There seem to be few incidents in the life of Zurbaran which present any interest, but his style and works are too remarkable to be lightly passed over. The strength of his lights and shadows certainly favours the idea that he imitated such works of Caravaggio as he could meet with in Spain, (for there is no reason to suppose that he ever visited Italy,) but in simple grandeur of style he is sometimes far superior to that master. At least we know of no picture of the Italian artist at all equal to



**Zurbaran's Santo Tomas.** The great character of his system of light and shade is its wonderful breadth and unity. The large masses of shadow are broken as little as possible by reflected lights, and by applying these principles to the broad and angular folds of the monkish dress, he has secured a dignity in his draperies admirably suited to the Saints and Apostles whom he loved to paint. In this excellence he much more nearly resembled some of the earlier masters than his own contemporaries ; not that he imitated their works, but he saw with the same eyes and with a feeling of the grandeur which was to be found in the objects immediately around him. Whereas we cannot help thinking, that in very many cases the study of the antique has had a tendency to favour the adoption of a sort of conventional form of drapery, and to deaden the artist's sensibility with regard to the harmony of character in the figure, and the general impression to be produced by the dress, for it is evident that the latter should be subsidiary to the former. Many of Zurbaran's works are yet to be seen at Seville ; in the cathedral there is a *retablo* of a very large size, entirely painted by him ; the sacristy of the Carthusians contains three of his pictures. That which represents St. Bruno before the Pope is most remarkable, both for the admirable expression of humility in the saint, and the extreme simplicity of the composition. This latter quality is very conspicuous in the picture we have already spoken of ; that in the college of Santo Tomas, which if it be the *chef-d'œuvre* of Zurbaran, is also undoubtedly one of the very finest pictures in the world. In the course of the late war it was brought to Paris, but has since been restored to its original place. St. Thomas Aquinas is represented in the clouds between the four doctors of the Latin church, and above in glory Christ with the Virgin, St. Paul and St. Dominic. At the bottom of all kneels the Archbishop Diego Deza, founder of the college, on one side, and on the other the Emperor Charles V., in his imperial crown and mantle. In this lower part a fine broad mass of shadow is relieved by a sunny back ground ; and above, nothing can be more perfect than the Doctors of the Church ; St. Jerome particularly, with his uplifted finger and look of deep meditation. Out of Spain, the Duke of Dalmatia possesses about twelve of Zurbaran's pictures, and in the Munich gallery there is a fine one of St. John and the Virgin.

Alonzo Cano was a native of Granada, born in 1601 ; his father worked in that city as a composer of "*retablos*." By the advice of Juan de Castillo, the parents of Cano transferred their residence to Seville, where their son studied sculpture under Montañes, and painting in the schools of Pacheco and Castillo. Cean, however, remarks with justice, that the simplicity of the

works of Cano, and the beauty of his forms and draperies, prove that he profited by the collection of the antiques which the Duke of Alcala had brought from Naples and deposited in his "Casa de Pilatos."

In speaking of this artist, we cannot avoid dwelling for a moment on an anomalous and highly interesting fact in the history of art, the existence of a large and excellent school of coloured sculpture in Spain. We are not aware that this phenomenon has ever been sufficiently noticed, or that any real parallel is to be found elsewhere, for the *ξόανα* of the Greeks were essentially different in kind. Their object was not illusion, and they therefore wanted that repulsive element which coloured sculpture of the size of life almost necessarily possesses. This disposition to make better what is already good, and add the supposed excellence of colour to that of form, seems analogous to the feeling that dictated the whimsical compositions of the Spanish poetry called "glosses," in which an originally fine idea is diluted and overloaded with the poetical variations of some later author. It would almost seem probable at first sight that both were the result of some peculiar tendency in the nation; but such is not the case, for their origin was different. There can be little doubt that the anxiety of the priests and monks to act as strongly as possible on the minds of the lower orders led them to substitute illusion for the legitimate object of art. The tortured saint or mourning mother evidently harrowed up the feelings and excited the devotion of the vulgar with more effect when the figure assumed the appearance of reality. All are capable of this false excitement; few comparatively of experiencing the chastened awe or subdued pathos inspired by real art. However, in pursuance of this end, they fortunately employed men whose genius and education ensured excellence even with mistaken views. No one can see the crucifix of Montañes, in the Carthusian convent at Seville, without owning that in conception and execution it is a first-rate work. The Saviour, not yet dead, is turning his head as if to address his mother; and though, perhaps, it is therefore deficient in the unity necessary for sculpture, the expression is touching in the extreme. His St. Jerome at Santiponce is equally wonderful, and not the worse for being coloured too dark to resemble flesh; this, we believe, was not the original tint. In all his contracts, Montañes was careful in specifying that his works were to be painted under his own direction. His pupil, Roldan, sculptured, among other things, an altar-piece of the Entombment of Christ, in the hospital of the Caridad. The back ground is in bas-relief, the principal figures detached: it is composed like a picture, coloured like a picture, and is, in fact, a *picture carved*

*in wood.* Cano's Virgins in sculpture, like those in his paintings, have an expression of pensive melancholy, and are to us far more pleasing when small, like the beautiful one on the "facistol" or reading desk of the choir of Granada, than when of the size of life. His head of St. Paul in the same cathedral, though marvellously executed, cannot please, for in its glass case it only looks on that account more like an anatomical preparation. In fact, when the representation comes so near the reality in form and colour, it immediately suggests the one thing wanting—life—and produces the effect of a beautiful corpse.

But we return to the life of our artist: having wounded Sebastian de Llanos y Valdes in a duel, he was obliged to seek the protection of Velasquez, whose interest at court protected Cano from the consequences of this affair. He was however, (if any credit be due to the story,) more seriously affected by a charge of the murder of his wife. It is said that he underwent the torture without confessing, and thus escaped; but although Cean made every effort to discover the original process, he was unsuccessful, and the story with all its improbable circumstances rests on the very doubtful testimony of Palomino. Between the years 1639 and 1650, Cano resided a good deal in Madrid, and was a candidate for an employment in the cathedral of Toledo. In 1651, Philip IV. appointed him to a stall in the cathedral of Granada, on condition that he took orders within the year. This condition the painter did not comply with, and although the time was twice prolonged, he had not taken the necessary step at the expiration of the last period with which he was indulged. The chapter then ejected him from his preferment, but having afterwards been ordained sub-deacon to the title of a chaplaincy, by the bishop of Salamanca, he was, in 1658, at the king's command, restored to his stall with all the arrears, and continued a member of the chapter till his death, which took place in 1667. His character was singular and his temper hasty: when the auditor of Granada did not appear to value sufficiently a St. Antony which Cano had executed by his orders, the artist destroyed it before his face. The choir of the cathedral of Malaga he left unfinished for the same reason. On his death-bed he is said to have put aside a crucifix offered him by the priest, because it was badly executed, and thus to have shown the ruling passion for art strong even in his last moments. Cano's merits as a painter are very great; his most beautiful works perhaps are his pictures of the Virgin and Child, and in the best of those the form of the face, the tenderness of feeling, and the exquisite drawing of the extremities, are alike remarkable. Mr. Williams of Seville possesses almost the most charming painting

we know of this master. The subject is the Angel and Tobit, in which it is hard to say whether the tone and transparent colour of the landscape, or the drawing of the boy and his heavenly guide, are most to be admired.

If we professed to be writing a complete history of Spanish painting, and it were possible to compress such an account into the compass of an article, it would be inexcusable to omit the soldier and battle-painter, Juan de Toledo, or Juan Antonio de Escalante, a tolerably successful imitator of the Venetian school. But as it is, we shall pass at once to the life of that artist, whose name is so widely known as to be in foreign countries almost the sole representative of the Spanish school, and who entirely overleapt the narrow limits of that local celebrity attained by his brethren. The notion that BARTOLOME ESTEBAN MURILLO was a native of Pílas arose probably from the fact that his wife came from that town, and from his having possessed a small property there. However, it is clear that he was baptized at Seville in the parish of Sta. Maria Magdalena on the 1st of January, 1638. Like other great painters, he showed the tendency of his genius during his boyhood, and his parents placed him in the school of his kinsman, Juan de Castillo. After this master had removed to Cadiz, Murillo continued to paint whatever was required by the dealers of Seville, and when Cean Bermudez wrote, there were three of his pictures of this period still well known in his native city. The earliest perhaps is that which then was in the cloister of the convent of "la Regina," but which is now to be found in the collection of the Prebendary Pereira. It represents the Virgin and St. Francis with several monks: to our eyes, this picture is flat, and presents little or no promise of the artist's future excellence. The next, which may be referred to very nearly the same time, is a Virgin, monk, and angels, in a chapel of the college of Santo Tomas. In the angels' heads Murillo has evidently imitated Roelas, and there are about some of them glimpses of his later style. The face of the Virgin is very beautiful, and her drapery, though rather angular in its folds, well painted. The picture is signed "Bar<sup>meu</sup> Murillo," and the capital M is of a peculiar form, the right hand line being prolonged into a sort of loop. Another painting in the possession of Mr. Williams has the same peculiarity. What has become of the third of the early Murillos mentioned by Cean, whether it was consumed by the fire in the cloister of St. Francisco, or carried off by the French, we have not discovered. The same convent still possesses in the sacristy a whole-length portrait of Archbishop Urbina, of nearly as early a date. It is executed in a dry style, but the head has considerable merit; two more pictures, painted probably about the same time,

are to be seen in a very bad state in a dark corner of the cloister of St. Juan de Dios.

Murillo evidently saw the defects of his first master, and aspired to something better; the great works of Zurbaran and Roelas were before his eyes, and the fact that he imitated them both is clear, as for instance in the very beautiful picture of Christ between the Virgin and St. Joseph, in the hands of Mr. Williams. This gentleman has also, besides several first-rate specimens of the artist's best manner, five landscapes, a St. Diego bearing the cross, and a St. Francis on his knees, all executed in his early style. In this last named picture, the back ground closely resembles the tone of that in many of his more mature productions, and the same remark will apply to a St. Francis of the Prebendary Pereira. Another very fine picture of the same subject, but of a later date, is in the possession of the Canon Maestre. We have ventured to try our readers' patience by the foregoing list, because nothing is more interesting with regard to Murillo than a comparison of his very early with his more perfect works, and we are not aware that any traveller mentions where the specimens of the former are to be found. When our painter was almost twenty four years of age, Pedro de Moya, who had been his fellow-student in the house of Castillo, returned to Seville. He was a little older than Murillo, and had gone with the army to Flanders. There he had admired and studied the works of Vandyke, and went to London in search of him. He became a pupil of this master during the six last months of his life; and that he succeeded in imitating his style, may be seen by a portrait in the Esterbazy palace at Vienna. The influence of this new light upon Murillo is to be considered in two ways. In the first place, it is clear that Moya's return gave the impulse which drove him—not indeed as he intended to Flanders or Italy, but—to Madrid, and restored him to Seville as the rival of the fame of Velasquez. But there is a second question, how far the style of Moya, thus derived from that of Vandyke, contributed to form the mode of painting adopted by Murillo in his best works? Certain it is that there is considerable similarity between the touch and handling of Vandyke and Murillo, yet it is hard to suppose that this second-hand knowledge of the great Flemish artist at the early age of twenty four should have had any great share in modifying the style of the Spaniard. The first wish of our artist was now to visit Italy or the Low Countries, but in order to gain funds for this journey he was compelled to paint a number of devotional subjects for the South American market, and with the produce of their sale proceeded to Madrid. There Velasquez obtained for him every facility he could desire, in copying the works of the

great masters in the capital or the Escorial. He spent two years thus profitably employed, and in 1645 returned to Seville, uncared for and unnoticed. But he did not long remain so, for in the following year his genius burst forth, and he astonished his fellow citizens by the works he executed for the convent of St. Francisco. These cloisters were burnt in 1810, but many of the Murillos which they contained are yet to be seen in the great receptacle for the best plunder of Spain, the salons of Marshal Soult. Such productions of his pencil brought wealth and honour to Murillo, and in 1648 he married a lady of Pílas, Doña Beatriz de Cabrera y Sotomayor. Whether it was matrimony that softened his style and mellowed his colouring, we do not profess to decide, but it is at this time that he is said to have adopted the softer and more flowing manner in which he afterwards painted his best pictures. In 1658, he executed the St. Leander and St. Isidore now in the sacristy of the cathedral of Seville, and in the following year his St. Antony of Padua in the baptistery. The four half circles, formerly belonging to the church of Santa Maria la Blanca, date about ten years later : it seems uncertain what has become of the two smaller of these, but those of the Patrician's dream, relating to the foundation of Santa Maria Maggiore, are, with the Santa Isabel, the best specimens of Murillo's finest time and warmest colour which Madrid can boast. The interval between 1670 and 1680 was the time in which he painted his most celebrated pictures : then it was that he executed those in the Hospital of the Caridad, whence came the Prodigal Son, the Abraham receiving the angels, the St. Peter and the Pool of Bethesda, now in the collection of the Duke of Dalmatia, as well as the Santa Isabel at Madrid. Much however still remains, as for instance the St. Juan de Dios, described by Mr. Inglis, which actually has all the force of Rembrandt or Caravaggio, the beautiful little St. John, and the celebrated work of Moses striking the rock. This latter painting affords the best evidence of how nobly Murillo could handle a large subject : it is admirably composed, for whilst the fine dark mass of the rock and Moses standing beside it form a sort of focus, the groups to the right and left make up the whole, and by their details tell the story of previous suffering and miraculous relief, with the greatest truth and feeling. The Capuchin convent outside the Puerta de Cordova, is a perfect storehouse of Murillo's best works, and although we have already dwelt too much on single pictures, we may add that in that of St. Felix Cantalicus receiving the infant Saviour from the arms of the Virgin, the artist has given one of his best specimens of female grace and beauty, along with devotional expression on the part of the saint, and most admirable colour.



Murillo went to Cadiz to paint the great picture of the *Esponsals* of St. Catharine, in the church of the Capuchin Convent there, and whilst at work fell from a scaffold: he never recovered from the effects of this accident, and expired in April, 1682, in the arms of his friend and pupil, Nuñez de Villavicencio.

Had Murillo ever visited Italy, it is very doubtful to us if art would have benefited or his reputation been augmented. On the one hand, it must be owned that his works are often deficient in ideal beauty, or, to leave the jargon of art, a careful study of the fine forms of the antique had not taught him to select and adhere only to the very best models. In this view, then, a residence at Rome might have been advantageous to him; but, on the other side, would not his simplicity and unaffected grace have run the risk of contamination, by the mannerism and mechanical dexterity of those degenerate days? What, we would ask, could such a man hope to gain from the luscious affectation or the conventional forms of Carlo Dolce, Pietro di Cortona, or Cignani?

One of the most wonderful points about Murillo's execution is that feathery lightness of touch which distinguishes most of the productions of his best time. The brush seems to have swept over the canvass unrestrained, and to have left the flakes of colour hardly adhering to the ground. There results from this a peculiar richness and lightness, of which Murillo well knew how to avail himself, by contrasting it with a harder and more substantial style of painting. Thus, in some of his pictures, the heavenly figures seem of a totally different texture from the solid earthliness of the unglorified beings below. As a colourist, he was equally marvellous; the cold grey tone of his back grounds gives immense value to the mellow tints of the principal figures. Sir Joshua Reynolds has said, "that none but great colourists can venture to paint fine white linen near flesh." Few artists hazarded this contrast oftener than Murillo, and none more successfully, whether we look at the general effect of the whole picture, or the manner in which the flesh and the linen are respectively executed.

An enormous exportation of the works of this master, real and reputed, has taken place at different periods from Spain, but principally in the reign of Philip V. The greater part of his large works were devotional subjects, painted for churches and convents, and the proprietors of which, therefore, had in ordinary times neither the wish nor the power to alienate them. Thus, it is not surprising that he should be principally known to the rest of Europe by his beggar-boys, and his more familiar compositions. In Evelyn's *Journal*, as early as April, 21, 1693, we find that, at the sale of



Lord Melford's effects at Whitehall, "Lord Godolphin bought the picture of *The Boys*, by Morillio, the Spaniard, for eighty guineas. Deare enough." Many of those which then got into the market were no doubt works of his numerous pupils and imitators: pictures by him of these subjects are rare in Spain, but in the subordinate figures of some of his paintings, as, for instance, in the *Santa Isabel*, or *Santo Tomas de Villanueva*, in the *Capuchins*' at Seville, there is sufficient evidence of his power of treating low life with that admirable character and thoroughly Spanish feeling which many of them possess. Before we take leave of this great master, we ought to state, that his authentic portrait, painted by himself, as well as a very fine collection of his original drawings, are in the same cabinet to which it has been so often necessary for us to refer, namely, that of Mr. Williams of Seville. We might add, that this gentleman is one of the *very few* persons who possess an accurate knowledge of Murillo in every period. His three ablest pupils were Tobar, Meneses, and Nuñez de Villavicencio, who copied their master so accurately as to deceive even very good judges. The first of these three was by no means contemptible as an original artist. Meneses finished the *Espousals of St. Catharine*, as we have stated above, and there is a very good copy by him in a private house in Seville of a Murillo, which we believe to be in the possession of Mr. Baring. Villavicencio's merits can never be doubted by those who have seen his excellent picture of *Boys playing in the Street*, in the gallery at Madrid. This painting closely resembles in style many similar compositions attributed to Murillo, and we have heard it confidently ascribed to that artist; but as it is said to have been presented to Charles II. by Villavicencio himself, it can hardly be the work of any other master. Juan de Valdes Leal lived at the same time, and aspired to be the rival of Murillo, but his loose sketchy manner, and the manifest inferiority that probably fostered his jealousy of his great contemporary, would hardly tempt us to dwell on his works. Nor, indeed, shall we prolong our catalogue further, than just to mention Claudio Coello, immortalized by the beautiful picture of the *Santa Forma*, in the Escorial. The *Santa Forma* is a consecrated wafer, said to retain miraculous marks of the impious fury of the heretics of Gorcum, in Holland, which was in 1684, by the order of Charles II., removed from the reliquary, where it had hitherto lain, to the altar of the sacristy. The king was anxious to commemorate so pious a mark of respect on his part to this voucher for transubstantiation, and commissioned Francisco Ricci (a painter whose style closely resembled that of Valdes) to execute a picture of the ceremony. Ricci, however,

died when the work was only sketched, and it was then entrusted to his pupil Claudio Coello. In the original design, the point of sight was placed too high, and Coello, therefore, abandoned the composition of his master, and successfully followed his own taste. The place destined to receive the picture when finished was very high in proportion to its width, and not well adapted for an historical composition; again, almost all the figures were to be actual portraits of persons about the court, and in a kneeling posture. Notwithstanding these difficulties, Coello has overcome the disagreeable uniformity of dress and position, as well as the awkwardness of the shape, and produced a work admirable for the way in which it is composed and for the execution.

We have thus brought this slight sketch of the History of Spanish Painting up to the end of the 17th century, and of the reign of the last feeble monarch of the Austrian line, after whose death French ambition was destined to struggle to the crown of Spain, and French taste threatened to obliterate the nationality of her literature and art. It remains to say something of our authorities: we have throughout followed the excellent work of Cean Bermudez; Palomino's gossiping folio stands in somewhat the same relation to this author in which Vasari does to Lanzi, but the inaccuracies of the Spanish writer are exceedingly gross and numerous. We need say less on this point, because the reader will have seen, in several instances, that he is at variance with the statements of Cean Bermudez, who, as much as possible, verified his facts by a reference to the archives and public documents of the churches and convents. His Dictionary contains an account of the sculptors and illuminators of his native country, as well as its painters. At the end are copious indexes, both chronological and geographical, so that the whole work is as convenient in its arrangement as it is interesting in its contents. The compendium of Quilliet draws all its matter from Cean Bermudez, and, besides being disfigured by gross dogmatism as to the separation of some of the schools, contains in the preface a most entertaining estimate of the merits of a good many Spanish masters, by a comparison of them with others better known. Who but a Frenchman, bigoted to the glory of France, and the "*Siècle de Louis XIV.*," would have ventured to name Lebrun as equivalent to Velasquez, or discern in their styles one of those "*rapprochemens inouis, que l'on trouve dans tels et tels artistes qui, sans s'être jamais vus, sans s'être rien communiqué, vivant à de grandes distances, produisaient à même tems des chefs-d'œuvres qui paraissent sortir du même pinceau ou de la même école?*"

ART. II.—1. *Sur la Mortalité Proportionnelle de quelques populations, considérée comme mesure de leur aisance et de leur civilisation.* Par Sir Francis D'Ivernois. Genève, Imp. de la Bibliothèque Universelle. 1832. 8vo.

2. *Sur la Mortalité Proportionnelle des populations Normandes, considérée, &c.* Par le même. Genève. 1833. 8vo.

THESE interesting papers—which recently appeared in the *Bibliothèque Universelle* of Geneva—are composed from materials collected by Sir Francis D'Ivernois for a great work on which he has been several years engaged, on European Statistics; and the idea of their detached publication in that excellent periodical appears to have been suggested by a ridiculous blunder of Moreau de Jonnès, concerning that fertile source of modern panic, the supposed perils of Europe from its Slavonic populations. That a publicist of some respectability should, in the face of all principle, allow terror to persuade him, that Russia in less than fifty years will, within her present boundaries, number one hundred millions of inhabitants, is certainly a choice illustration as to how far an irritated fancy will derange the grave march of calculation; and we apprehend that his further statement of the insignificance of the united progress of Great Britain and France, in comparison with the progress of the Barbarian empire, is not suited to blunt the edge of Adam Smith's sarcasm concerning the pliability of political arithmetic, or to show that the mere figuring statistician has very notable pretensions to the name and honours of the statesman.

Overturning the erections of M. de Jonnès by a few easy efforts, M. D'Ivernois fixes attention upon an element, without which the parade of population-lists can never conduct the inquirer either to the relative strength of an empire, or to the solution of the important problem of its comparative progress or decline. That element is the *mean duration of life*. For of what are we informed by the mere numbers representing the populations of two states, and the rate of their annual increase? It is not possible to infer, from the unaccompanied announcement, one circumstance regarding either the moral or physical health of the two empires. Although the rate of increase in the one be comparatively rapid, its rate of mortality may at the same time be sufficiently appalling to prevent its generations from passing greatly beyond the age of maturity; while in the other each individual may reach upon the average a considerably advanced age, and thereby furnish a comparatively long life of usefulness to the State. Nor, without marking the mean duration of life, in regard to the same population at different epochs, will it be possible to

discern whether the recorded movement of that population betokens advance or virtual retrogression.

“ Suppose” says M. D’Ivernois, “ that at the beginning of this century Russia possessed only thirty millions of Russo-Greeks, and that she has now thirty-three; if the newly arrived masses do not count among them a greater number of years than those reckoned by the thirty millions who preceded them, it will be evident that, notwithstanding the numerical increase, there has been no increase of *human productive force*; and the existing generation will have to waste itself in supporting a greater number of infants, without thence obtaining a greater number of adults.”

The point alluded to deserves more definite illustration. The useful or productive life commences with the date when the individual becomes capable of providing his own subsistence, a date which, for the sake of brevity, we shall term the *age of maturity*. The productive or useful period will evidently be the interval between this date and the average close of life; an interval which, if multiplied by the number of persons, will yield a product representing the comparative gross physical strength or *momentum* of a society. The representations of a hypothetical table will perhaps bring out more clearly the results at which we aim :—

Supposed age of maturity.	Supposed mean duration of life in three societies.	Useful or pro- ductive interval in each society.
16 .....	25 .....	9
	35 .....	19
	45 .....	29*

Mark how rapidly the proportionate productive interval increases as the mean duration of life is prolonged! A society

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\* This illustration can no where be *intimately* applied; but a general illustration is not to be objected to because of minute inapplicabilities, provided no inferences are drawn by means of its inapplicable points. Scarcely are there two countries where the *age of maturity* is the same. It varies with climate and usage, so that it is not a *fixed* element, as stated above. The hypothesis of a mean life too, is taken upon the supposition of the surplus lives of those who go beyond it, compensating, and nothing more, the deficit in those who sink before reaching it. But the years of a mature man are more valuable than those years of a child, and hence the necessity of other corrections when we desire to be minute. Independently of this, however, there are clearly two circumstances by which the comparative population of States must be judged if we would arrive at their comparative strengths:—

1. *The moral condition.* This regulates in general the mean duration of life, and when favourable gives as above an increased productive interval, or physical momentum.

2. *The intellectual condition, or the wealth of the society.* This informs us how great a quantity of that productive interval is employed in the production of necessities and the sustenance of children. It is only the remainder which is *disposable*, or which constitutes the external power of the state.

Barbarism can thus seldom contend with civilization; and M. de Jonnès may be pacified.

like the third in our table, would clearly have a gross physical power equal to that of a society in the circumstances of the first, although the latter were possessed of upwards of treble its population. With equal populations, its productive labour would be more than three fold; and if its *net disposable force* were required—that force we mean which measures the strength of the *State*—the force usually employed in the produce or purchase of luxuries, it would clearly exceed the net disposable force of the first in a still greater proportion,—much more of the productive labour of the first society being expended on indispensable interior objects, and the support of its struggling and fainting masses, until they touch on the age of maturity. How barren then are those statistics which furnish no elements wherefrom to deduce the average duration of life! Even that apparently final end and aim of drawing-room statistical exhibitions is quite unattainable without it; for nothing certain can be gathered concerning the *period of doubling* among any people, from the unaccompanied table of the past increase of its numbers. A knowledge of the *health* of the people, or of the vital strength of the existing generation, is indispensable to statistical prophecy; and this element is not discoverable unless from the proportional mortality. The average duration of life is also our most emphatic indication of the comparative amounts of human happiness. According to the slowness with which generations disappear, fewer are hewn down in infancy, and a greater sum of felicity is within reach of the several units in the mighty throng. It is not indeed to be alleged that even by propitious indications, our element can express with certainty the presence of a lofty moral cultivation; but it will infallibly inform us of favourable ground for cultivation—of localities signalized by the comparative absence of physical misery, including therein all ills of diverse origin which still administer to the castigation of our race.

We have been led from the strict text of M. D'Ivernois's observations, by our desire to unfold the great importance of an element which appears comparatively seldom in the results of statistical inquiry; but we return to him with pleasure, and take up his attractive illustrations in the full hope of showing that the "dry" records, may, if properly kept and carefully studied, produce matter of contemplation even to the romantic philanthropist.—M. D'Ivernois illustrates the importance of attention to the average extent of life, by an account of the condition of two parishes in Switzerland, of our own county of Monmouth, and of the population of Normandy. We mean to bring the leading facts before our thoughtful readers; and we only hope that our narrative and remarks may present something of the humane

and enlightened philosophy which is diffused over the pages of M. D'Ivernois.

I. The records of Montreux, a parish of the Swiss canton of Vaud, are kept with the greatest care by its worthy dean, M. Bridel; and it is precisely because its limited population of 2833 *capita* enables its registers to be perfectly complete, that we regard it as an object of peculiar interest. These registers inform us of every thing to be desired concerning the movements of this "self-contained" population: and that the lesson may be made effective by contrast, M. D'Ivernois writes on the same page the movement of the Russo-Greek population.\*

MONTREUX.		RUSSO-GREEK POPULATION.	
Average of six years, 1826 to 1831.		Average of 1829 and 1830.	
Population .....	2833.	.....	33,000,000
	Proportion.		Proportion.
Births 62½.....	1 in 45½	.....	1 in 17½
Deaths 44½.....	1 in 64½	.....	1 in 25½
Annual increase.....	1½	.....	1½

Mark the figures which announce the proportional mortality of these contrasted populations! In Russia, one twenty-fifth disappears annually, while in Montreux the mortality is only one in sixty four! The Russian generations are thus removed much more than twice as rapidly as the population of simple and primitive Montreux; and who would purchase the advantage—equivocal at best—of a triple number of births, when accompanied by this enormous mass of premature deaths? In Montreux, four fifths of those born reach the age of twenty, while in the equally authentic records of the Russian diocese of Nisni Novgorod it appears that of 1000 baptized, 661 perish before their fifteenth year! "Assuredly," says M. D'Ivernois, "it is not in Montreux that the nuptial garments of mothers are destined to serve as shrouds for their first-born."

In investigating the causes of this very remarkable contrast, the hypothesis first occurs that it may arise in *climate*. Doubtless Montreux is one of the healthiest spots in Helvetia, and its climate nothing resembles that of inhospitable Muscovy; but by taking another example, M. D'Ivernois has shown that climate is not the resolving cause. The parish of Leysin is situated among the

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\* The mean duration of life, it will be noticed, is here given only by implication. The proportional mortality represents directly how slowly or rapidly successive generations disappear, and therefore involves it. It is a pity that some good calculator does not publish a short account of the mode of these elementary computations, for the benefit of our register-keepers. It would be well too, if the methods of approximating to these elements in a crowded population, by means of the doctrine of probabilities, were familiarly illustrated.



higher Alps. It is near the summit of the habitable country, and the prevailing cold is so rigorous that its inhabitants can raise neither wheat, oats, rye, nor any bread corn except the barley of Siberia. Yet the statistics of Leysin present even more favourable indications than the records of the worthy dean of Montreux. In the middle of last century the pastor Muret published an account of Leysin, from which this is an extract:—

“ At Leysin, where the mean duration of life is 50 years 7 months, and the probable life 61 years, young persons below 16 constitute only one-fourth of the population. In ten years there have been 83 baptisms, 45 marriages, and 82 deaths. These data fix the following as the annual rate.

<i>Births</i> , 1 in $48\frac{3}{4}$	<i>Deaths</i> , 1 in $49\frac{1}{4}$
Annual increase . . . . . $\frac{1}{3801}$	
Period of doubling . . . . . 2636 years.”	

That Muret did not exaggerate the condition of things, is proved by the registers of the present pastor, M. Favre. The *mean* duration of life in this little community, which still numbers only 447 *capita*, has now ascended to 56 years 3 months, and the *probable life* to 64 years. The vital principle is thus still stronger in cold Leysin, than in hospitable and mild Montreux; and the question recurs in all its force, what is the cause of the singular contrast between these Swiss regions and the district of Nisni Novgorod?

The cause must be sought for within the bosom of the Swiss population. As to riches, these good mountaineers have little to boast of, for their life is as laborious as that of the other peasants of Helvetia. Dean Bridel attributes the feeble mortality in Montreux partly to the regular and invariable practice of vaccination, and partly to a healthy and abundant nourishment. The dean's explanation is correct in circumstances, but it does not touch the root or origin of the phenomenon. Taken by themselves, it might seem that sound medical precautions, and abundant food, would accelerate the population's rate of annual increase, whereas in both the Helvetic parishes this rate is trifling compared with that of deadly Russia. The apparent annual increase of the Russo-Greek population is  $\frac{1}{35}$ , that of Montreux  $\frac{1}{152}$ , and that of Leysin,  $\frac{1}{3801}$ ; while under the two last-mentioned slow rates we meet with that health and abundance which *à priori* might promise a rapid rate, and the seemingly advantageous march of Russia is the most murderous in Europe! Now, the advance of a population and its condition with regard to subsistence, are universally correlative. A state of comfort stands in relation to the rate of increase, either as cause or effect. If the



rate is rapid, that state of comfort is in the relation of *cause*; but if the rate is slow, it is its *effect*. The condition of ease, then, and the consequent health of the social body, is sustained at Montreux and Leysin simply by the comparative slowness and circumspection with which its successive races are brought upon the scene of the world. The happy circumstances of each generation of mountaineers are handed down to the next, if not improved, at least unimpaired; whilst in the heedless course of Russia, hordes of infants succeed to misery, and are rapidly swept away. The secret of so singular an elevation is thus found in Swiss *forethought*,\* and it starts up as a question of consummate interest, what produced or fosters this forethought,—what circumstances, physical or moral, have stamped a community of illiterate peasants with so marked and honourable a distinction? The solution is beyond the endeavours of the statistician; he may, indeed, exhibit it as a subject of meditation to the lawgiver and philosophic historian, but his own task is complete when he has traced the phenomenon to its proximate cause, and shown how essential is moral well-being to the physical health of a people.

II. In our own county of Monmouth, there is another remarkable illustration of this truth of first importance, in economical science. It appeared by the census of 1821, that the rate of births or baptisms was one in forty-seven, and the rate of burials so low as one in seventy. And by the census of 1831, although the births had sunk to one in fifty-nine, the rate of deaths had receded to one in eighty-three! This latter rate of mortality, slow almost beyond example, does not appear to have been upheld but at the expense of a *more than proportionate* sacrifice in the number of births; and we can imagine few inquiries more interesting to the humane philosopher than that of the general cause of the low rate of births which is found in Monmouthshire, and also of the special causes which, during these ten years, permitted the declension of that rate from a forty-seventh to a fifty-ninth? As a matter of course, the mean duration of life is extended, and necessarily extending. A very great proportion of the inhabitants traverse slowly the first three ages of existence, to present themselves six, seven, and even eight times in the roll of the decennial census; and a Monmouthshire generation is strong and *hale* after it has witnessed the sun go down on three of the ephemeral generations of Russia. Here, too, is no distinction

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\* The virtue of continence, the immediate result of systematic forethought, is remarkably influential in these districts of Switzerland. The explanation of climate will not avail, as the district of Europe disgraced by the heaviest proportion of illegitimate births happens to be—Iceland.

of riches, but a harder and still more laborious life than amongst the mountains of Switzerland.

III. But we hasten to our author's account of the remarkable populations of ancient Normandy. The following is his table of the condition of that province, compared with the general condition of France.

NORMANDY, in 1831.		FRANCE, in 1830.	
Population.....	2,645,978.		
Births.....	65,084	Proportion:	Proportion.
Deaths .....	60,307	40 $\frac{6}{10}$ .	32 $\frac{2}{10}$ .
		43 $\frac{8}{10}$ .	39 $\frac{7}{10}$ .
Excess of B. over D. 4,777			
Annual increase ..	$\frac{1}{333}$		$\frac{1}{169}$
Presumed period of doubling,	398 years.....		117 years.

It is quite clear, from this table, that Normandy is in a much better physical condition than the average of France; and, as before, this advance is purchased by a far slower rate of increase. Excepting the small commune of Leysin, the population of Normandy is the most stationary which has yet appeared. It is curious to know what changes its condition underwent in this respect in consequence of the violent depopulation accompanying the revolutionary wars. M. d'Ivernois adds the following table, for the accuracy of which he subsequently vouches:

	1801.	1805.	1811.	1819.	1822.	Average of five years. 1826—1830.
Births ....	63,576	62,606	67,106	69,631	68,276	65,105
Deaths ....	51,595	50,095	52,566	59,653	58,325	60,307

The intelligent reader will not fail to observe in these varying numbers the natural but unconscious efforts of the province to replace itself in the condition from which the ravages of war withdrew it; and he will descry also the strong probability that the law which at present governs its progress is the same which has for ages controlled the reproduction of its generations. Let us follow M. D'Ivernois through the statistics of two of the departments of this province.

ORNE.—Population in 1831, 441,881.			MANCHE.—Population in 1831, 591,284.		
		Proportion.			Proportion.
Births .....	9,858	44 $\frac{1}{10}$ .	.....	13,989	42 $\frac{1}{10}$ .
Deaths.....	8,426	52 $\frac{4}{10}$ .	.....	13,451	43 $\frac{2}{10}$ .
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Excess of B. over D. ..	1,432		.....	538	
Annual increase .....	$\frac{1}{108}$		.....	$\frac{1}{118}$	
Presumed period of doubling,	217 years.		.....	763 years.	

The slowness of the progress of population in La Manche is nearly without a parallel; and M. Charles Dupin, partaking of the general prejudice, appears to have thought of it with a blush.

Had M. Dupin reflected, he would have seen that the question never is as to the mere rate of increase, but as to the health and happiness of the people; and in this respect Normandy is the honour of France. She can furnish the highest proportion of force to the State, without oppressing the springs of her industry; and the statements of M. D'Ivernois prove that the rate of taxation borne by her healthy and prosperous peasantry is also the *maximum* of the kingdom. The inhabitants of Orne alone pay more, by an annual million of francs, than by the *pro rata* of the other departments, should fall to their lot. And where is the miracle? They are saved the unproductive and ever-recurring expense of that continual flooding of infants who never arrive at manhood. They are saved from the ruinous fecundity which prematurely multiplies the tombs; and the *minimum* of lost or wasted strength, is the principle on which their generations are renewed.\*

The life and vigour of flourishing Normandy are thus inseparably connected with the ultimate fact of our previous researches. The people are proverbially "slow and circumspect." They calculate on the consequences of a family. Marriage is there entered into later, and is less prolific, than in the average of France, just because the primitive peasants shrink from the responsibility of bringing children into indigence, and subjecting them to the vices it ensures. The operation of this principle has its origin in remote antiquity; and hence Normandy has always been remarked as a *substantial*, if not a wealthy province. The principle is consolidated into proverbs and embodied in customs; which at once demonstrates its antiquity of origin, and the power of its control. It is an adage with the Norman rustics, that to merit a husband, a young woman must have a goodly stock of bride's clothes of her own manufacture. The more elaborately these garments are prepared and the more costly they are, the fitter is the possessor deemed to be mother of an industrious family. The manufacture is often a prolonged work; and it is not rare for the girls to ply at the wheel, encouraging themselves by the maxim, *il faut filer son mari*. But although we detect these emphatic intimations, the

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\* M. d'Ivernois contrasts with Orne the condition and statistics of Finisterre; but the most astounding contrast is in Mexico. The following table is furnished by M. de Humboldt.

GUANAXUATO.—Population, 382,829.

	Proportion.
Births.....23,809	1 in 16.
Deaths .....19,431	1 in 19. 7-10ths.

Fancy the destruction of a generation in nineteen years! Need another word be said regarding the state of the country? And yet the births amongst the miserable people of Guanaxuato would be cited by our anti-Malthusians, our "multiply and replenish" speculators, in support of the accuracy of their dreams!

practical question is not begun to be resolved. How was this beautiful prudence infused into the Norman mind? How has it attained an energy to bear it through the shock of ages?—by what beneficent circumstances is it still guarded? Resolve this for us, O philosopher!—teach us to implant it amid the recklessness and destructive passions of the Irish peasant—*et tu nobis eris magnus Apollo!*

In closing our notice of the leading facts by which M. D'Ivernois inculcates the necessity of attaching to population lists either the mean duration of life, or its index—the proportional mortality, we venture to subjoin a few supplementary remarks. In contemplating a society under points of view like the foregoing, there are two circumstances, or *characters*, as to which we desiderate materials for inference. The full health of a society is only attained by the joint cultivation of the *intellectual* and *moral* powers. It is readily granted to M. D'Ivernois that the condition of moral cultivation may be inferred, in general, from the state of his favourite element. A propitious state of this element in old or tolerably peopled countries can only be referred to self-restraint—to that prudential regard towards the future, which is the nucleus of all the virtues. But on the other hand, the advance of a society, or the rapid creation of new wealth, is the equally sure indication of an active and acute public intellect; and a *stationary* condition (excepting, perhaps, in districts like Leysin, where nature may bar creation,) is not consistent with this activity. The moral cultivation may easily exist without the intellectual cultivation, and *vice versâ*. Normandy we take to be an illustration of the former state, for it is not possible that a country of its nature should not afford the means of upholding a higher ratio of births, without affecting the ratio of deaths, if the people were intellectually energetic. If, for instance, the births in more active districts of France could possibly be reduced to the Norman ratio, we doubt not that these districts would mark a rate of decrease far more favourable, and therefore a more rapid general advance. In Normandy the intellectual power is deficient, as much as is the moral power in those other districts. Give *them* a moral power equal to Normandy and how great and sure might be their yearly contribution to the sum of human happiness! But may it not be the very lack of intellectual activity which invites the remarkable development of moral activity in the one case, and the presence of it which depresses moral activity in the other? The moral power operates with least obstruction during the *rest* of the mind. This rest existing, a rural life tends powerfully to aid its development; but a rural life disturbed by political or other agitation is not more

favourable to it than a town life. In cities or busy districts the mind is never at rest. Intellectual excitement is inevitable, for it is the consequence of rapidly varying external circumstances; and during excitement the passions seldom fail to rise into authority. Hence great hazard of damage to moral restraint; the very whirl of the mind is unfavourable to prudence, and repeated transgressions give the law and form the character. Are then these two states of being in reality incompatible? Is it not possible to combine energy with safety, and health with rapid growth? There is not—there cannot be a real incongruity in the mind itself; its powers, whether intellectual or moral, are not only naturally harmonious, but incapable of being perfected or fully developed in a state of isolation; and the fact of our hesitating about a reply to questions like the foregoing, only convicts us of ignorance as to the means of EDUCATION. If, indeed, we knew how insignificant is the influence which all our vaunted positive institutions have yet exercised against the tyranny of *circumstance*, our vanity might perhaps be humbled; but there would then be hope that the understanding of the problem might lead to a rational aim after its solution,—that the mutual criminations of agriculturists and manufacturers, would give place to an endeavour in the one case to rouse the soul from intellectual sleep without endangering its moral stability, and, in the other, to reduce under a peaceful guidance that valuable energy which in the mean time frets and vainly wastes itself,—lashing with vehemence and ever restless impotence against the grate of its dungeon!

It would give us much pleasure if we could add to the force of M. D'Ivernois' reclamation in regard to the neglect or misuse of *Statistics*. Sedulously collected and scientifically arranged, these numerical characteristics are the test of theory and a valuable guide to the statesman; but in our own country there has yet been scarcely an attempt at arrangement. Our parish registers are, for the most part, under the control of persons who are wholly ignorant of their use; and we believe that almost the only end they serve is the furnishing a few individuals with certificates of a baptism or a marriage! Light, indeed, may break in upon these functionaries; but we anticipate little improvement until the civil authority shall relieve the ecclesiastical of the charge. The fit persons to record the statistics are local commissioners of justice, whom we expect to see in a short time in every district of Great Britain, as part of the machinery of the Local Courts. The establishment of a statistical department, however incomplete, in one of our public offices,—to which we are already indebted for some valuable and important tables; the

formation, even while we write, of a *Statistical Society* in the metropolis, with the object of "collecting and classifying all facts illustrative of the present condition and prospects of society;" and the recent introduction of a legislative measure for establishing a complete general registry of births, marriages, and deaths, throughout the empire, are circumstances of happy augury, and give promise that the reproach which has hitherto attached to our almost systematic inattention to such matters will soon be wiped away. This is a subject to which we propose to return before long.

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ART. III.—*Mémoires et Correspondance de Duplessis-Mornay, pour servir à l'Histoire de la Réformation, et des Guerres Civiles et Religieuses en France, sous les règnes de Charles IX., de Henri III., de Henri IV., et de Louis XIII., depuis l'an 1571 jusqu'en 1623. Edition complète, publiée sur les manuscrits originaux, et précédée des Mémoires de Madame de Mornay sur la vie de son mari, écrits par elle-même pour l'instruction de son fils. Tom. I.—XII.\* 8vo. Paris. 1824—1834.*

WITH the exception of the Revolution, the period of Henry the Fourth is beyond a doubt the most interesting and important in the French annals. No history presents a finer subject for study and contemplation than that of the means by which, in the face of obstacles to ordinary minds insurmountable, that gallant prince succeeded in firmly seating himself on the throne of his ancestors, from which both the temporal and spiritual powers of the kingdom, and the great majority of his own subjects seemed united to exclude him. To see the dexterity with which one commanding mind can attach others to its interests,—the influence by which elements the most discordant can be brought into one solid harmonious mass, must strike even the most unreflecting observer. Henry of Navarre was indeed such a mind. In sentiment and in action he was the most chivalrous of princes; unrivalled in bravery, he infused a kindred spirit into his followers; generous, magnanimous, and indulgent in his nature, in each follower he found a steadfast and attached friend; prompt in the execution of designs which he had formed in conjunction with his advisers—some of the wisest of their age—he either surprised his enemies by his unceasing activity, or rendered their best plans abortive before they could be put into execution.

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\* Three more volumes, which have been long promised and ought to complete the collection, are announced speedily to appear.



But if the extraordinary success of Henry derived much of its splendour from his personal qualities, he was also indebted for a great portion of it to the co-operation of his friends, many of whom could serve him as well with the pen as with the sword. Among these were two, whose fame will be commensurate with that of their great master, and whose memory will ever be held dear by the wise and good of their country. Sully and Duplessis-Mornay were the men to whose councils, more than to any other human cause, was Henry indebted for his throne, his glory, and—what is of more inestimable value—for the proud distinction of being revered as one of the best of French kings.

But though both these great men contributed in an equal degree to the triumphs of their master, their fate was very different. While Sully almost daily succeeded to new honours and riches, and enjoyed the royal favour unimpaired till the death of the bestower, Mornay had little reward for his services beyond the approbation of his own conscience, and the esteem and unbounded confidence of his co-religionists. Nor has fame done equal justice to both. While the first is lauded as one of the ablest ministers the world has ever seen, religious prejudice has injured the memory of the latter by either suppressing or distorting the facts which would add most to its lustre; and—what is more pertinent to our present subject—while the former is known to every one in this country from the voice of history, and from the translation of his interesting memoirs—of the latter, the generality of English readers of the present day know little more than that he was a Hugonot, and the confidential adviser of Henry.

In the following pages we purpose to rescue the memory of Mornay from the state of comparative oblivion in which it has so long remained, and to vindicate his claim both to his country's gratitude, and to the esteem of all posterity. And this we shall do by adverting as well to the more striking passages of his private life, as to the public transactions in which he was concerned. As may be easily supposed, it is not our intention to enter into the history of France during the period in which he lived. The events of that period are sufficiently known from the multitude of works specially devoted to it, to the number of which time is daily making fresh additions. We shall enter into it no farther than as it is connected with the subject of our present notice.

To the prosecution of this task we have been led by the publication of the voluminous collection before us. It is preceded by the hitherto unpublished memoirs of Mornay by his wife, up to 1606, the period of her death; the remaining volumes consist of original letters written by or to Mornay, and of state papers chiefly drawn up by him, professing to be a *complete* edition of



the political acts and correspondence of that great man. Hitherto meagre portions only of both had appeared; one shortly after his death, and another, together with a life of Mornay, long afterwards: from which time to the present no attempt has been made either to re-publish or to augment them. The materials for the present publication, beyond what had been already printed, are in a great degree derived from the family repositories of the Marquis de Mornay, his descendant, and other private sources. The twelve volumes already published only come down to 1614, within nine years of his decease. We fear that within the compass of the three additional volumes so long announced, (and to which the series was to be limited,) it will be impossible for the editors to fulfil the engagements of their prospectus. Of 9000 original papers there promised, we have as yet only one-fourth; and we still want Mornay's *MS. notes on De Thou*, from his interleaved copy of that historian, believed to be lost, as well as his own *Diary* from 1610 to within a few days of his death; documents of such high importance as to render their non-appearance a matter of infinite regret, and for which ample space might have been found by a more judicious exercise of editorial discretion. In no other view do we regard the abandonment of the original design as a misfortune; the collection is already by far too voluminous to offer any attraction to the general reader. To the historian it certainly presents one of the richest mines which has ever been opened for the illustration of that remarkable and troublous period. \*

The *Memoirs of Charlotte Arbaleste* (the maiden name of Madame de Mornay), which now appear for the first time, are, as far as we know, the first and only specimen of a class quite new in French memoir-writing, and of which we possess only two in our own literature; we mean the *Memoirs of Mrs. Hutchinson* and those of Lady Fanshawe, which have recently appeared. The French female memoirs which we previously possessed, were the compositions of ladies of rank or station attached to the court, and derive their principal interest from the lively picture they present of the intrigues that were passing before the eyes of

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\* We are happy to see that Mr. Smedley, in the valuable *History of the Reformed Religion in France*, with which he is now enriching our historical literature, has already made important use of these materials. The pages of his second volume are marked by continual references to this correspondence, which he justly characterises as offering "inexhaustible portraiture of motives, measures and manners." We regard Mr. Smedley's work as the most successful attempt that has yet been made to invest the history of the French Religious Wars, with interest and attraction to an English reader. Indefatigable research, a judicious selection and arrangement of facts, no mean skill in portrait painting, and a spirit of impartiality, are qualities conspicuous throughout the whole course of his animated and elegant narrative, to the completion of which we look forward with much pleasure.

the writers and in which several of them acted a conspicuous part. They are very amusing, and that is the best that can be said of them; but the Memoirs now before us, like those of our two countrywomen just mentioned, are of a very different character. The object of each of these three excellent women was the same, namely to leave behind them such memorials of the lives of their husbands as would serve both as a stimulus and an example of noble and virtuous conduct to their descendants. Dissimilar in fate to our countrywomen, both of whom survived their husbands for years, Madame de Mornay had the misfortune to sustain the premature loss of that son, for whose use her Memoirs had been especially destined, but not that of surviving her illustrious husband, who outlived her seventeen years. It would be an interesting task to compare the spirit of these three works, which present strong features of resemblance; the sentiments of ardent attachment and respectful admiration of the subjects of their biography are common to the three; while a certain severity, not to say sternness, of religious principle, and a high-minded and lofty feeling which never hesitated to make a sacrifice of personal interests to what they regarded as public duty, make the parallel more complete between the lady of the French Protestant pope, and the wife of the English regicide. But it must be admitted, that Madame de Mornay's powers as a writer are as much inferior to those of Mrs. Hutchinson, as the character and reputation of Duplessis were superior to those of Colonel Hutchinson; although the earlier period (more than half a century) at which she wrote, and the constant moving about from place to place, which her husband's duties and the civil wars then raging necessitated, must be taken as some excuse for the naked and dry form in which a large portion of her narrative is presented. As a monument of the times, however, the volume is eminently curious.

Philip de Mornay, or, as he was usually designated, Duplessis-Mornay, from his feudal inheritance of Plessis-Marly, was born at Buhy, the seat belonging to the head of the family, Nov. 5th, 1549. He was the second of four sons, and like many other younger sons of the times, was intended for the Church. But this design was frustrated,—first by the premature death of his uncle Bertin de Mornay, Dean of Beauvais and Abbé of Saumer, whose benefices were to have been resigned in his favour, on his reaching the canonical age; and secondly, by the secret attachment of his mother to the tenets of Calvinism. There was indeed another uncle, the bishop of Vannes, afterwards Archbishop of Rheims, who, though far from orthodox in the Roman Catholic acceptance of the word, was willing enough that young Philip should enter the church, and succeed to his livings. The latter was accord-

ingly placed at college, and for a time required to wear the habit of a candidate for the ecclesiastical state. But as early as his tenth year, when he lost his father, he was not wholly unacquainted with the leading doctrines of the Reformation. He had attentively read the New Testament, in which he was somewhat surprised to find no mention of purgatory, the invocation of saints, veneration of relics, &c. From learning to doubt of the faith in which he had been reared, the transition to one more simple and rational was natural and easy. In 1560, his mother, who had been left a widow at the early age of twenty-nine, with six children, and whose mind had been long alienated from the established faith, made an open profession of the reformed religion, with all her family. Philip embraced its tenets at that early age from the strongest conviction, and in consequence renounced all idea of entering into the catholic priesthood, nor could all the persuasions of his uncle, who with equal doubts had not equal disinterestedness, induce him to embrace it. During the six following years, he prosecuted his studies at one of the colleges at Paris, and there laid the foundation of that solid superstructure of learning and accomplishments by which he subsequently became distinguished.

In 1567, Philip returned from Paris to Buhy, in the design of obtaining his mother's consent to his taking part in the civil broils for which religion was the pretext. But the shortlived peace of Chartres intervening, he set out on his travels. He passed through Switzerland into Germany, and remained a whole winter with the celebrated Tremellius at Heidelberg. But the jovial manner of the Germans, it seems, did not suit him; to escape frequent intoxication, he must also escape their society; hence he proceeded to Italy. At Padua he applied himself to the study of the canon and civil law; but he was soon disgusted with the vanity of the Italian doctors, who read, he says, not so much to benefit their pupils, as to display their own acquirements. As he never went to mass, and was even imprudent enough to beard the lion in his den, by disputing with some of the professors on certain ticklish theological points, his heresy was more than suspected. Finding Padua too hot for him, especially as its zealous bishop was disposed to render it still hotter by making bonfires of the heretics, he proceeded to Venice. But there also dangers awaited him. One day the state inquisitors sent to demand an oath from him, touching his opinions on certain articles of faith: he replied in Italian, that *his religion* would not allow him to take it; this reply was equivocal, as it might either mean that his conscience did not permit him to subscribe to those articles, or that he was a monk, and consequently that there was

no need of an oath from him. In the latter sense he was understood by the messenger, who expressed some surprise that one so young should be *religious*, i. e. a *monk*. "There are many younger," was the not less ambiguous rejoinder. The inquisitorial agent went away, and no more was heard of him. To which Madame de Mornay adds somewhat earnestly: "Cependant son intention n'estoit point de dissimuler, mais leur faire entendre franchement sa profession, et leur rendre raison de sa foy."

Upon subsequent occasions, during his stay in Italy, our young traveller's conduct was in entire conformity to this principle; although carefully avoiding opportunities of unnecessary display, he showed himself as uncompromising, whenever he looked upon compromise as dishonourable, as Luther, Calvin, or even Knox himself. No consideration of personal risk prevented him from withholding the outward marks of respect to those ceremonies of the Catholic Church which he regarded as idolatrous. One instance is mentioned by his biographer, when in the presence of the doge, the senators, and a number of the nobility of Venice, who all fell upon their knees while the host was passing, Mornay alone remained standing and uncovered. All looked at him, but no one ventured to molest him. At Ancona he was less venturesome; he stole away from his travelling companions,—an abbot and some pilgrims, who were journeying to the shrine of Our Lady of Loretto, and who, he had reason to fear, would not be slow in resenting his refusal to do reverence at her altars. At Spoleto, also, he was in no slight peril. Towards the close of an earthquake, which had tumbled every thing topsy-turvy during two months, another representation of the Virgin had been added to the already countless hosts of popular veneration. This image,—so the rabble averred,—had performed several notable miracles; its tears, too, had saved the town from utter destruction. Thus religion and gratitude concurred in sanctifying the block (whether of wood or stone we are not informed): solemn processions from the neighbouring towns and villages, accompanied with banners, crucifixes, chaunting of litanies, &c., thronged to the spot. Woe betide the heretic who failed to salute the sacred symbols, and to make all due acknowledgment to the Virgin for her miraculous benefits! There Mornay would have run a risk of adding another to "the noble army of martyrs," had not the Holy Father, justly incensed that any one should presume to make a saint without *his* sanction,—thereby reducing him to a mere cypher in the exercise of his prerogative,—issued a fulminating mandate, forbidding all persons to resort thither upon pain of excommunication, until the reputed miracles were properly verified. This saved Duplessis; yet, as he passed before the

oratory, which, in despite of the Papal denunciation, was still frequented, some of the mob stopped his horse, and commanded him to alight; but finding him obstinate, they suffered him to depart. Proceeding on his journey, he heard much of the saint's miracles, the fame of which had spread throughout all Italy. In such a town a *blind* man had received sight; in another a *lame* one had been restored; but, on his reaching those towns, and inquiring for the lucky individual, he always found that a trifling mistake existed as to the *name* of the place: the miracle had indeed been performed, but in some other town at a convenient distance. To the latter he accordingly repaired, (he was curious to sift the affair,) but with as little success:—the same mistake; the signor must travel some twenty leagues further before he could meet with the object of his search: in short, not an individual could be found to boast of the celestial favour. At Rome, carefully as he appears to have conducted himself, he ran some risk, from which a prudent retreat once more saved him. At Milan and Cremona, cities then belonging to Spain, he found the subjects of his most Catholic Majesty as anxious as their monarch to prove their title to so enviable an appellation. Being one day at dinner with a few Spaniards, one of them asked him if all Frenchmen were not Lutherans. “Just as all Spaniards are Moriscoes,” was the prompt and sage reply. The other maintained that Lutherans were worse than Jews,—the worst, in fact, of all God's enemies. Mornay did not much relish the suspicious looks and questions of the zealot; and the result showed that his distrust was well-founded, for after dinner the latter hastened to report him to the grand inquisitor of Cremona. Having discovered this, says his wife, *par ung instinct de Dieu*, (her memoirs are full of these *special providences*,) off he hurried to Piacenza, from thence to Turin, and back again to Venice. Pursuing his travels, he next proceeded to Vienna by way of the Tyrol, and after visiting Hungary, Moravia, Bohemia, Misnia, Thuringia, and Hesse, arrived at Frankfort in September 1571. He spent the winter of that year at Cologne, where he became acquainted with a Spanish theologian of some celebrity, Father Pedro Ximenes, with whom he had many disputes on controverted points of religion,—disputes in which his loving biographer is careful to award him the victory. She tells us that he refuted the positions of the Spaniard in a Latin treatise, which his opponent was in no hurry to answer. In the spring of the following year he passed through the Netherlands to England. He presented to our Elizabeth a poem of some hundred lines, in which he strongly urged her to the destruction of Antichrist, and the re-establishment of the true church; with what effect we

are not told. After a few months residence in England, he returned to France about three weeks previous to the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

Soon after his return, Mornay waited on the Admiral Coligni with his *Discours au Roi* (Charles IX.), written to stimulate that monarch to a war against Spain in the Low Countries. As this was an object which the admiral had much at heart, he presented the paper to the king, who, with the duplicity of his character, received it favourably, and affected to take considerable interest in the details. So convinced was the venerable man that forces were about to be despatched to the assistance of the Prince of Orange, that he proposed Mornay as a person every way fit to communicate with the latter. But the match was already lighted, and ready to produce the infernal explosion which was to annihilate the most loyal and virtuous of the French people. The destruction of the Hugonots had been decreed; and the execution of that decree was pursued with a secrecy and perseverance that amply justify the exclamation of Sully, who terms the conduct of Charles and his mother, Catherine de Medicis, “un prodige presque incroyable de dissimulation.”

For several days preceding the terrible twenty-fourth of August, however, many Protestants were suspicious of treachery, and secured their safety by flight. Mornay himself was so convinced that some tragedy was about to be attempted, that he refused to join in the hollow rejoicings attendant on the marriage of the King of Navarre with Margaret de Valois, the sister of Charles. But, whatever might be the approaching danger, he did not see how he could honourably flee from it, so long as young Henry, the Prince of Condé, the Admiral, and many other leaders of the Protestant cause, were exposed to it. He therefore resolved, after first securing the flight of his mother, to await the result, and share the perils which were impending over the heads of the party. His resolution was well nigh proving fatal to him: he was several times on the point of adding another to the victims whom the hellish policy of the court caused to be immolated. There is something so singular in his escapes, that we lay them before the reader in the words of Madame Duplessis.

“His host was named Poret, who is still alive, a Roman Catholic, but a man of conscience. There he was sought for: he had scarcely time to burn his papers: he crept between the two roofs of the house, and did not venture out until he heard those who were in search of him depart. The remainder of the day was passed in some anxiety; and in the mean time he sent to M. de Foix, on whose friendship he placed great reliance, for assistance in the present danger; but that gentleman, not thinking his own house sufficiently secure, had retired to the Louvre.



The fury of the mob recommencing on the following day, (Monday,) M. Poret beseeched M. Duplessis to flee, saying, that he could not save him, and that his continuance there might prove the ruin of both, adding that he should have disregarded his own danger, if it could have secured the safety of the other. The assassins were already in the house of the next door neighbour, Odet Petit, a bookseller, whom they slew, and whose corpse they threw out of the window.

“ M. Duplessis then assumed a plain black dress, girded on his sword, and departed, while the mob were plundering the next house. Thence he proceeded through the Rue St. Martin, into an alley called Trousse-vache, to the house of one Girard, a law-agent, who transacted the business of his family. The way was long, nor was it traversed without some disagreeable encounters. He found the agent at his door, who received him favourably, and fortunate it was, for the captain of the watch was passing at that very moment. Girard promised to see him safely away the following morning. He fell to writing like the other clerks. The mischief was, that his servants, suspecting the place of his retreat, though he had given them no reason to do so, followed him, one after another, and were observed to enter the same house. When night came, the captain of the district sent for the agent, and commanded him to surrender the individual who was in his house. The man was troubled at the discovery: at a very early hour the day after (Tuesday) he pressed M. Duplessis to flee—a step which, however hazardous, the latter was resolved to take. He left behind him M. Raminy, who had been his tutor, and who hesitated to depart with him lest one should be in jeopardy for the other. As he descended the stairs alone, (for the agent would no longer hear of accompanying him out of the city,) one of the clerks offered his services, saying, that as he (the clerk) had formerly been on guard at the Porte St. Martin, and was known there, he could procure egress for M. Duplessis at that gate. This assurance gave great pleasure to the latter; but on getting into the street he perceived that the clerk was in slippers only. As these were not very fit for a long journey, he desired the clerk to put on a pair of shoes; but the other thinking there was no necessity to take that trouble, he did not press it. As ill-luck would have it, the Porte St. Martin was not opened that morning, so that they were compelled to seek the Porte St. Denis, with the guard of which the clerk was wholly unacquainted. After answering a few questions—M. Duplessis giving himself out as an attorney's clerk going to spend the holidays with his relations at Rouen—they were allowed to pass. But one of the guard having observed the clerk's slippers, was convinced that no very long journey was intended by the wearer: he at once suspected that M. Duplessis must be a Hugonot, under the protection of a Catholic. After them were despatched four fusileers, who arrested them at Villette, between Paris and St. Denis, where the carters, quarreymen, and plasterers of the neighbourhood assembled *en masse*, breathing the most furious threats. God saved him from their murderous hands on this occasion; but as he endeavoured to pacify them by fair words, they dragged him towards the river. The clerk began to be alarmed. He



swore, from time to time, that M. Duplessis was not a *Hugonot*, (such was his expression,) he frequently called him M. de Buby, (forgetting the agreement they had made, that the latter was to be considered an attorney's clerk,) and whose house, he said, was well known in the environs of Paris. God shut the ears of these wretches, so that they gave no heed to what was uttered. M. Duplessis thus learned that they did not know him: he therefore observed, that he was sure all of them would be loth to kill one man for another; that he could refer them to respectable individuals in Paris; that they might leave him at any house in the suburbs, and under whatever guard they pleased, until they had sent to the places he should mention to them. At length, some of the more moderate among them approved the proposal, and conducted him to a neighbouring tavern, where he called for breakfast. The most agreeable words addressed to him were threats to drown him. At one time he thought of escaping through the window, but on full consideration, he ventured to trust for safety to his own assurance. He referred them to the Rambouillets, even to the cardinal, their brother: this he did to delude the mob, for he well knew that fellows like them could not gain access to persons of such distinction. In fact, they declined his proposal, but they questioned him in various ways. Just then passed the public vehicle to Rouen; they stopped it to ascertain if he was known by any individual in it, but being recognized by no one, they concluded him a liar, and threatened again to drown him. As he was said to be a clerk, (so the vulgar call scholars in their jargon,) a breviary was brought to see whether he understood Latin: finding that he did, they said he must be destroyed, for that he was enough to infect the whole city of Rouen. To escape their importunities, he replied that he would answer no more questions; that if he had been found ignorant, they would have judged badly of him, and now that he was proved to know something, they used him the worse; that, in short, as he perceived they were unreasonable men, they might do with him what they would. But during this altercation, they had despatched two of their comrades to the above-mentioned Girard, to whom M. Duplessis had referred them, with these lines:—'Sir, I am detained by the people of the Porte and suburbs of St. Denis: they will not believe that I am Philip Mornay, your clerk, whom you have permitted to go to Rouen during these holidays to see my relations. I request you to confirm the fact, that I may be allowed to proceed on my journey.' The messengers met with M. Girard just setting out for the palace, whom they found to be a man of respectable appearance, and well-dressed. After scolding them a little, he certified on the back of the letter that Philip Mornay was neither *rebellious* nor *disaffected*, (he durst not use the term *Hugonot*,) and he signed the certificate with his name. But a little boy belonging to the house was near spoiling all by saying, that M. Duplessis had been there only since Monday. In the midst of so many difficulties, we may observe how the Divine Providence watches over and for us, against all human hope. The paper being brought back, these barbarians deemed it every way satisfactory; they suddenly changed both their

looks and language, and reconducted him to the place where they had first seized him." \*—pp. 39—40.

But Mornay's danger did not end with his escape from the capital. At Yvry-le-Temple, where he remained all night, some persons, who probably suspected that he was a fugitive Calvinist, entered the room in which he was sitting, observing to each other that they smelt a Hugonot. He had the presence of mind to disregard the observation, and to enter with apparent indifference into conversation with some about him, which effectually lulled all suspicion. On his way to Buhy he narrowly escaped falling in with the one-eyed monster Montafié, who, at the head of a sanguinary band, was scouring the French Vexin. He reached the hall of his ancestors, but he found it desolate; the whole family was dispersed in unknown directions. At length, after undergoing many privations and more perils, he privily embarked at Dieppe, and landed in England.

During Mornay's stay in this country, he busied himself in composing remonstrances to the queen, both in Latin and French, urging her as strongly as on the former occasion to the re-establishment of the *true* Church, and to the consequent overthrow of "the beast at Rome." So hostile was he to every thing Popish (and who can wonder at this, after his recent experience of what Popery was capable of executing?) that he was tempted to volunteer his services to fight "the Irish savages," as Madame Duplessis calls them. But the election of the Duke of Anjou, the great enemy of the Protestants, to the throne of Poland, and the restless ambition of his brother, the Duke of Alençon, whose policy it was to gain their support, opened the way for our exile's return home.

It seems to have been Mornay's intention in the outset to attach himself to the fortunes of the last-named duke, who appreciated his merit, and was anxious to employ him. But he soon learned by experience that little or no dependence was to be placed on that prince. Immediately after the peace concluded at Chatenai, in May, 1576, between the duke and his brother, Henry III., who had renounced the crown of Poland to assume that of France, on the death of Charles IX. (in 1574,) he joined a more staunch friend of religious freedom. This was Henry of Navarre, who after his escape from the court, in which he had been detained prisoner since the massacre of St. Bartholomew, became the acknowledged leader of the Protestants. Much did that

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\* The hair-breadth 'scapes of Madame de Mornay herself (then Madame de l'equeres) are scarcely less singular than those of her second husband, and are much more affecting. We regret that our space precludes us from giving a detail of them, and can only refer our readers to the book itself.

prince stand in need of so able and zealous an adviser, in his desperate struggle with the chiefs of the League, supported too as that League was by the favour of the court. But Mornay was as famous for bravery in action as for wisdom in council. He had fought bravely while attached to the duke; he had been taken prisoner once, and redeemed by Madame de Feuquieres, then a widow, whom after a courtship of some duration he married a few months before his junction with Henry. This lady became his biographer, and proved herself worthy to be the partner of such a man.

About the same time, the convocation of the three estates at Blois by the French king furnished Mornay with an occasion for displaying the soundness of his political views, and the liberality of his sentiments,—a liberality in which he equalled the most enlightened of his contemporaries, the illustrious Chancellor de l'Hopital. He did not indeed approve the assembling of the States at that precise period: he justly considered that the minds of men, whether Catholics or Protestants, were yet too much heated to promise a dispassionate investigation into the origin and cure of existing evils: he saw too that the greater portion of the deputies elected were in the interests of the League. But as the meeting of the assembly was inevitable, he resolved to remind the deputies of the duty they owed to their country,—of the obligation by which they were bound to preserve unimpaired the edict that had recently been passed in favour of the Calvinists,—the only thing capable of securing the public tranquillity. He well knew that if his “*Remonstrance aux Etats de Blois*” produced little effect on the members themselves, it would not be lost on the thinking portion of the community. That his representations might have the greater weight, he published them under the assumed designation of a Roman Catholic.

In this famous Remonstrance, Mornay, after dwelling on the necessity of continued peace for the cure of the wounds which civil war had occasioned in the whole body politic, reminds the Catholics how vain had been their greatest efforts to extirpate the Protestants.

“At first,” says he, “we burned them alive at a slow fire, without distinction of sex or rank; yet so far were we from consuming them by this means that they extinguished the flames with their blood; they were nourished and multiplied in the midst of the fire. Then we drowned them, but it seemed as if they had left their spawn in the water. As their number increased, we fought and conquered them in repeated battles: sometimes we defeated them by stratagem, when we could not do so by open force. We made them drunk at our marriage-feasts; we beheaded them as they slept; yet a few days afterwards we

saw them rise again as vigorous as before; with heads sounder and stronger than ever. Since then we have been unable to destroy them, why not let them live? since we have gained nothing by brute strength, let us try what may be done by kindness! since war has availed us nothing, notwithstanding the sacrifice of our property, our lives, and even our honour, let them henceforth live among us in peace!"

The following observations addressed to the intolerant Catholic zealots of his time, are as forcible as they are appropriate to the intolerant zealots of all faiths and of all times.

"We have been taught to regard these people (the Hugonots) as monsters: we have hallooed after them as if they were mad dogs. But if we look at them, they are men of the same nature and condition as ourselves. We have been forbidden to hold any intercourse with them just as if they were infidels; yet are they Christians, adoring the same God, seeking salvation in the same Christ, believing the same Bible: children are they of the same Father, claiming a share in the same heritage, and by the same will as ourselves. We have been told they are not Frenchmen: their language and behaviour, their patriotism and hatred of our foreign foes, sufficiently prove the contrary: many have highly distinguished themselves against the enemy, and are ready to do so again. The whole difference between them and us lies in this one point: they, perceiving the existence of certain abuses in our own Church (some of which we acknowledge ourselves) have clamoured for its reformation, and on our refusing to listen to them, have separated from it, fearing that a continuance with us would peril their souls." "Now, shall it be said that because they and we choose different paths to happiness hereafter, we must cut the throats of each other?"

"Whether, I ask, would you have these people become Atheists, or remain what they are? If Atheists, the worse for *them*, because as they would believe nothing, there could be no hope of their amendment; worse for *us*, because, as they would neither fear nor respect any thing, we could have no hold on them in our intercourse with them; worse for *the state*, because they who do not believe in God as a future Judge will care little for the magistrates whom He has established on earth." "Now who can doubt that a portion of them would become Atheists if we were to leave them like beasts, without even the form of religion? I shall be answered, perhaps, that they will still have the Catholic form. But if they do not observe it, it cannot benefit them. If they *do* observe it, from being good people after their own way, they will become, not Catholics, but hypocrites,—not believers, but infidels, as respects both religions; and so much will they be accustomed to deceive the God they serve, and to violate their consciences, that they will make no scruple of deceiving men."

We have extracted these passages, not from any novelty they will be found to possess *now*, in an age so much more enlightened, when the principles of civil and religious liberty are so much

better understood, but as extraordinary specimens of liberality in these furious times.

From the zealot the author turns to the statesman who cannot conceive how two rival religions can subsist together in any country, and yet the public tranquillity be preserved. To prove the contrary he appeals to the Germans and Poles, who were too wise to decide their religious differences by arms, and who lived in perfect good will with each other;—to the Pope, who tolerated the Jews;—to the good understanding which, in so many individual cases, prevailed between Frenchmen of the rival faiths. Having adverted to the restoration of kindly feeling between them collectively, which had been brought about by the restoration of peace, he continues:

“ I go further: even in the midst of our skirmishing, we conversed together as if we were enemies only while our visors were closed. Nay, what Catholic is there who has not a Hugonot friend? What Hugonot who would not in case of need die for a Catholic? Now, what should prevent us from doing *collectively* what we should *individually* do for our friends ?”—“ It is not religion then, but the passions of others with whose will we are too apt to comply, that disturbs our peace.

“ I ask the statesman, who cannot endure two religions in the kingdom, which of them he intends to abolish. He will doubtless reply, *the weaker* ; but he well knows that this implies a recurrence to hostilities; its exercise cannot be abolished by edict, for peace could not be obtained without permitting it. So then, our arms must be resumed: I should like to know what we can gain by them ?”—tom. ii.

In conclusion, the author inculcates the necessity of concord, in a strain worthy of the man, the Christian, and the philosopher; of one who combined the comprehensive views of a de l'Hopital, with the benevolent feeling of a Fenelon. His exhortations were unfortunately uttered amidst prejudices too obstinate to be convinced, and passions too furious to be calmed. Their “ still small voice” was disregarded amidst the howling of the tempest by which the political horizon was overcast and deformed. Were the “ Remonstrance” the only monument of Mornay's wisdom, the only effort he ever attempted for his country's good, he would be well entitled to its gratitude, and we may add, to the veneration of posterity.

The following year (1577) Mornay came a third time to England, on a special mission from his new master. He did not succeed in obtaining troops, but after some trouble he prevailed on Elizabeth to furnish 80,000 crowns in aid of the Protestant cause. He succeeded, however, in acquiring two faithful friends, Sir Francis Walsingham and Sir Philip Sidney, a circumstance that must increase our opinion of his talents and virtues. Leaving Eng-

land, he passed with his family to the Netherlands, to assist the Prince of Orange, then at war with Spain, with his advice. While residing at Antwerp, a book, deducing the genealogy of the House of Lorraine from Charlemagne, fell into his hands. He at once perceived that its object was to prove the right of that family to the throne of France to be superior to that of the Valois themselves. It had been privately printed in London, and was evidently intended for distribution by the partizans of the Duke of Guise. Mornay extracted a few of its pages, which he sent to Henry III., who acknowledged the obligation, and commanded him to expose the falsehood of the pretended pedigree, a command that was ably and promptly obeyed.

In 1582 Duplessis returned to France at the express injunction of his royal master. In his service he was never for a moment idle. Sometimes he addressed energetic representations to the King of France, to open the eyes of that imbecile monarch to the real designs of the Guises; sometimes he occupied himself in vindicating the steps of Henry of Navarre, and in striving to remove the prejudices entertained against the Calvinists by their Catholic brethren. The letter which he composed for Henry to the Archbishop of Rouen (afterwards the Cardinal Vendôme) does equal honour to both master and servant.

“ You assert that to please the nobles and people I ought to change my religion, and you represent the unpleasant consequences that must ensue if I fail to do so. I think, cousin, that good men of both faiths (whose approbation only I am anxious to obtain) will esteem me more in seeing me devoted to my religion than with none at all; and well might they suspect that I had none, if, from considerations purely worldly, (and none others do you allege,) they perceived me pass from the one to the other. My cousin, tell the men, who may hereafter urge the pretended necessity of such a change, that if they know what religion is, they must also know that it cannot be put on or off at pleasure, like a shirt.”—tom. ii. p. 304.

The reader would scarcely expect such sentiments to be sanctioned by one who, in a very few years, not only passed from the reformed to the ancient faith, but had it also in his power to make the example general. But his was a political conversion, and how easily such a one may be effected recent events nearer home have sufficiently shown.

But whatever might be the dereliction of others, from principles, whether political or religious, it had no influence over Duplessis, whom time only confirmed in his early convictions. As he was not without honourable ambition, his devotedness to a cause which ruined its adherents must have cost him some struggles. This we gather from an interview which he had with the king of France in 1584. After ably acquitting himself of the very de-



licate mission of demanding on the part of his master some reparation for the insult publicly offered to Margaret de Valois by order of her brother, the French king himself, the latter spoke to him about a change of religion. He acknowledged to his majesty that for more than twelve years he had endeavoured to make up his mind to re-enter the Romish communion; that to attain conviction he had conferred with the ablest divines, whose reasonings had been powerfully supported by every consideration of worldly interest.

“ But after all, sire, my conscience has obtained the victory, though it well knew the price of that victory to be the disgraces, losses, and perils I have since sustained.” “ That is,” replied Henry, “ because you were under the influence of passion.” “ Yes, sire, but it was a passion which *opposed* my religion,—a desire of advancement, rendered stronger by the hopes of youth; but the settled conviction of conscience overcame me.”

This unshaken adherence to a persecuted faith, joined to an incessant watchfulness to improve every opportunity of defending both it and its professors, and of promoting their interests in every possible way, won for him the unbounded confidence of his co-religionists. And well did he deserve that confidence. It was owing to his respectful, yet energetic representations (supported by the authority of the king of Navarre) to the French king, on the contraventions and evasions of the edicts passed from time to time in their favour, that the Calvinists were indebted for whatever degree of toleration they enjoyed. Thus their gratitude laid the foundation of the all-powerful sway he held over them to the end of his life, and which acquired him among their enemies the title of the *Hugonot Pope*.

But with all his influence, and all his well-founded claims to the gratitude of his brethren, Mornay's family were at one time (in 1584) excluded by the minister and elders of Montauban from the Lord's supper. The circumstance is a curious instance of the rigid puritanical spirit which so early exhibited itself in the dissenters from the church of Rome, which was so marked a feature in the English puritans of the following century, and which still survives in some of the more rigid Dissenters of the present day. The cause of this exclusion was Madame de Mornay's persisting to wear her hair in curls, notwithstanding an express regulation against so monstrous a vanity! Their reverences stood aghast at her unholy presumption in demanding a ticket of admission to the Lord's table, with an ornament fit only for harlots! The lady (her husband was for some time ignorant of the catastrophe) contended that the regulation was not general, or that it was misunderstood; that in no other place had she been required to



observe it. The affair became serious, and led to a schism in the church of Montauban. She sent in a long confession of her faith to the minister and elders, with a notice of appeal to a national synod. All would not do! neither she, nor her children, nor her domestics, were to partake of the sacrament until the obnoxious curls were removed. Nay, the prohibition was extended to Mornay himself. Seeing the obstinacy of the pastors of Montauban, Madame de Mornay went to a minister three leagues distant, who, being less scrupulous, was persuaded to give her the necessary tickets both for herself and family; and in the mean time the mighty affair lay over until the assembling of the next synod. What was the result of its deliberations does not appear.\*

The disclosure made about this time by one Captain Beauregard, of the secret designs of the Spanish king and the Leaguers,—designs which aimed at the deposition of Henry III. and the transfer of the crown to the Guise,—induced Duplessis, with his master's approval, to wait on that unfortunate king, whose eyes he wished to open on the imminent dangers surrounding the state. He accordingly hastened to the French court, and immediately obtained a private audience. He opened his communication with observing, that he was well aware that whatever came from Hugonots was regarded with suspicion; yet he prayed his majesty to believe, that a man might be a Hugonot and a good Frenchman at the same time. When the king learned the dreadful extent to which treason was carried by many of his creatures and dependants, his first impulse was to adopt measures corresponding to the emergency of the case; but with a weakness as characteristic as it was unaccountable, he insisted on the whole affair being also communicated to his mother, Catherine de Medicis. Through her it soon reached the ears of the principal actors, whose plots it only diverted into another channel. The king's imprudence nearly proved the death of Mornay, whom the Duke of Guise caused to be waylaid, but who almost miraculously escaped. But if the monarch was weak, he was grateful: he offered Duplessis a gift of 100,000 francs, but with characteristic disinterestedness, the latter refused it. This conduct was

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\* Mr. Smedley, who has noticed this curious instance of Presbyterian intolerance, refers in a note to a passage illustrative of it in Birch's *Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth*, where, speaking of Mr. (Antony) Bacon, he states that "Mr. B. found his residence in Montauban less agreeable than it had used to be, because Madame Duplessis sought to entangle him in a marriage with her daughter (by her first husband, and then only in her sixteenth year), and also because she was extremely incensed against him for taking the part of the principal minister, whom she persecuted for censuring her scandalous excess in her head attire, vol. i. p. 64."—*Smedley's Hist. of the Reformed Religion in France*, vol. ii. p. 192.

the more noble, as he was then labouring under considerable pecuniary embarrassments which had been solely occasioned by his devotion to the cause of the King of Navarre.

The empire which Mornay deservedly held over the mind of Henry, and his conscious rectitude of intention, made him sometimes adopt a tone of remonstrance with him which a prince less magnanimous would hardly have tolerated. We find a remarkable instance of this when the certainty of the death of the Duke of Anjou, the king's brother, left Henry the acknowledged presumptive heir to the French crown; on that occasion he addressed a letter of advice to his master, in which he exhorted him to every possible virtue,—to reverence towards the king of France, to a love of justice, to magnanimity, to moderation, to anxiety for the people's relief, to clemency towards his enemies, and, above all, to the fear of God. He exhorted him to sedateness in council, to gravity in demeanour, to perseverance in serious affairs, and consistency in all. He reminded him that not only virtue, but the appearance of virtue, was necessary in one whose example must have a powerful influence over others. The conclusion of the lecture is still more pointed :

“Excuse, sire, a word more from your faithful servant. These open amours in which you so much indulge are no longer becoming. You may continue to make love, sire, but let it be to all Christendom, and especially to France : let all your actions tend to render you charming in her eyes. And your majesty may believe me,—for your very countenance speaks it,—not many months will elapse before you gain her good graces, and enjoy honourably and lawfully all the favours in her power to bestow, when God, your own right, and the order of succession, shall make her yours.”—tom. ii. pp. 574—578.

The death of Anjou was for some time rather injurious than favourable to the King of Navarre. The Catholics could not contemplate without alarm the near prospect of being governed by a heretic; and the Duke of Guise had little difficulty in strengthening the League. But to whom must the crown revert after the death of the reigning monarch? The conspirators (for such may the adherents of the House of Lorraine be designated) would have it to devolve on the Cardinal de Bourbon, uncle to the King of Navarre; but this was all a feint; for there is little doubt that Guise himself aspired to the throne. The feeble monarch was persuaded, or, we should say, forced into a treaty with his rebellious subjects,—with those who had long endeavoured to depose him. That treaty decreed the utter destruction of the Protestants, unless they expatriated themselves within a given time.

Much as Henry of Navarre had been accustomed to see the sovereign authority degraded, he was not prepared to expect that

the king of so great a nation would become the ally of the worst of rebels. Nor had the sagacious Mornay, who was then on a mission to the French court, ever dreamed of its possibility. On the contrary, his letters flattered his master with the hope that ere long the two kings would be closely united, and their combined forces led against the Leaguers. On receiving the edict of Nemours, he showed it to his friends: "Judge whether this blow be not enough to overwhelm me! My faithful Duplessis has been deceived for the first time;—but what good man could comprehend such a court,—such a king?"

But neither Duplessis nor Henry were long dejected at the alarming intelligence: neither had a mind that would easily sink under misfortune. "Sire," said the former, "you may be thankful to heaven that your enemies commence a war which you must inevitably have sustained one time or other. It had better come during the present reign than after your accession; and you are fitter to bear it young than when you are old." Both roused themselves with the energy of men to whom death could at no time inspire terror, and to whom it would at any time be more agreeable than defeat or submission. While Henry was drawing to his standard the chivalry of the kingdom,—all who admitted the validity of his claims, or admired the nobleness of his character, Mornay was no less active in defending by his sword and his pen the rights of his master and of his persecuted brethren. His famous "*Declaration du Roi de Navarre contre les Calomnies de la Ligue*," was excellently calculated to make an impression on all thinking men. It was an unanswered and unanswerable document; never were the criminal projects of an ambitious faction so clearly exposed, or the cause of an injured king so triumphantly vindicated. To save the effusion of blood, Henry waived his dignity as first prince of the blood, and proposed to meet the Duke of Guise in mortal strife, with two, or ten, or twenty companions. Though a Puritan in many things, Mornay was in others one of the most chivalrous of men. He belonged to a nation in which want of courage is considered synonymous with moral baseness; and on more than one occasion we find that he was not unwilling to become a party in a duel. In the present case he refused to pen the challenge unless he were nominated one of the combatants,—a demand to which King Henry, who knew his valour, readily acceded. But the cartel was not accepted: the duke was averse to risk his life for an object the attainment of which he considered certain in the ordinary course of events.

The last four years of the reign of Henry III., and the first four of Henry IV., (1585—1593) were among the busiest of

Duplessis' whole life. As superintendant of the household affairs and finances of the King of Navarre, he might be regarded as that monarch's prime minister and confidential adviser in every emergency. He alternately fulfilled the duties of secretary of state, financier, ambassador, military commander, pamphleteer, and director of the affairs of his co-religionists; and in all these capacities his services were so important, that it was a frequent remark of his royal master that he could no more do without Duplessis than he could without his shirt.

In 1587 Mornay was present with Henry at the splendid victory of Coutras, where he equalled even the Bourbon in courage. Before the action commenced, he exhibited a very characteristic trait of himself: having taxed the king with a recent amour, he urged him, as one who might in a few moments appear before the Judge of All, to make a public confession of his sin. Some of the courtiers would have persuaded Henry that the acknowledgment required was too humiliating, and unworthy of him. "We cannot humble ourselves too much before heaven, nor too much disregard man," was the only reply. He knelt; the army knelt with him. Seeing this, the Duke of Joyeuse (the enemy's general) exclaimed: "the King of Navarre is afraid!" "Think not so!" answered his lieutenant, who knew the Calvinists better: "these men are always the most terrible after prayers!"

After the assassination of the Duke of Guise and his brother the Cardinal by the order of Henry III., and when the latter was obliged to withdraw himself from the capital to escape the fury of the Leaguers, Duplessis, along with Sully, negotiated a treaty between the two monarchs, by which their forces were united against those of the League, now commanded by the Duke de Mayenne. One of the conditions of this treaty was, that Saumur was to be given up to the King of Navarre to secure his passage over the Loire, and as a cautionary town for the reformed; and Duplessis was appointed governor of that fortress. This appointment procured him a resting place for his family, which had been driven about from place to place, and suffered a large portion of the miseries of the preceding years.

Soon after the assassination of Henry III., (1589) the first important service which Duplessis rendered to his sovereign, now King of France, was to gain possession of the Cardinal de Bourbon, whose person the Leaguers, for their own purposes, were also anxious to secure. Though suffering from indisposition, he accomplished the design with a promptitude of decision that called forth the admiration of the king. "This is, indeed, service! Duplessis always makes things sure!" The year following

(1590) the poor old cardinal died, leaving his nephew one rival less, but with enemies as furious as before.

In 1592 Duplessis came again to England to solicit supplies for the prosecution of the siege of Rouen, but his mission was not immediately successful. Though Elizabeth had doubtless reason to complain that her troops had been suffered to consume themselves in France—that she had advanced considerable sums towards the support of the Protestant cause—that she had done enough, and that she was justified in doing no more—Mornay was right in attributing the failure of his negotiation to a more powerful cause—to the Queen's anxiety for the Earl of Essex, whose precious life she was unwilling to risk any longer at the head of her troops. There is something amusing in her invectives against the favourite every time the ambassador was admitted to her presence: upon no subject could she speak a dozen words without reverting to the earl, and testifying the pique of wounded affection and pride. "She would let him (the earl) see that he had less influence than he supposed—that she alone was mistress in her own kingdom—and that he was about one of the lowest in it." Duplessis, perceiving how things lay, wrote to his sovereign to permit the favourite to return. This was done, and the supplies required were immediately sent.

We now come to nearly the first step which Henry took without the advice of Mornay, and a most important step it was—his change of religion. Seeing that there was little prospect of his being able to subdue his enemies, supported as they were by the favour of the Pope, and by supplies both of men and money from Spain; that his very victories seemed only to prolong the contest; and that if even ultimately successful, France would be undone—her towns sacked—her fertile plains deluged with blood,—he at length resolved to embrace the faith professed by the majority of his subjects. But this was a proceeding at once delicate and hazardous: it might alienate his steadfast friends the Calvinists without gaining the Catholic chiefs. To convince the latter of his sincerity, and of his resolution to maintain the ascendancy of their faith; and to reconcile the former to the change by securing to them their rights and privileges, were objects apparently incompatible. But if either party must be estranged, let it be the weaker. So whispered policy, at whose voice gratitude was dumb.

The facility with which Henry's conversion was effected, almost proves the accuracy of the observation of Montaigne.\* He de-

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\* In the Memoirs of De Thou there is an interesting conversation between Montaigne and the President De Poigny, on the origin of the civil wars. After observing

clared to the bishops, whom he had assembled on the occasion, that his mind was already fixed on the change, and that little preparatory instruction was necessary. Accustomed from his infancy to the bustle of arms, or the hurry of dissipation, he was scarcely capable of serious reflection; and he probably knew as little of the religion he forsook as of the one he embraced. The faith which has no avowed principles for its foundation, which depends for its existence only on early prejudice or pernicious impressions, must fall at the magic touch of worldly interest. Had Henry, like La Nouë and Duplessis, been addicted to meditation, as much in the commotions of the camp as in the retirement of the closet, and thereby transformed mere impressions into principles; had he listened with attention to "the still small voice" of conscience and of truth, he would have adhered to his opinions with as much steadfastness as either of these conscientious men. But he had imbibed the philosophic notion, that the followers of all Christian sects are equally safe if they observe the precepts enjoined them. That all who sincerely believe the doctrines, and conscientiously practise the duties, of the faith they profess, may hope for the celestial favour, even on their errors, is a truth at once Catholic and scriptural; but we fear the royal convert scarcely asked himself the question, whether he had carefully weighed the evidence adduced in support of the two religions, and afterwards adopted that which from conviction he believed to be true. The most zealous of his advocates must acknowledge that he betrayed more precipitation—to use the mildest word—than the importance of the case demanded.\*

Of this conversion, whether pretended or real, Sully speaks with great complaisance, as of an event which his counsel had the greatest share in producing. He carried his liberal notions—let us rather say his indifference—even further than his master, so far, indeed, that there is some reason to doubt whether he had any religious principles at all. If he had, certain it is that he held them subservient to his political maxims. We regret to perceive more than once in his *Memoirs*, that to the same maxims, or rather to

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that the hatred subsisting between the King of Navarre and the Duke of Guise was the sole cause of those wars, (an observation, however, not strictly correct,) Montaigne adds—"Both make a parade of religion, and an excellent pretext it is to secure partisans, but neither cares about it in reality. The fear of being abandoned by the Protestants is the only consideration that deters the King of Navarre from returning to the religion of his fathers; and the duke would not depart from the confession of Augsburg, which his uncle the Cardinal of Lorraine led him to approve, if he could adhere to it without prejudice to his interests." Montaigne was acquainted with both, and he professes to speak from his own knowledge.

\* The question of Henry's abjuration has been treated with great fairness and candour by Mr. Smedley.—See *Hist. of Ref. Relig. in France*, vol. ii. p. 361—364.

the advantages arising from them, he was ready to sacrifice the most important of the moral duties.\*

Not so Duplessis Mornay. The first intimation conveyed to him of Henry's intention filled him with equal astonishment and affliction. He repeated his homely but expressive observation, that he could not conceive how any one could change one religion for another, as if it were a shirt; and he feared that the change in question would be followed by the persecution of the Protestants. He penned some energetic remonstrances, in which his attachment to his faith made him sometimes trespass on the respect due to his king. He observed that from idolatry to intolerance the step is not so great as from the truth to idolatry; and in more than one letter he obscurely hints, that the indignant Calvinists might so far forget themselves as to seek another protector to vindicate their rights. But in his letters to the ministers and chiefs of that sect, he uses no other language than that of loyalty. He evidently writes more in sorrow than in anger. In his letter to M. de Lomenie, (tom. v. p. 510,) he pathetically laments the situation of the King.

"From the bottom of my soul I pity and bemoan the hell into which his Majesty has fallen: I am no stranger to it. Tell him, I beseech you, that if he has any wish to escape from his double bondage, temporal and spiritual—bondage which I so much grieve to behold—though my fidelity in his service will not admit of increase, I will redouble my courage to assist him. They (the Catholic party) do not give him peace in the state, but they rob him of that which conscience bestows. They do not reduce the rebels to obedience, but they cool the fervour of his most faithful friends. They do not restore him to his kingdom—it is God's, not the devil's, to give—but they do all they can to make him renounce the kingdom of heaven. I am grieved to see him thus ruined, *thus deceived, thus betrayed*; and I find no good man, even among the Catholics, who does not say the same. But the resolution must begin with himself: *we can only follow him.*"

For some time previous to the king's abjuration Duplessis refrained from going to court, and it was not till nearly two months after it took place, and in obedience to his Majesty's commands repeatedly signified to him in the most earnest and affectionate manner, that he determined to repair thither.

On his arrival at Chartres (September, 1593), where Henry then was, Duplessis was for three hours closeted alone with him. The king was extremely anxious to justify himself to his faithful servant. He attempted to prove that the change was not merely a matter of prudence, but of necessity; that the conduct

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\* See, for instance, the extent of his duplicity in his negotiation with the King's sister, Catherine of Navarre, tom. ii. c. 6.



of his own Catholic adherents, and the little support he received from the Protestants, had brought him to the brink of a precipice from which he had no other means of escaping; but that his affections were still the same towards the reformed faith, and those who professed it, and that he hoped God would be merciful to him; and finally, he expressed a hope that he should one day be able to bring about a union between the two religions, which differed, he said, less in essentials than the animosity of the respective preachers would have the world to believe. In reply, Mornay observed that no such union could ever be effected in France until his Majesty was first firmly seated on his throne, and the Pope's power entirely abolished; that even if a French pope were elected, no good could be expected from him; that the cardinals most disposed to a reformation became its most bitter enemies on their elevation to the pontifical chair—witness Pius II., Adrian IV. and others; and that, as was well observed by Cardinal du Bellay, to this chair of the son of perdition a plague was attached, which instantly communicated its infection to those who in appearance were the best of men.

It cannot be denied that this step, as a preliminary to a general pacification, was productive of the greatest blessings to the kingdom. The great body of the people had been long clamorous for peace: none but the more ambitious chiefs of the League wished for the continuance of war, and they only in the view of obtaining better conditions from the king. After a long series of negotiations, in which the talents and experience of Duplessis were frequently called into requisition, chief after chief, and city after city submitted, and at length the peace of Vervins with Spain and Savoy, concluded in 1598, restored complete tranquillity to France.

The same year is memorable by the publication of the celebrated edict of Nantes, a measure intended by the king to redress the grievances under which his loyal subjects of the reformed faith had so long laboured, and which, had it been honestly and fully carried into effect, would doubtless have satisfied that body. But the king's intentions were in a great degree frustrated by the obstinacy and intolerance of the different parliaments and courts of justice, several of which evaded and others flatly refused the verification of the edict. There are many memorials and representations (mostly composed by Duplessis) scattered through the volumes of this correspondence, which sufficiently prove that up to that time "*ceux de la religion*" had little cause to congratulate themselves on the accession of their former co-religionist and protector to the throne of France. We need only refer to one of these "*Brief Discours, &c.*" (vol. vii. p. 257,) drawn up in 1597, from

which it appears that their patience and long suffering had been almost worn out, and that finding their services and submission had hitherto stood them in so little stead, they had determined to avail themselves of the king's necessities, and actually drew off their forces, when Henry was engaged in the siege of Amiens. Mornay is charged by Sully with being one of the refractory chiefs on that occasion. We think the charge unfounded, though, had it even been otherwise (considering that not his own interests or opinions were at stake, but those of his co-religionists) we are satisfied that he would have had little difficulty in justifying to himself his own conduct. The result proved that the course adopted by the Hugonot leaders was the right one; the justice which their long and faithful services had failed to procure them from their monarch's *gratitude*, was at last wrung from his *fears*.

Numerous as were the enemies of Duplessis at court, and constant as were their efforts to procure his disgrace, Henry long continued to regard him with equal esteem and gratitude. When towards the close of 1597, a gentleman named St. Phal, of high and powerful connections, who felt aggrieved by an act of Duplessis performed in his public capacity, applied to him for explanation or satisfaction, and, failing in that, went so far as to knock him down with a stick in the open street at Angers,—no one was more prompt than the king in offering to avenge him. The letter which Bourbon wrote on the occasion does the highest honour to his magnanimous heart:

“*Fontainebleau, Nov. 8th, 1597.*”

“M. Duplessis,—I am exceedingly incensed at the outrage you have received, in which I participate both as your king and your friend. As the first I shall not fail to do both you and myself justice. If I only stood in the second relation, you have none who would unsheath the sword more promptly or risk his life more freely for you than I. Be assured that in this affair I will serve you as your king, master, and friend.”

So sensible was Mornay to the outrage,—so eager for the vindication of his honour,—that he wrote to all his most powerful relations and friends, urging them to assist him in bringing the offender to justice, or at least in extorting satisfaction. The result was, that not only the monarch, but the highest and noblest of his subjects, Catholics as well as Protestants, espoused the cause of Duplessis; then all rivalry, and what is more, all religious animosity, were hushed at the imperious voice of chivalry and honour. The affair was prosecuted by Mornay for above a year with as much seriousness as if the fate of the whole kingdom depended on it, and concluded, in the presence of the king and

his nobles, in a manner every way gratifying to the wounded pride of our high-spirited Hugonot. His biographer dwells with evident pleasure on the details of the imposing ceremony of reparation. We could have very well dispensed with the voluminous mass of *pièces justificatives* which the editor has published relative to this affair, which was magnified into undue importance at the time, and has now not an atom of interest. To say the truth, in no other action of his life does this great man appear to us to so little advantage. *Sed humanum est errare.*

But unfortunately for France, whatever might be the regard which Henry entertained for the friend and counsellor of his youth, the confidence and good understanding that had for so many years subsisted between them, grew weaker and weaker. Mornay's unceasing activity in behalf of his co-religionists, the prominent part he assumed, not only as a negotiator for them, but as a religious controversialist, rendered him peculiarly obnoxious to the Catholic party, and by degrees estranged the king's confidence from him. In 1598 he published a "Treatise on the institution of the Eucharist," (he had previously published several religious works, some doctrinal, a few controversial,) in which treatise he did not spare the peculiar tenets of the Roman Catholic Church. Like D'Andelot, the brother of Coligni, he not only thought, but called the sacrifice of the mass "an execrable profanation." His friends foreseeing the obloquy to which his bold opinions would subject him, requested him to publish them anonymously; but they had to do with one who utterly disregarded consequences in discharging what he conceived a positive duty. The book produced a greater sensation than had been foreseen,—not among the French clergy only, who in some places caused it to be burnt by the common hangman, but even at Rome. The Pope's legate demanded its suppression; the Pope himself exhibited considerable umbrage at the remains of favour still shown by Henry towards its author; and as it was at that time the king's special policy to conciliate the papal court, it became doubtful whether he would not be compelled, in furtherance of that policy, to sacrifice his old and faithful friend.

But the doctrines of Mornay's work were not the only portion assailed. The majority of its numerous quotations were asserted to be either false or misinterpreted, an assertion which the author contradicted, and offered to disprove. The Bishop of Evreux, afterwards the famous Cardinal du Perron, (who was himself a converted Hugonot,) came forward both to impugn the doctrines and to support the charge as to the quotations. The prelate contended that in this latter respect, the book throughout was

inaccurate. "Not," said he to Sully, "that I mean to charge M. Duplessis with dishonesty; I pity him for having unfortunately trusted to compilers who have led him astray." With the pope's sanction, a disputation between the two champions was appointed to take place at Fontainebleau in presence of the king.

Madame Duplessis complains with great bitterness, and apparently not without reason, of the indecent partiality shown by Henry towards the bishop. She asserts that, *coûte qui coûte*, his majesty was resolved to gratify the Pope by a victory over the head of the Calvinists; that Casaubon and others who were present were summoned, not as judges, but as interpreters and verifiers of the quotations; and that the monarch reserved to himself the privilege of deciding who was the victor. On the evening preceding the conference, he was, however, observed to be very thoughtful; he knew the learning and solidity of judgment of Duplessis; and he betrayed so much solicitude as to the issue, that his secretary Lomenie could not forbear telling him that he had never seen him more anxious on the eve of the most decisive battles.

The conference took place in May, 1600, and the glory of the contest was awarded to the bishop by the king, whose joy on the occasion appears to have been extreme. "What think you of your pope?" was his question to Sully at the conclusion of the conference. "He is more a pope, sire, than you suspect," replied the politic minister, "he has just given the red hat to the bishop,"—a prediction, however, which was not verified till four years afterwards.

When the circumstances of this great triumph come to be examined a little closely, the whole affair turns out to be nothing more than a miserable court intrigue got up for the express purpose of raising the credit of the papal party at the expense of Mornay's reputation. When a charge so serious as fraud and forgery (which is implied in falsification and mistranslation of quotations) was preferred, justice required that the accused should be furnished beforehand with a list of the passages impugned, and allowed sufficient time to collect and produce his authorities in vindication. Instead of this, he was studiously kept in the dark as to the intended course of proceeding, and it was only in the hall of conference that he was apprized of the passages so charged; editions different from the ones he had referred to were brought forward, and every species of verbal quibble was resorted to. When to all this were added the browbeating and imperious manner of the royal umpire, and the hostile faces of the courtly auditors reflecting that of their master, we need not wonder that the intrepid Hugonot was for the moment confounded,

and that the conference, after a few hours, ended in his apparent discomfiture. Mornay himself was taken so ill immediately afterwards that his life was despaired of. His malady, however, was not of long duration, and his first care, even while lying on his bed of sickness at Fontainebleau, was to draw up, with the assistance of his son and some of his friends, a short statement of the real circumstances of the conference, which was immediately printed and widely distributed among his co-religionists, and served to dissipate the alarm which the king's letter and the boastings of the court-party had for the moment infused into their ranks.

From this time forward till the king's death, Duplessis was in a sort of continued disgrace with Henry. Not that he had no interviews with the latter, nor that letters did not occasionally pass between them; but he was seldom consulted in affairs of importance, and still seldomer benefited by the royal munificence. This is a deep stain on the memory of the king, who, if policy forbade him to repose his usual confidence in the Hugonot, was bound by gratitude to reward in some other way a zealous and faithful friend—one who had grown grey in his service. It was the complaint of Mornay, that at the end of twenty-five years arduous exertions for the king, he had not been able to pay a debt or purchase a rood of land. "I retire," writes he to his friend Lomenie, "without a single acquisition, without a house to live in, without office or benefice; unhappy he who has served only men, but I have served God, and His rewards are sure."

In 1602 Duplessis narrowly escaped assassination, while he was attending service in the church of Saumur. It appears from the evidence subsequently adduced that one Anastasio de Vera, a profligate and fanatical Sicilian monk, had instigated two young men, as great fanatics as himself, to attempt the destruction of one who had done so much injury to the Church of God. He promised them in a future state a similitude of glory with Clement—the blessed martyr Clement—who had rid the world of a tyrant, and the church of an enemy. The attempt was frustrated by the compunctious visitings of one of the youths, just as he was preparing to inflict the fatal blow: all three were arrested and tried—the monk was executed; one of his instruments was banished; the other sentenced to the galleys.

Three years afterwards Duplessis and his wife had to sustain the shock of the greatest domestic calamity that had yet befallen them, in the death of their only son, Philip, a youth of the highest accomplishments and the most promising hopes, who fell in an assault on the city of Gueldres, October 22d, 1605, while

serving in the army of Prince Maurice against the Marquis Spinola. "I have no longer a son," exclaimed the resigned but afflicted father on hearing the melancholy news; "I have then no longer a wife." His words were prophetic: that event was her death-blow.

But whatever might be the agony of her maternal feelings, Madame de Mornay was sprung from too noble a race, and was too chivalric in her notions, not to derive some consolation from the honourable death of her son. Even in the midst of her anguish she cannot avoid exclaiming—"Happy end to one born in the Church of God, reared in His fear, distinguished even at that age for his virtues—to one who died in a just cause, and in an honourable exploit! But to us the beginning of an affliction which our own deaths only can end."

When the fate of young Mornay was known, all, whether Catholics or Protestants, who were acquainted with the family, hastened to console the afflicted parents. Even the king forgot his pretended causes of dissatisfaction with his old servant, to whom he addressed a kind and consolatory letter. "I feel your loss, both for your sake and my own: I feel it as a good master ought, for such I am to the father, and such I was to the son. I hoped that he would imitate your fidelity and devotion to my service, as much as he imitated your virtues." "Be comforted, both in the favour of an indulgent master, and from your own prudence and constancy." This resumption of kindness on the part of a beloved king, *did* comfort his faithful servant: it fell on the old man's heart like rain on the parched ground.

With the death of her son, the pen drops from the mother's hand. Madame Duplessis had been for many years an almost constant sufferer from constitutional and other maladies: such a calamity in addition was more than her frame could bear. She survived it only a few months.

This second blow was to Duplessis as grievous as the former; it almost overwhelmed him. "My afflictions," says he to Casaubon, "are such as you may conceive. I digest the bitterness as well as I can, and I find my only consolation in God. To Him my remaining days shall be devoted—days which however short will be too long for me." But time mitigated his grief, as it does that of all other men; every day brought its duties which called forth his exertions: he lived thenceforward for his religion, almost dead to human affections. He carried on a correspondence, indeed, extensive as ever with the greatest and wisest of his age, but he had less attachment to the persons than to the subjects; he cared not so much for men as for truth.

But on the assassination of Henry IV., the affection, which



age and unkindness had almost extinguished in the heart of Duplessis, burst forth with all its ancient brightness. The young king and the queen mother, in acquainting him with the tragical event, exhorted him to use whatever influence he possessed in disposing his co-religionists to testify the same loyalty to the son that they had rendered to the father. Nothing can be more pathetic than his address to the assembled ministers and elders at Saumur, as the tears ran down his furrowed cheeks, in bemoaning the fate of his murdered master.

"Our king—the greatest king Christendom has had for five hundred years—who survived so many adversities, so many dangers, in sieges, battles, and attempted assassinations, has at length fallen under the blow of a wretch who has plunged the whole state into mourning, and drowned every true Frenchman in tears."

Having exhorted them to take the oath of fidelity to the new king, and the queen mother as regent, he says—

"Before God, I take that oath; I give you the example. Let me hear no more of Hugonot and Papist; those words are forbidden in our edicts: let all animosity be extinguished in our hearts. If no edict existed, as Frenchmen, as lovers of our country, of our families, of ourselves, such animosity should for ever cease."

Unfortunately, however, the measures of the regency were not of a nature to satisfy the nation, much less the Reformed, to whom any thing but favour was shown by the court. But Duplessis was for a long time caressed,—with hollow views no doubt,—from the immense influence which he possessed over the whole Protestant body. His heart groaned at the evils which he saw approaching, and his indignation was roused at the tyrannical acts and shameless perfidy exhibited by an ignorant, incapable, and profligate ministry towards the professors of the reformed faith. So great was that indignation, that in his controversial writings he called on James I., the bulwark of the Protestant cause, to wage an exterminating war against Antichrist. The reply of the royal pedant to the invitation is sensible and characteristic.

"We must say something as to the exhortation you have made us, both in your letter, and in the preface to your book, that in future we should quit the pen, and go forth sword in hand to dislodge Antiehris from his stronghold. But though we praise the fervour of your zeal, especially in your declining years, we beg you to consider that neither in Holy Scripture, nor in the doctrine or example of the primitive church, above all, in its greatest purity, can we discover any warrant sufficient to stir us up to an offensive war on religious grounds only, against any other prince or potentate, ecclesiastical or temporal. Besides, we have no reason to expect that our strength alone would suffice for the execution of so great an enterprize, and still less to hope for miracles in these latter times."—xi. 309.



Persecution sometimes makes even the mildest intolerant, and the philosopher sometimes fanatical. Thus it was with Mornay, who, however, preserved towards his sovereign his devotedness of loyalty, though he feared not to remonstrate when prayers proved ineffectual.

"The late king, your father," says he to Louis XIII., "would have sent these new ministers to school, who, like ignorant quacks, employ steel and fire for a slight defluxion, and make one arm cut off the other."

In 1621 the destruction of the Protestants was decided by the government. The King placed himself at the head of his troops to invest Rochelle, the most formidable rampart of the reformed religion. The occupation of Saumur, the government of which Mornay had possessed for so many years, was, from its position and strength, necessary to the execution of the royal will. The king wrote to the governor, acquainting him with his intention of residing for a short time in the castle, and assuring him that there was no intention of making the slightest change in the place. Relying on the word of a prince, Mornay prepared accommodations for the court; but he discovered the perfidious nature of the visit, when one hundred thousand crowns were offered him on condition that he would surrender the fortress to the king.

"Were I a man to be bribed," replied the indignant patriot, "I could have gained millions, but I have always been more anxious to deserve riches and honours than to solicit them."

It was however decided in the king's council that the place should be given up; and the ministers sent a peremptory mandate to that effect. But their hearts were touched, in spite of themselves, at seeing the veteran soldier and statesman thus deprived of the only reward he had enjoyed for his splendid services. He retired to his chateau of La Foret-sur-Sèvre. There he composed a pathetic letter to the king, which his friends with some difficulty prevailed upon him not to forward. In that letter he demanded permission to leave France with his family (he had many daughters, who had long been established in life, and who had a numerous issue,) and with the bones of his ancestors; and he added:

"Perhaps some one will engrave on my tomb, 'Here lies one who, in the seventy-third year of his age, and after employing, without reproach, forty-six of them in the service of two great kings, was compelled, for no other crime than doing his duty, to seek a sepulchre in a foreign land.'"

His death took place on the 11th of November, 1623.

The testimonies of his contemporaries, both Catholics and Protestants, and the evidence supplied by the vast mass of papers he left behind him, present to us so rare a combination of talents,

virtues, high principle, and accomplishments, with so small an alloy of human infirmity, united in the same person, that Duplessis Mornay appears almost a *unique* character in history.

“His soul,” it is well said by the editor of these volumes, “was always the asylum, the refuge, the sanctuary of justice—of all noble and generous thoughts—of heroism and disinterestedness: and in this as in many other respects, he will always be an honour and a glory to France. In no case does he tamper with what he considers his duty; he was always sincere, even in his errors. Mornay is one of the very few who never suffer in the public opinion, because he is ever the constant defender of the rights of humanity and conscience—rights which had never an abler advocate. In the midst of opinions the most diverse, and the most opposed to each other, he remains the same unchanging defender of those sacred principles: he is rationally pious amidst fanatics, and tolerant, though surrounded by intolerance.” “Mornay is great and virtuous at whatever period, and in whatever circumstances we regard him. He opposes the fatal genius of the Guises when he perceives that genius a rebel to the state: he labours to snatch a feeble prince from the influence of disastrous counsels and a guilty mother; as an ambassador to several courts, his only credentials are his virtues and the name of his king. And he is as interesting in his private as he is admirable in his public life: as father, husband, friend, he attracts us to him by proofs of the most affecting simplicity—a simplicity which becomes sublime in a great mind.

“As Mornay professed a religion long proscribed, most of our historians, either from party spirit or from fear, have either wholly omitted, or distorted, the noblest actions of his life. Of the cowards who have calumniated him, nearly all have omitted to notice his noble and holy sentiments, his love of humanity, his devotedness to his country, his loyalty, and unshaken integrity. A philosopher and a Christian, he approached the powers of the earth only to demand justice against persecution, indulgence and support for weakness, clemency and pardon for error.”

We conclude this necessarily imperfect sketch with an extract from another eloquent writer—Lacretelle, who in his *Histoire des Guerres de la Religion*, thus speaks of him:

“Of all the companions of Henry de Bourbon, he who had the most authority in his council, and the greatest empire over his soul, was the severe Duplessis Mornay. This Protestant stoic soon perceived that half virtues would prove a feeble barrier against the vices of his age. He was at once a consummate warrior, an admirable economist, a sincere and profound politician. It was with him that Henry de Bourbon wrote his manifestoes, his letters to the king, the nobles, and the third estate; the only papers of the times in which we discover *the heart*. In them eloquence springs from nobleness of sentiment; even at this period, when a succession of great writers have purified and embellished the French language, no manifesto can exhibit expressions more animated or energetic.”

ART. IV.—*Swea. Tidskrift för Vetenskap och Konst.* 12 Häft.\* (Sweden, a Journal of Science and Art. Numbers I.—XII.) Upsala, 1819—1829. 8vo.

PERIODICALS are not in general esteemed fit matter for reviewing in journals like ours, although, when such periodicals consist altogether, or chiefly, of original essays and original poetry, we scarcely know why they should be thus considered. This impression would, however, probably prevent our dedicating our attention and our pages to French or German Magazines;—but of Swedish literature we still know so little, and Swedish books are, in this country, so hard to procure, that we conceive a short account of the Swedish periodical miscellany, entitled *Swea*, cannot but be acceptable to our readers.

The *Swea* is edited by Professor Geijer, the author of the unfinished History of Sweden, the first volume of which was reviewed in one of our late numbers. Independent of his historical labours, which we have already noticed, Geijer has distinguished himself as an orator, a philosopher, a poet, and a musical composer. In two of these characters he contributes to, we believe, all the Swedish periodicals that belong to the National, or Anti-Gallican school; and as though all this were insufficient occupation, he has further undertaken the editorship of the *Swea*.

The principal of Geijer's brother contributors are Atterbom, who, amongst his compatriot admirers, bears the title of the Swedish Goethe; Franzén, similarly designated as the Swedish Scott and Byron blended into one; Palmblad, an oriental scholar; Schröder, sub-librarian at Upsala, an erudite scholar, and Geijer's colleague in the editorship of the old Swedish historians, with others less generally known.

The mention of these names, in addition to the *auto-descriptive* title (a title, by the way, rather too exclusive—*Journal of Science and Art*,) renders it superfluous to state that the *Swea* is a periodical of a far more ambitious character than most of the magazine fraternity; but this would not, unassisted, convey an idea of its singular austerity. Never does it, like those of the highest reputation in this country, attemper its profounder disquisitions by the admixture of light tales or *jeux d'esprit*; a very, very small infusion

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\* The work is, we believe, still in progress, although we have seen only the first twelve Häft, or numbers, divided into two or more parts each, (if we should not rather say volumes published in numbers); but this dozen being fully sufficient for our purpose of showing the nature of this learned periodical, we resolved to review them, without waiting the result of that usually tedious operation, the procuring more volumes from Sweden.

of poetry, and some accounts of travels, offering pretty nearly the sole relief from metaphysics, political philosophy, statistics, &c. Neither does the *Svea* seek to uphold its essentially miscellaneous nature, by confining every single paper within such limits as may insure variety in each separate number. So far from it, that the number which at this moment catches our eye, namely, the first number of the tenth *Häfte* for 1826, consists wholly of an essay upon the nature and origin of society, of a discussion upon one or two articles of the Swedish constitution, relative to the formation and the duties of the Royal Council, and a list of new books. Such essays, somewhat more varied, are almost the sole contents of the first few numbers; in later years the learned editor has added thereto, reviews of valuable new publications, whether Swedish or foreign.

Having thus given a general idea of the nature of this journal, we are next to speak more particularly of its literary and philosophical merits. These we think very considerable, although the dissertations are conceived and executed so much more in the German than the English taste, that we should fear to weary our readers, did we offer such an analysis of any of them, as, in our private opinion, some, at least, abundantly deserve. We shall, therefore, content ourselves with giving some brief notices concerning their nature and character, ere we select for translation what may appear more likely to interest an English reader. For this purpose we shall class the papers contained in the twelve *Häfter* before us, according to the subject matter of which they treat.

One of the most important divisions is that which more especially entitles the journal to its name of *Svea*, to wit, information relative to Sweden. Amongst the papers on such matters we have a geological description of the country by Wahlenberg; a statement respecting the working of the native silver mines, and a comparison of the Swedish and English modes of manufacturing iron; essays upon the ancient or Sweo-Gothic laws of Sweden, by Collin and Schlyter; upon the legal History of Sweden, by Delldén; upon Swedish legislation, with relation to the proposal of new laws, upon different articles of the Swedish constitution, and upon the composition and character of one or two national tribunals, by Schlyter and Delldén; anecdotes of Sweden's financial and economical history; a scientific disquisition upon old Scandinavian songs, by Hæffner; a sketch of Linnæus's life and labours, by Wahlenberg; an account of Swedish picture galleries; and an account, by Grafström, of a Swedish sculptor, named Sergell, outlines of some of whose works, namely, a Cupid

and Psyche, a drunken Faun, and two busts, by no means deficient in talent, adorn the first three *Häfte*. Occasional short surveys of the literary productions of the year, too many of which, we regret to say, are only translations, complete this division. A moment's reflection makes it evident that most of these papers, however valuable to Swedes, are scarcely of a kind to afford extracts interesting or instructive to foreigners. To inform readers altogether unacquainted with the subjects, each of them should be treated as a whole, and in the present active state of the Swedish mind, we do not despair of meeting occasionally with opportunities for presenting our readers with more comprehensive, and therefore more comprehensible, developements of some of these matters. The accounts of Linnæus and Sergell might have proved exceptions, but we have our own private reasons for not introducing into these pages a detail of the rise and progress of the naturalist's botanical observations, discoveries and opinions; and with regard to the statuary, (of whom Atterbom thinks that "had he not lived and died concealed in the North, he might have disputed with Canova the honour of reviving sculpture,") Grafström gives us merely an enumeration and eulogy of his works, together with a descriptive catalogue of all the Cupids and Psyches extant.

We now turn to the philosophical division of the *Svea*. The first paper of this kind that we shall notice is an Essay by Geijer himself upon Feudalism and Republicanism, of which 227 pages are divided between the first and second *Häfte*, and the remainder is promised, but not given in those we possess; the learned editor being perhaps too much engrossed by his historical labours to spare the time and thought requisite for completing a dissertation, which, however homogeneous with his professional avocations, demands more of both than magazine contributions, usually considered as light recreations from hard study, should naturally claim. This fragment displays a familiar, a profound, and a varied knowledge of modern history, with much acumen and some originality. The writer cherishes a tenderness for the better parts of feudalism, the very reverse of that abhorrent and keen search after its abuses which distinguishes modern liberalism in France, Italy, and even Germany. But with this reverence for the past, Geijer blends a cordial love of liberty, such as was to be expected from the highly-gifted and cultivated son of a country, where the popular portion of the representative system is carried further than in any other land with which we are acquainted, the peasants having long constituted, and still we believe constituting, in the diet, a distinct and separate order or estate from the burgesses. So that the two orders of what, upon the continent, has usually been called the third estate, form, in fact, an overbalance for the

two, equally distinct, orders of nobility and clergy, inasmuch as the last of these contains an upper and lower house within itself, in the prelates and the parish priests.

Without entering into a detail of Geijer's views, for which we have no room, we may briefly state that he considers the whole history of modern Europe as one uninterrupted conflict between feudalism and republicanism, which two principles he thus characterizes—feudalism as the spirit of, or resting upon, relations not created by law, but natural, analogous to those of parent and child, &c.; republicanism as the spirit of, or resting upon, relations wholly legal. Of republicanism he finds a twofold source; the one in the forests of Germany and Scandinavia, in the part which, amongst all tribes of Teutonic origin, the universal nation took as well in the discussion of foreign politics as in the internal administration of justice, and the fruit of this source he distinguishes as *rural* liberty; the other, he traces back to the municipal Roman forms, uninterruptedly preserved in the internal government of many cities of Italy, southern France, and the banks of the Rhine, amidst and despite all the tyranny of the Roman Emperors, all the devastation of barbarian conquest; and the offspring of this source he distinguishes as *civic* liberty. The first tempered whatever might otherwise have been too harsh in early feudalism, dying away as the power of the aristocracy became excessive; at which very period, namely, that of the Crusades, civic liberty revived to supply its place, encouraged by the monarchs of Europe, who sought, by the help of the third estate, to free themselves from baronial encroachment. From this civic liberty Geijer derives taxation and, as therewith connected, a spirit of representation, the fruitful parents of mercenary soldiers (the citizens soon learning to fight by deputy), standing armies and all modern tyranny, as well as of true freedom, in the representative system of government. The French revolution, when republicanism gained an undue ascendancy, is the point selected as the close of the conflict between feudalism and republicanism; but this is merely indicated, all inquiry into that fearful event, its causes and consequences, is wanting, with the continuation of the Essay.

Amongst the other politico-philosophical papers, is one, in 150 pages, upon true and false liberalism; in which, notwithstanding the anonymous writer's admiration for the British constitution and its gradual developement or growth, (resembling, he says, that of an organized body,) the horror excited by the French revolution produces a considerable anti-liberal tendency, whence we infer the irritating presence of French liberalism in Sweden. Another, upon the fundamental idea of the social doctrine of society, by Grabbe, incomplete in 80 and 202 pages, is written more in the



impartial and fair temper of Geijer. Both dissertations are, however, characterized by deep historical research, by acute and judicious reasoning; but in virtue of their essentially metaphysical character, they are, as before observed, better adapted to the meridian of Germany than to that of England. The same remarks apply to the purely metaphysical and to the *æsthetic* papers, concerning which we shall only say that the whole philosophy of the Swede, whether political, metaphysical or *æsthetic*, is deeply and essentially religious. Religion is herein considered as the sole and indispensable foundation of society itself, as well as of true liberty, morality and happiness.

Our next division embraces the papers relative to foreign countries. These are many and various. Perhaps the most valuable and attractive amongst them, to that reading public for which they are designed, are Palmblad's upon Oriental subjects. But how great soever be this scholar's reputation and his proficiency in such studies, it is not to be supposed that his disquisitions upon Tibet, the Ancient Histories of the Hindus, &c. can offer any thing peculiarly new or striking to readers familiar with the researches and writings of the mighty Orientalists of France, Germany and England. We shall, therefore, pass them by without further notice than the expression of our gratification at finding them in a much read Swedish miscellany, and turn to others that may, we conceive, contain metal more attractive to British readers, namely, some papers upon North America.

Even after all that has been published about the United States within the last few years, nay, the last few months, a Swede's views of the country might still, we apprehend, not be uninteresting; but there is in these papers matter of yet more novelty, and it is to this we shall address ourselves. It is not, we believe, very generally known, either that the Scandinavians claim the merit of having been the first, the original, albeit accidental, discoverers of America, or that the Swedes established a colony upon the Delaware, much about the time when our persecuted Puritans were colonizing New England; which Swedish colony remained, up to the period of the establishment of American independence, so far unabsorbed by its British neighbours and masters, as to be regularly supplied with Lutheran pastors from Stockholm, a fact implying the preservation of their mother tongue. Concerning these two points we shall select a few extracts; and, first, from Schröder's paper, *Om Skandinavernes forlona Upptäckts-resor till Nord Amerika*, or "Upon the Scandinavians' former voyages of discovery to North America."

Iceland had been discovered by Northman *Vikingr*, or sea-kings, Norwegian, Swedish and Danish, early in the ninth cen-



tury; but the discoverers' colonizing propensities—as far as those piratical adventurers, whose object was plunder and booty to be enjoyed at home, could be said to have such—found more alluring localities in *la belle* France and merry England, than in the realm of ice and snow, and the new discovery seems to have been little thought of until the year 874. At that period Harald Harfager, *Anglice*, Harold the Fair-haired, made himself monarch of the whole of Norway, which had been previously divided amongst many petty kings.

“ Under the despotic power of one Sovereign Lord, the flower of Norway's noblest spirits fled with their freedom and their recollections to Iceland. One Ingolf was their leader, and became the founder of the colony.”

These Icelanders recorded their proceedings in writing from their very first settlement, and, accordingly, the knowledge of all their maritime expeditions has been accurately handed down to us. One hundred years after the founding of the colony, Erik Raude discovered Greenland, of which, however uninviting, he easily persuaded his countrymen to take possession. At the close of the tenth century he conducted thither a small colony, one of the chief members of which was a descendant from Ingolf, named Herjulf Bardarson. This man's son, Björn Herjulfson, was a renowned *Vikingr*, whose sanguinary successful expeditions in a ship of his own had spread desolation through many a fair province, and inspired the lays of many contemporary *Scalds*. The triumphant *Vikingr* had now been for some time a resident in Norway, which country its sainted king, Olof Tryggvason, was then zealously labouring to convert to Christianity. In the beginning of the eleventh century, Björn Herjulfson left Norway to return home, and learning upon his arrival in Iceland that his father had removed to Greenland, he at once resolved to follow him thither. A resolution which old Sturleson, from whose *Saga* or History of Olof Tryggvason, Schröder derives his facts, lauds as extraordinarily bold, even in a *Vikingr*, inasmuch as neither Björn nor any of his crew had ever before sailed on the sea of Greenland. The hardy mariners were driven from their course by a tempestuous north wind, and when, after many days of storm, fog and darkness, the weather in some measure cleared, they saw land.

“ This they knew could not be Greenland, because, as Sturleson relates, they had been told that there they would find high snow-covered mountains. They sailed nearer, and beheld a country without mountains, covered with wood, and here and there a few small heights.  
\* \* \* After two more days' sailing, they again saw land. As they neared it they perceived before them a flat country, overgrown far

and wide with trees; and as the wind at the same time somewhat abated, the crew would have gone ashore, but the prudent Björn Herjulfson still deemed it unadvisable. \* \* \* \* They now sailed back with a south-west wind for three days, when they again had sight of land, which was all high lands, with bare fells\* and primæval icebergs. As they saw that this was no serviceable landing-place, they merely coasted the land, and found it to be an island. The wind continued, and they steered out again to sea. Afterwards the weather became rougher, and they were obliged to reef most of their sails. Their voyage lasted four days more, ere they recognized the south-easternmost out-jutting point of Greenland, the above-mentioned Herjulfonäs (Herjulfness), where they at length found their original place of destination, since it so chanced that just there had Björn Herjulfson's father fixed his residence."

Our bold *Vikingr* had by this time, it should seem, had enough of the sea, or else his new discovery did not present itself to his recollection in any very tempting light. At all events, from that time until his return to Norway, he dedicated his time and thoughts to the Greenland colony, leaving the shores of which he had caught a passing glimpse uncared for. But not so all his fellow colonists. Leifr Erikson, (the son of Erik Raude,) a youth converted to Christianity by King Olof, and employed by him to convey Christian missionaries to Greenland, determined to explore the newly discovered country, and purchased a vessel for the voyage of Björn Herjulfson himself.

The first land made by Leifs Erikson seems to have been, as indeed was to be expected, that last seen by his predecessor. Schröder regrets that this point should not be more positively established, by Sturleson's having mentioned the number of days consumed in Leifr Erikson's voyage thither. The omission does not, we confess, appear to us very material, since a measure of distance depending so much upon "skiey influences," especially in the then imperfect state of nautical science, could only slightly have corroborated the already strong probability. The new visitors, like Björn Herjulfson, describe this land as one of snowy mountains, bare fells, and general sterility, and they named it Helluland. The next land they saw was flat, sandy, and woody, and this they named Markland. Two days's more sailing with a north-east wind, brought them again in sight of land, when they cast anchor, and went ashore upon an island lying north of the mainland.

"As the weather was mild, they were induced to wander about the

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\* We think Johnson might have found in the Swedish *fiäll*, or the old Norse *fall*, to say nothing of the Anglo-Saxon *feall*, a better etymology for our *fell*, than the German *fels*, which, though of course akin to the others, literally means rock, not mountain.

country, where, amongst other things, they noticed dew of unusual sweetness upon the grass, most likely the common honey dew, which not a little astonished our Northmen."

Hence they made their way up a river to a lake, where they secured their vessel, and built themselves huts for winter quarters.

"Their principal provisions were supplied by the streams, which abounded in fish. Especially there was good store of salmon, larger than they had ever before seen. \* \* \* The fruits were good and choice; the climate was mild. The grass on the ground withered but little, because the winter brought no frost. They saw, added the historian (Sturleson), that here there would be no need to provide winter fodder for the cattle. They likewise observed that the days were more equal in length than in Iceland or Greenland. \* \* \* This region Leifr Erikson continued to explore, and upon one excursion found grapes, a discovery so remarkable to our Northmen, that they thence named the new country *Vinland*, or *Vinland det Goda*, (Wineland the Good,) which name it still retains in all Icelandic records. This assertion of Sturleson's has been much questioned, and the father of northern history has in some measure experienced the same honour as Herodotus of old, many of his statements, which were long treated as mere fables, having been confirmed by later investigations. Thus travellers have observed that grapes of several kinds grow wild in North America, and especially in Virginia, \* \* \* Amongst other productions of the new country, Sturleson mentions that wheat there grew wild. This was probably maize, (*Zea Mays*, Linn.) which grows all over America."

When spring came, Leifr Erikson loaded his ships with the produce of the country, and returned to Greenland. His brother, Thorvaldr Erikson, was the next visitor of this *Landafundi*, or Found-land, as the newly-discovered regions were collectively designated in Islandic. Thorvaldr, like Leifr, wintered in Vinland, but in the spring proceeded further to explore the sea coast, which appeared to be thick-set with islands, but without trace of man or beast, if we except a single corn chest, found upon an island. Next summer he prosecuted his researches, and had determined to plant a colony in a favourable situation, when he encountered three boat-loads of natives, whom Sturleson calls *Skraelingr*, the Icelandic name for the Esquimaux, and whom he thus describes:—

"They are of small stature and foul aspect; they dwell in caves, use arrows for their weapons, and make their canoes of skin."

These natives Thorvaldr attacked and captured, all but one, who escaped to report the disaster of his comrades, and bring down a *Skraelingr* army to avenge them. With this army our colonists next day fought a battle, and gained the victory, but

lost their leader, Thorvaldr Erikson. They consequently renounced all farther thought of colonization, and, loading their ship with the produce of the country, returned home.

A third brother, Thorstein Erikson, died in an unsuccessful endeavour to reach Vinland, which the shivering Greenlanders, or at least the Erikson race, amongst whom the knowledge seems to have been kept as a sort of family secret, regarded as another promised land. One Thorfin Karlsefne, according to Sturleson an immoderately rich man, soon afterwards arrived from Norway, married Thorstein Erikson's widow, Gudrid, and set forth with 140 persons, (his wife and a few other women included,) and a stock of cattle, to colonize Vinland. His prospects seemed promising. The cattle found abundant pasturage, and the natives presented themselves in more friendly guise, establishing a regular traffic of their furs for red cloth and milk. This amicable intercourse was unfortunately interrupted by the casual killing of a native, in resisting his attempt to possess himself of European arms, with which Thorfin Karlsefne had strictly prohibited their being furnished. Hostilities ensued, when the savages were repulsed and driven away. Nevertheless Thorfin seems no longer to have judged his residence in Vinland comfortably secure, and he returned with a cargo of country produce to Greenland.

The next adventurer to Vinland was Freydisa Eriksdotter, the sister of Leifr, Thorvaldr, and Thorstein Erikson. But the lady resembled her brothers only in their spirit of enterprise. She first cheated her partners in the speculation, two Norwegians recently settled in Greenland, and then persuaded her husband to murder her dupes, after which achievements she returned home with a valuable cargo. Here Sturleson's history of the American expeditions closes, and henceforward the subject is only incidentally mentioned in the Icelandic *Sagorna*, or Annals, all idea of colonization seeming to be entirely abandoned.

We feel hugely tempted to leave these simple, but curious, and, to our mind, interesting annals of Scandinavian discovery to the reader's consideration, even as he now has them, neither troubling him with any of the multifarious disquisitions they have produced amongst the learned of Sweden and Denmark as to the precise points of the North American coast to which they refer, nor balancing the rival pretensions of Newfoundland, Baffin's Bay, and Labrador, of Virginia, and of every state lying between the mouth of the Potowmack and the St. Lawrence. As the Norwegians have not as yet advanced any claim of proprietorship, founded upon prior discovery or occupancy, no question of political importance is involved in that of disputed

locality; and old Sturleson's account is too plain and straightforward, we think, to admit any doubt of his voyages, at least those of the Erikson race, having reached a southern latitude without fixing the precise degree. The only part of his narrative that appears to us at all perplexing, is his describing the natives of his Vinland as Esquimaux. This difficulty Schröder solves by the supposition, that the Esquimaux may formerly have possessed a larger portion of the continent, and been subsequently driven northwards from the more genial regions by the Red Men: and assuredly we know nothing of the early history of the New World that should justify our rejection of the hypothesis as impossible. But it is to be observed, that such indications of a different race of inhabitants from the present Indians, as have yet been found in North America, lead to the conjecture, that the predecessors of the Red Men were more civilized, not more barbarous than themselves. We must refer this question to Transatlantic antiquaries, offering, however, to the general reader this one additional suggestion, that to the fair, stately, and arrogant Northmen, all savages might seem sufficiently alike, to make the description of those they knew best answer for the better-looking strangers. And now, after expressing our wonder that the whole Greenland colony did not transplant itself bodily to the fair and fruitful Vinland, where, as their numbers would assuredly have enabled them to resist the *Skraelingr*, they might have lived in comfort, we proceed to the later connection of Scandinavia with the New World.

About the year 1625 one Wilhelm Usselina, or Willam Ussling, (for his name is written both ways,) an Antwerper, said to have been in some way connected with the Dutch West India Company, proposed to Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden to establish a Swedish commercial company, upon similar principles with the Dutch, for the creation of a trade with America, and the advancement of the general commercial prosperity of Sweden. The ardent and patriotic monarch was pleased with the suggestion, and granted a privilege or charter for the incorporation of such a company, under the title of General or Southern Company, which is dated the 14th of June, 1626. In this company his Majesty's own royal self became a partner, the queen-mother, together with the chief of the nobles and bishops, to say nothing of official personages, municipal dignitaries, and the inferior clergy, following his example. In his more proper kingly capacity, Gustavus Adolphus was to receive both a duty of 4 per cent. and a fifth of all minerals, with a tenth of all other colonial produce, whilst Ussling's services were to be rewarded with one-tenth per cent. upon all purchases and sales. The following

year this charter was sanctioned by the national diet; but the foreign politics of Sweden, especially the share taken in the Thirty Years' War by Gustavus Adolphus, and afterwards that great king's untimely death, had nearly strangled the scheme in its birth. Subsequently, however, at the instigation of one Peter Menewe or Menuet, a Dutchman, and a discarded servant of the Dutch West India Company, Axel Oxenstierna, the great Swedish chancellor and statesman, revived the project, and declared himself president of the company, and obtained from Charles I. of England a cession of all British claims to the land upon the banks of the Delaware.

"Well supplied with colonists, provisions, ammunition, and merchandize adapted for barter with, or presents to the Indians, Menuet was despatched from Götheborg (Gothenburg) with two vessels; in the spring of 1638 he reached the mouth of the Delaware, and landed in what is now the state of that name, near Cape Hinlopen, which he called Paradise Point, and the site of the present Lewis Town, Paradise. A district of country extending from that point up the Delaware to Santickan Fall, (now Trenton in New Jersey,) and thence as far inland as was desired, was purchased of the Indians as the perpetual property of the crown of Sweden. The treaty was drawn up in Dutch, and the Indians set their hands and marks thereto. Payment was made in awls, needles, scissors, knives, hatchets, guns, powder and ball, (the Swedes were less cautious than the Norwegians,) blankets and coarse cloths. Land-surveyor Kling, who had accompanied the colony, measured and mapped the country. It was named *Nya Swerige*, (New Sweden,) and its boundaries were marked by posts set in the ground. In length it was something better than twenty Swedish miles, and in breadth unlimited, or extended as far as the purchasers chose. Upon the hill beside the present Wilmington in Delaware, Menuet founded a fortress, named, after the then reigning Queen of Sweden, *Christinae-Skans* (Christina's Castle). The Hollanders, who were settled upon the River Hudson, had once had some forts even upon the Delaware, whence they had been driven by the Indians, who had utterly destroyed their buildings. These Dutchmen kept some of their number nevertheless constantly resident upon the eastern bank of the Delaware, to watch the movements of whoever should visit those parts. Their purpose was to secure at least the peninsula (now New Jersey) between that river and Nieuw Amsterdam (now New York). As soon as it was observed that Menuet was laying the foundation of a castle, the Director-General of the New Netherlands protested against the act in the name of the Dutch Company, upon the ground that the river belonged to them. But these remonstrances produced no effect upon Menuet, and on the Dutchmen's side the matter did not for some time proceed beyond words."

The Swedish colony was henceforward managed much like the colonies of other nations. An attempt was made to transport



convicts thither, but we are told that "the neighbouring nations and the Indians" so much disliked the measure, that the first gaol cargo was returned upon the hands of its shippers, and the idea was given up. Speculations in silk, wine, and salt were set on foot, and the company was endowed, after many changes of plan, with a monopoly for supplying the mother country with tobacco. Meanwhile New-Swedish towns were building, not only in the present New Jersey, but also in what is now Delaware, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. We are told,

"In this direction the Swedish possessions extended to the great falls of the Susquebannah, in the present Pennsylvania, of which the first European cultivators were Swedes. With the Indians they lived upon good terms, and learned their language, but with the Hollanders incessant disputes arose. Our countrymen considered themselves as the rightful owners of the land they had bought, and resisted the pretensions and invasions of the Dutch. These again complained of the intolerable arrogance of the Swedes, who, they averred, paid no more attention to Dutch protestations than 'if a cow should fly over their heads.'"

This beautiful illustration is ticked off in the original, as though extracted from some Hollando-American state paper or other document, and we have carefully transcribed the marks, because, if the figure of speech be at all applicable, we must say it makes strongly against its employers. If the Swedes paid *as much* attention to the Dutch protests as they would have paid to a phenomenon so awful and so unwonted as that of a flying cow, (some vague nursery reminiscences of a cow reported to have jumped over the moon cannot invalidate the adjective "unwonted,") we should pronounce them the most attentive, and most polite too, of diplomatists. At least for ourselves, we confess, that not all the possible protocols which could be concocted by all possible conferences, nay, we believe no political occurrence short of internal revolution or foreign conquest, would commote our inward man a half, or a hundredth part as much as the sight of one of the "milky mothers" who daily perambulate the environs of London, gently rising from the road, yard, or field, and hovering over our own individual heads. But our present business not being to criticise Dutch reasoning or Dutch eloquence, we return to the colonial dissensions between the two nations.

" 'Should the Swedish governor'—writes Adrian van der Donck, (we suspect, but cannot positively assert, the brilliant inventor of the flying-cow comparison,) 'receive reinforcements in time, we shall have more trouble with him than we had with the English or any of their governors.' "



The government at Stockholm does not appear to have duly exerted itself in behalf of the active colonists, not even supplying means of conveyance for those who were eager to seek, cultivate, and defend the new and more fertile Sweden. The Dutch built Fort Casimir on the western bank of the Delaware, despite the earnest protestations of Printz, the second governor; and he, in despair at the neglect under which his promising colony languished, committed his authority to his son-in-law, Papegoija, as vice-governor, and in 1652 returned home. In 1654 Papegoija received the long looked-for reinforcements, and Rising, who came out with them as governor's assistant-counsellor, and secretary to the College of Commerce, immediately upon landing took Fort Casimir. Papegoija now made over his authority to Rising, who, assuming the Dutch title of Director General, concluded a new treaty of closer friendship with the Indians, during the negotiation of which, we are told that the interpreter employed by the Swedes being graced with a magnificent beard, the bald-chinned aborigines insisted that he should shave off one half the honour of his manhood ere he should presume to exercise his office on their behalf.

But the Dutch yielded their possessions only to such as were too strong for them, which the Swedes were not. In the course of the following year, troops were despatched from the United Provinces to Nieuw Amsterdam, at the head of which Governor Stuyvesant first recovered Fort Casimir, then compelled Rising to capitulate in *Christinae Skans*, and finally overran the colony, leaving the colonists no choice except that of selling their property, or taking an oath of allegiance to the States General. A few Swedes and one Finn became Dutch subjects, rather than abandon their new homes; but the greater number, remaining temporarily for the avowed purpose of selling their property, managed, in conjunction with the Indians of New Sweden, to maintain themselves in a sort of independence during the short remaining period of Dutch sovereignty in North America. Lars Lock, the Lutheran clergyman who had accompanied the pious Swedes at the very first founding of the colony, remained with his flock; and the Hollanders, who had been less diligent in supplying their spiritual than their corporeal wants, now participated in his pastoral care.

Rising, upon his return to Sweden, vehemently urged the government to recover the colony. But Charles X., who now wore Christina's abdicated crown, was engaged in wars that fully occupied his resources. He therefore merely endeavoured to obtain from Holland, by negotiation, some compensation for his overthrown company, and abandoned all pretension to *Nya Sverige*.

It did not however long remain under the government of the United Provinces. In the year 1664 the English took the Dutch colony, subduing alike conquerors and conquered; and the new masters of the province readily allowed their Swedish subjects the free exercise of their religion.

"The celebrated William Penn, who became the owner of the land, (of that portion of *Nya Sverige* which lay in Pennsylvania,) was much pleased with the Swedes, whom he even employed as interpreters with the Indians, and praised for their gravity, industry, strength, fecundity, and civility; but said 'that they made no great progress in agriculture and horticulture, as though they desired only to have enough, but no superabundance.' They were eligible, and often elected, to sit in the Assembly and in the governor's council. The Swedes, and especially the Finns, were nevertheless excited to tumult and sedition by an impostor, who assumed the name of Königsmark, and afterwards by others; but they were mercifully dealt with, from the good opinion which government entertained of their honesty and obedience to lawful authority when not seduced by strangers. Penn applied to the Swedish embassy in London for priests and books for their use, but without much success. Parson Lock had taken a German assistant, who afterwards succeeded to his office, but became blind in his old age. The American Swedes then vainly applied for pastors to Sweden, where their letters did not arrive, and to the Lutheran consistory at Amsterdam, which did not even answer their petition.

"Meanwhile the elders read homilies in the churches for the instruction of the young. At length a Swede named Prinz visited our American countrymen in an English vessel, and on his return home reported their condition to Thelin the Gothenburg postmaster, who transmitted the information to Charles XI. A correspondence was now opened with the colony. The king consulted the ecclesiastical authorities. Archbishop Ol Swebelii made the necessary arrangements, and in the year 1696 the king sent out three clergymen, with abundance of bibles and other religious books. From this time the three Swedish congregations in America, two on the western and one on the eastern side of the Delaware, were regularly supplied with Swedish priests through the care of the archbishops of Upsala. The congregations have occasionally had to stand hard contentions with the Quakers and Zinzendorians, especially during the clerical vacancies that occasionally happened. But the chief inconveniences to the clergy, and the chief evil to the laity, sprang from the constant disputes that arose touching the support of the churches and parsons, which was not fixed by any law, or provided for by the resident government."

The difficulties upon this subject are not very interesting, and it may suffice to say that much of the needful expenditure seems to have been long defrayed by Sweden, till the Swedish Diet latterly began to grudge the cost; and that soon after the establishment of the independence of the United States, the Swe-

dish colony ended the discussion at Stockholm, by undertaking thenceforward to supply themselves with and support a native clergy, beginning from the time appointed for the departure of their then pastors; for it appears that the Swedish ecclesiastics were sent out only for terms of years, after which they were to be provided for at home. One of those then in America, Prost (or ecclesiastical superintendent) Collin, preferred to remain in the colony, where the pension, to which he would have been entitled on his return home, was, in the year 1825, still paid him from Sweden; and so highly satisfactory does his determination of remaining appear to have been, not merely to his flock but to all who knew him, that he has since, although a native Swede, had the honour of being elected one of the representatives of Pennsylvania in Congress.

We have given these extracts and abstracts as curious from the subjects of which they treat, and shall now proceed to matter of more literary interest. For this purpose we shall turn to Atterbom's contributions, prefacing what we have to say of his papers with a few words concerning the writer, which we omitted to do when upon former occasions we mentioned him with due praise, or translated some of his poetry.\*

Daniell Amadeus Atterbom, one of the small knot of Swedish scholars who first rose in national or Teutonic enthusiasm against the French taste long prevalent in Sweden, is the son of a country clergyman, and was born in the year 1790. In his earliest infancy he discovered a turn for letters, and before he was nine years old induced his father to teach him German in the only two books he possessed in that language, and which might have seemed *a priori* so little attractive to a child, namely Hubner's Geography and Puffendorff's Universal History, that we might take the boyish fancy for the language as an omen of his future Teutonicism. At school he was seized with a passion for liberty and republicanism, under their modern guise of the French revolution and Napoleon Buonaparte. But the baleful influence which this Gallic hallucination might have exercised over Atterbom's mind was happily counteracted by the acquisition of a copy of Bürger's poems, the study of which convinced him of the wretchedness of all the Gallo-Swedish literature then in vogue. Upon leaving school at the age of fifteen, he plunged heart and soul into German literature, poetry, philosophy, metaphysics, *aesthetics*, alike imbuing himself with its mystical, enthusiastic, hyper-imaginative and melancholy passion, rather more deeply than should belong to the simpler though kindred Scandinavian

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\* See No. I. p. 195; and No. XI. p. 131.

nature. He became the centre of the little *coterie* of national *literati*, who took the title of "The Band of Aurora;" and, encouraged by Geijer's efforts to awaken a love of national history and antiquities, in 1810 set on foot a periodical named the *Phosphorus*, (whence they were afterwards called Phosphorists,) in which they declared open war against the French school. An incessant battling was kept up between the two parties in various periodicals, and Atterbom was ever in the field. In the years 1817-18 he travelled through Germany and Italy by the kind assistance of his more affluent friends, who were anxious to withdraw him from the conflict, that he might not 'to party give up what was meant for mankind.' Upon his return in 1819, he was appointed tutor to the Crown Prince in the German language and literature, and in 1828, professor of philosophy in the university of Upsala. Atterbom's principal work, besides his contributions to periodicals, is a sort of dramatic idyllic fairy tale, entitled *Lycksalighetens Ö*, or "The Isle of Happiness," published in 1824-27. It is as a poet that the author is chiefly admired, and richness of thought, clothed in very harmonious versification, is esteemed his distinguishing characteristic.

Atterbom's contributions to the *Svea* consist of philosophical and *æsthetical* essays, letters written from Rome during the above mentioned journey, to his friend, Professor Geijer, and a very few poems. Of the essays we need add nothing to what we have said concerning the division to which they belong, but shall make some extracts from the letters, which we must state, however the style may seem to contradict the statement, were written for his correspondent only, not for the public; the strangeness of the phraseology, which we could not alter, without altering their character, is merely *ultra*-Germanism.

Every body has visited Rome, and almost every body having, in one shape or other, written and published his or her tour, even the nobodies who have not yet kissed the pope's toe are as intimately acquainted with the Roman splendors of ancient and of modern genius, as though they had looked upon them. We shall not therefore take our extracts from Atterbom's descriptions of such matters, or even from his raptures at finding that "the eternal, world-controlling city, with which no other upon earth may compare, is now for some months to be *his* home!" but select portions from his account of a part of modern Roman life, with which the British public may perhaps be less familiar, namely, the German artist-colony there established, and its school of painting, which will moreover enable us to exhibit something of the writer's peculiar views and feelings.

" From Germany to Rome copious emigrations of artists, scholars, poets, and women, annually take place; the number of men is so great that they here actually constitute a whole self-dependant nation, under the free government of its own laws, principles and usages. At certain places of refreshment, such as the *Locanda Borghese* (Borghese tavern), and the *Caffè Greco* (Grecian Coffee-house), now generally called the *Caffè Tedesco* (German Coffee-house), one finds, especially of an evening, the members of this society, which might be called an Artists' *Burschenschaft*,\* assembled in brotherly union. At the *Caffè Greco* I yesterday evening met the genial Friedrich Rückert, who has already resided here several months. Of his poetry you probably know at least the far-famed *Geharnischte Sonette*, (shall we translate Sonnets in armour?) which he published under the name of Freimund Reimar, and which, with the exception perhaps of Körner's best songs, are the most spirited poetical exhortations to victory and death, of the many produced by the liberation-war against France. \* \* \* \* He inclines to visit our northern peninsula; and should you chance to meet a living image of the Folqvad Speleman of the *Niflunga dikten*† or lays, you may know the man to be Rückert, for such he looks to a hair: a truly gigantic figure, the old German garb, immense mustachios, dark hair, falling, in long rich curls, down upon his shoulders, gloomily-knit eyebrows, thoughtful, ingenuous eyes, alternately flashing war and childlike mildness, in short, the iron bow (fiddlestick) only is wanting. \* \* \* \* To morrow evening H. (a Dane) and I, who have been twice admitted as guests, are to be formally incorporated as associated brothers. And thus have we the best hope of enjoying, amongst all their painters, sculptors, architects and poets, a student's life of renewed youth and enhanced beauty. I should say that here in Rome, Swedes, Danes, and Norwegians, are all reckoned Germans, and treated by the latter as belonging to them. South of the Alps the family tie is fully acknowledged.

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" You certainly wish that, rather first than last, I should speak to you of our statuary countryman, the amiable Byström, with whom I was not before personally acquainted, and who greets you heartily through me. I found him yesterday in, literally, his proper place, to wit, his workshop, chisel in hand, surrounded by none but divine and female forms. The workshop itself, situated not far from the Tiber, is part of a celebrated old Roman monument; it is the broken and chaotic giant-structure of the Mausoleum of Augustus ‡ that affords some light and plenty of room to the Gothic artist's activity. He is a genuine, fair and manly Swede of Vermland, simple, frank, calm, cheerful and industrious. His exterior has the northern temperament's leisurely equanimity, which, without deeper investigation, has to the beholder an

\* The collective name for the students at German universities.

† *Niflung* is the Swedish or Scandinavian form of *Nibelung*, which we apprehend to be the original as to story as well as name. Folqvad is a heroic musician, one of the characters.

‡ " Later remark. In the autumn of this very year Professor Byström purchased the beautiful Villa Malta, upon the Pincian hill."

expression of indifference ; but the blood hidden under that cold outside is all the warmer. A man like Byström cannot but sympathize with life and soul in his country's fate ; and it was from his lips I received the first tidings of Charles John's having ascended the Swedish throne.

\* \* \* \* God protect the new king, the chosen man of a free people's election, and enlighten both him and the people for the common good !

• • • • The graceful, both in conception and execution, is as yet the predominant characteristic of Byström's works, and therefore is female beauty the especial province of his art.

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" A nature unlike Byström in every thing but genius, is Denmark's artist-pride and glory, her Thorwaldsen, an ever-dreaming, thought-diffused, self-absorbed, and profoundly pensive Phidias-spirit, in a well-grown, but pale and lean figure, of something more than forty years of age. The high, handsome, but melancholy forehead, the large blue eyes, showing by a sort of bewildered glance that his own attention is seldom fixed upon the objects externally surrounding him, betray imagination's proper son ; and as he speaks no one language correctly, but must often mix four or five together to make himself intelligible, whilst (at the same time) a couple of dozen of subjects are usually floating in his conception at once, his aspect in society and conversation has almost always a certain *naïve* expression of disorder and confusion that becomes him right well, and accords admirably with the laconic style, in which, as though they were cut in stone, he gives out his epigrammatically pointed thoughts. These are often so humorously lively that the hearers are ready to laugh themselves to death, whilst the mirthfulness of the jest does not disturb a single feature of the serious sallow countenance of the speaker. Such is visibly and personally the man who is about to found a new era in sculpture, and, with the vein of northern metal in his genius, has become, even at Rome, Canova's victorious rival.

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" On my return home (from a spring walk through Rome and its environs) I found myself in the right disposition for viewing the admirable *fresco*-paintings, with which some young German artists have decorated a small saloon in the Prussian Consul Bartoldi's house ; they represent the most important incidents in the history of Joseph. I was especially pleased with one by Cornelius, where the Raphaelish, loveable youth interprets the dreams to Pharaoh, who sits on his throne in deep kingly anxiety ; and another by Overbeck, where, in a beautiful South-Asiatic landscape, the boy is sold by his brothers to the travelling slave-merchants. The pious natural freshness of the Old Florentine school breathes from these pictures, in union with the unvarnished simplicity and innocence of the Old German. For such is the tendency that prevails amongst the most distinguished German painters resident here, a tendency which may be considered as the dawn of a new era in painting ; new, however, only in this respect, that, with self-relying comprehensiveness, it returns to the beautiful and the essential of one long since past away, of which Raphael was the most splendid but likewise the



latest fruit. That a view, which from its opposition to most of the present day's notions of art and its destination, must needs begin by expressing itself in a revolutionary spirit, should be first kindled and developed in German artists, is a consequence of that speculative historical and religious direction, which is the soul of German nationality. Among Italians, they have as yet gained only one disciple, a Maltese. The rest, like the French and English, continue, with great comfort and self-satisfaction, to paint statues, *coups-de-theatre*, naked girls, and French dolls.

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"In Germany I had often heard that amongst the young German artists at Rome a kind of new school of painting was forming itself; and there was more dispute as to the reasonableness of its principles than as to the merit of its works, because its leaders (Cornelius and Overbeck) at least were allowed to possess rare talents. \* \* \* \* This school is nevertheless at least as old as Fiesole's, Masaccio's, Francia's, Perugino's and Raphael's. What appears new and unwonted is only its return to the original contemplation of nature and beauty, as that contemplation must exist in an art which is Christian in its spirit and romantic in its genius. With the Greeks sculpture was religion's art, was the one of the two\* plastic sisters, on which the most passionate love was lavished, the highest value set. Painting was comparatively a mere accessory, adapted to the decoration of apartments. \* \* \* \* Christianity's revolution of the world was the triumph not only of light, but also of the refraction of light. The new mild theology clothed itself preferably in the pure veil woven of the play of colours, and painting obtained wings that raised her far above her sister. But from this altered relation it follows, that if statuary can, in case of need, exist upon fancy without heart, upon poesy without religion, namely, upon the poesy that lies in the external perfection of Nature's organization, the painting, on the contrary, which should not be self-wrought out of the inmost blending together of both, were altogether nothing; an unreal, juggling, tawdry, optical titillation. Painting must be so treated as to *become* what statuary *was*,—an art consecrated to religion and to mighty recollections. Otherwise, its root is severed, its kernel dug out, and Raphael's art must quickly fall back to its original triviality, a mere decorative handicraft."

We have not room, and suspect that few of our readers would have patience, for the whole of this *æsthetic* dissertation. We have given enough to display Atterbom's Teutonically-mystic and metaphysical cast of thought, merely adding, as an elucidation of our own, that perhaps the difference between the two arts might be briefly stated thus, that sculpture draws her inspiration from the natural poetry of the luxuriant South, and painting hers from the imaginative poetry of the dreamy North. Passing over our author's depreciation of Correggio, Titian, and other painters, whom we, in our ignorance, have been accustomed to

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\* Can painting be called a plastic art?



admire, we proceed to extract his account of the leaders of this new, or rather this revived old school.

" Cornelius and Overbeck are both Catholics; the former, a Rhineland, was born in the bosom of that Church; the latter, a Lubecker, is a convert to its creed. Around these two, Protestants as well as Catholics, with the utmost toleration for each others' theological opinions, press in a united *æsthetic* society. \* \* \* \*

" Cornelius is a man of an age somewhere between yours and mine; \* externally a short, but well-proportioned, and powerfully built figure, with a face marked by strong features, a brown complexion, and dark, deep-set eyes, flashing from under the brows; he has an earnest, clear, penetrating glance, a demeanour tranquilly resting upon the firmness of his inward nature, and a decided philosophic cast, that agreeably reminds one of Schelling; only Cornelius, as behoves an artist, under all his external composure, is internally more impetuous and volcanic. His heart is as noble as the strict purity of his morals is respectable, and his disposition is as inartificial, open and ingenuous, as his reflections are sharp, and his cultivation scientifically-principled. A warm Catholic, \* \* \* \* he believes, as I do, that the notions of religion most essential, no less to poetry and to art, than to spiritual consolation, are, or at least may be, the same in both churches. \* \* \* \* The Crown-Prince [now King] of Bavaria, wishes to have, in a museum he is now building at Munich, under the somewhat peculiar name of the *Glyptotheca*, a spacious statue gallery, adorned by these gifted artists, with mythical *al fresco* paintings, that may correspond with, and unite into a spiritual whole, those works of plastic art, which the gallery is destined to preserve. Cornelius did not at first much incline to involve himself with Greek mythology; but upon further examination into its original, and still perceptible orientally-religious character, he found that the innumerable trivial adjuncts, through which the mythology itself became at length utterly trivial, have yet by no means wholly buried its deep vein of ore beyond the reach of the divining rod of inventive genius. He is now drawing with satisfaction a first sketch for a cycle of the most essential symbolical representations of the Greek mythology, and his sketch every where discovers a man initiated into the spirit of *Æschylus's* Prometheus. . . A pretty little Roman, who has been several years his wife, but still, with her delicate shape and modest eyes, looks like a girl, superintends his household affairs, and has at least the merit of being exceedingly well-disposed and very much devoted to her husband. Only when he speaks of returning to Germany are her eyes bedimmed with tears; like most of her countrymen, she forms to herself the most horrid ideas of that part of Europe which lies north of the Alps; and the child, which, like the mother, has not yet learned a word of the father's language, expects to see nothing but monsters in the North.

" Overbeck, a tall, slender, etherial looking youth, who, in the old German garb, with a thoughtful innocent countenance, flowing chesnut

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\* Geijer was then about thirty-six, Atterbom twenty-nine years old. Cornelius is now President of the Academy of Design at Munich.

locks, and a black satin cap on his head, really has an air of Raphael, is in every thing, except talent and general views, the opposite of his friend Cornelius. One may say, as indeed the crown prince of Bavaria has said in a poem in honour of the German artists, that the one is a St. Paul's, the other a St. John's nature. He is the son of that Overbeck, who, as a poet, earned a name of no great celebrity in German literature; has had a learned education, took his doctor's degree with credit, but, impelled by irresistible inclination, forsook all other objects and prospects, to give himself up to the art which he now practises with so much honour. Born a Protestant, he some years ago went over to the doctrines of Catholicism, a step which exposed him to much censure, and which his father, it is said, still cannot forgive. The example is assuredly not one to be recommended for imitation, but Overbeck belongs to that class of souls whom nature formed for Catholics, and who therefore individually do right to obey their call. He is moreover as tolerant as Cornelius, and there is in his disposition a mild hilarity, a quiet agreeableness and innocence, that make him infinitely amiable. In private life he is anchoretically pure and pious; in his art modest, unpretending, sweet, but clear and sure in his views. As a melody full of soul, sung by a deep and powerful voice, gushes directly from the inmost recesses of life, so does his calm, devoutly cheerful, unboastful efficiency, fix upon the canvass the reflexion of his pure heart, the heavenly originals, which, in their unclouded splendour, shine only upon childhood's sense. No spectacle is in my eyes more beautiful than a true and unconscious childlike simplicity, preserved in a cultivated and manly soul.\*

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\* We are tempted, by the strong contrast which it presents to the preceding account of the German school of art at Rome and its leaders, to insert here the principal part of a lively and apparently true description of *French Artist-Life at Rome in 1833*, which appeared a few months back in one of the leading Paris Journals. After reading it, no one, we are satisfied, can doubt that Atterbom's observation on the artists who "continue, with great comfort and self-satisfaction, to paint statues, *coups-de-theatre*, naked girls, and French dolls," which we were at first inclined to look upon as a piece of playful satire, is, as regards the French artists at least, perfectly well founded; it was true in 1818, and it is still true in 1834.

"It is in the noble Villa Medici that the academy of France has its local habitation. The villa, which is completely inclosed within the circumference of Rome, like the *Parc de Monceaux* at Paris, is a mile in circuit; it occupies a portion of the Pincian hill, and overlooks the whole city. You have there one of the finest views in the world. The Casino is built on the side nearest to the city; the entrance gate is in the most frequented—I ought rather to say, the only—public promenade there is at Rome. This splendid and spacious palace serves as a habitation to twenty-four pupils, (painters, sculptors, architects, and musicians,) to the director and his family, to the librarian, and [the *domestique* of the establishment. The apartments of the director (at present M. Horace Vernet,) are large and magnificent; they would be not less suitable to an ambassador than to an artist. The rooms of the pensioners are handsome, well aired, and plainly, but conveniently furnished. Some of their lodgings are divided into two rooms, one of which serves as a bed-room, and the other as an *atelier*. The sculptors have only one room in the palace; their *ateliers* are scattered about in the villa, in the shape of little pavilions, peeping out amidst the clumps of box and laurel trees. A *salon* of great length and width, the walls of which are blackened with caricatures, monstrous faces, and fantastical sketches, the produce of the capricious imagination of its inmates, serves as a common refectory. They breakfast there at half-past nine; exactly at half-past five they sit down to a well-dressed, plentiful, and comfortable dinner, and no one is waited

But enough of the German artists and their school, especially as their eulogist deems both too chaste and simple in their holi-

for. Independently of the cruel and tyrannical necessity of eating an excellent dinner daily at the same hour, the pensioners enjoy every possible liberty.

"The liberty of which they most willingly avail themselves, is that of doing nothing. Of every three days, two, on an average, are employed in promenading without and within the walls of Rome, only one in the *atelier*, or in the Vatican. The promenade at Rome is certainly not a vulgar promenade, like that of the Parisian to the barrier of Neuilly or to Romainville; it is not a mere muscular exercise, with a view to promote or quicken digestion; it is something which at the same time that it provokes the appetite, fortifies, elevates, and ravishes the soul and the imagination. There is no organization so meanly constituted as to be insensible to the all-powerful attraction of the *Campagna di Roma*. The pensioners, willingly abandoning themselves to the charm, are constantly on foot; they are to be met with in every road and by-path. The limit of their excursions seldom exceeds a walking distance, but as they are generally excellent pedestrians, the circle extends to *Frascati*, *Tivoli*, and *Albano*, to the south; towards the north, they seldom go farther than the *Ponte Molle*, on the *Via Flaminia*. *Ponte Molle* is a favorite point, on account of a tavern which has the reputation of selling the best *orvietto* that is any where to be drunk. The *orvietto* is a light white wine, similar to champagne, sparkling, sharp, and dry; it is the soul of all parties, and a necessary ingredient in all the intellectual and artistical enjoyment of the young pensioners. At some distance from the tomb of *Cecilia Metella*, on the *Via Appia*, is another tavern, not less celebrated than that at *Ponte Molle*, at which no artist who goes to visit that classic ruin ever fails to stop. Hence the tradition which has been perpetuated in caricatures, of the young painter, who has been detained for the tenth time at this impassable point, and perceiving in the distance, through the fumes of the *orvietto*, the sepulchral tower which he has never yet been able to reach, exclaims: "They may say it who will, that it is round: I will always maintain that it is square!" Within a shorter distance, the daily excursions are divided between the *Villa Pamfili*, the *Villa Albani*, the *Villa Borghese*, the *Villa Madama*, and the *Monte Mario*. During nine months of the year, the pensioners spend one half of their time in these courses, the most palpable result of which is, to make them thoroughly acquainted with the topography of the country, to strengthen their legs, and keep up the keenness of their appetite.

"We must now speak of their labours. They work partly in the *atelier*, and partly out of doors, in the public galleries, or upon the monuments. In the *atelier*, the principal study is that of the living model. It might be supposed, that fine models would never be wanting in a country where the human race is so admirable; but the case is otherwise. The unfortunate class of females who make a trade of *attitudinizing* to artists at Rome, are in no one point comparable to the same class at Paris. I know not to what class of the population they belong, but it is certain, that most of them have extremely vulgar forms. Very few present that thoroughly local character which one meets with at every step in Rome, and especially in the *Campagna*, but is scarcely ever seen out of *Latium* and the provinces forming St. Peter's patrimony.

"Outside of the *atelier*, the painters and sculptors generally go to the Vatican; by means of a few *paoli* seasonably given to the *custode*, (a species of cerberus to be found in Italy at every door,) and with a permission from the administration of the public museums, they may every where plant their easels and scaffolds. The galleries of the Vatican, the *Loggie* of *Rafael*, and the *Sistine* chapel, are crowded with these machines, to the great and just despair of the curious. It is no slight affair to make one's way through all this carpentry, which seems placed there for the express purpose of concealing the *chefs-d'œuvres* from those who have come all the way from London or Paris to see them—and the worst of it is, that it is before the very finest subjects that these are planted. Who is it, for example, that ever sees the *School of Athens*, and the *Dispute of the Holy Sacrament*, the two most celebrated frescoes of the *Loggie*? The artists, no doubt, think that all this is as it should be, but I must beg leave to differ from them. There ought certainly to be some means found of conciliating the wants of the students with the just claims of the public. The frescoes of the Vatican are almost

ness for British taste, which, he avers, requires painters and sculptors to be the Lord Byrons of their respective arts. Geijer of

the only works of painting which are the subjects of study at Rome ; and it is to this circumstance that the inexperience and unskilfulness of the pensioners as colourists are in a great degree to be attributed. Colour, that important and attractive element of painting, is almost entirely neglected ; a few months' residence at Venice would be of great advantage to them in that respect.

"The field for the labours of the architects is in the *Forum* or *Campo Vaccino* ; there are to be found the *Coliseum*, the triumphal arches, and a number of ruins. By means of ropes and a few deal boards, they contrive to ascend to the cornice of the temple of Jupiter Stator, which is supported by three isolated columns, and carry on their labours suspended in the air at a height which would render a fall a very break-neck affair. I predict that the art will there sacrifice some victim ; for these columns, which are of very respectable antiquity, are constantly threatening to tumble. Others attach themselves to the peristyle of the temple of Antoninus and Faustina, which offers rather more solidity. Then after measuring, scratching, and fathoming for three months, they contrive to finish a design, which they might have had in three days from the first work at hand. I have never been able to comprehend the utility of these studies of models, which have been copied a thousand times, whose proportions have been calculated, demonstrated, and figured in numberless special works, and which, besides, really teach very little. But such is the lot of the architectural students at Rome, which is perhaps far from being the best school of Italian architecture. At Florence and Venice they would find models much more varied of all kinds of buildings, and more in connection with modern usages. It is at Venice, Vicenza, Padua, &c. that we meet with the *chefs-d'œuvres* of the school of the Revival ; those of *Scamozzi*, *Sansovino*, and especially of *Palladio*, who has studded the ancient territory of the Venetian state with hundreds of edifices of all kinds, the study of which would be of much greater advantage to the pupils in the exercise of their profession than that of the eternal columns of Jupiter Stator, or the crumbling façade of Antoninus and Faustina.

"From what we have said, the sum total of the annual labour of an *artiste-pensionnaire* at Rome is not very great. With a number of them the essential point is to furnish the contingent required by the government. After the completion of this task, and its despatch to Paris, they return with fresh zest to the enjoyment of the *dolce far niente* of the Romans. I speak here of the majority, which, without any reproach to it, is like every other majority—gifted with *mediocre* talents and passions. There are, no doubt, a few who are inspired by the love of the art, the *mens divinator*, and who, feeling some creative power within them, plunge into the solitary and contemplative life of the artist, and feed their imaginations with the superior ideas of the beautiful, the ideal, and the sublime, the image of which nature and art are everywhere presenting them with. For these, the academy at Rome is but the entrance into the sanctuary of art, in which they receive baptism and initiation ; for the rest, it is only a comfortable hotel, in which they take up their abode for the time, and live like mere travellers. As to the title of *School*, by which the academy is sometimes designated, it has no meaning. A school supposes principles of instruction, rules for study, and masters : here there is nothing of the kind. The *director* is not a professor ; he is merely an administrator ; all that he has to do with the pensioners is to settle their accounts. They receive from him neither counsels nor lessons, and perhaps that is an advantage.

"The evenings at Rome are very dull. Excepting during the carnival, all the places of public amusement are shut, and society there is next to none. . . . The life of the pensioners would then be quite insupportable in the early part of the evenings, if there did not happen to be in the *Strada de' Condotti*, about two hundred yards distance from the academy, a secure harbour. I allude to the *Caffé Greco*. The *Greek Coffee-house* (or rather the *Greek Divan*) is one of the most detestable in the whole south of Italy, which in that respect may match with any country under heaven. It is composed of three rooms, each of ten feet square at most. In the first are the French, in the second the English, in the third the Germans, who live together in the most perfect harmony, *inter pocula* ; but the French, being the most numerous, and the most noisy, may regard themselves as the masters of the place. It is there that, buried in a solid and

course sympathized more fully with his correspondent; nevertheless he complained, it seems, of being transported too abruptly to Rome, without having been permitted to accompany his friend on the way thither. Accordingly, the second set of letters describes Atterbom's departure from Munich and its learned men, and his journey thence to Verona. From these letters, which are somewhat better adapted to ordinary capacities, we shall make one extract relative to the Tyrol, and we select it principally from the contrast between the manner of the writer and that of the lively Frenchman, whose recent tour in the Tyrol was reviewed in a late number of this journal.

“The Tyrolese are a race of men as joyous as they are energetic;

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permanent atmosphere of tobacco-smoke, to which he is constantly adding fresh clouds, sipping for three or four *baiocchi* a *demi-tasse*, the size of which would astonish a Parisian, or a glass of lukewarm punch, the pensioner drinks, smokes, and talks. Of these three pleasures the first only is physical, the two latter intellectual; for in the transcendental theory of *tabagia*, tobacco is a special nourishment of the intellect, and if it passes by the mouth and the nose, it is only because there is no shorter road by which it can reach the brain. It is at the *caffé Greco* that the topics of the day are discussed with all their suitable developments. Even politics, banished as they are from Rome and the whole of Italy, are there sometimes introduced with impunity. The *Gazette de France*, the only French journal which is deemed worthy to keep company with the witty *Diario*, supplies the news. The three parties that distract the bosom of the mother-country have each their representatives in this assembly. There are republicans, Carlists, and men of the *juste-milieu*. They have, however, nothing here to fear from gens d'armes, spies, or town-serjeants. The pontifical government is, I must do it the justice to say, extremely tolerant to strangers at Rome; they enjoy a degree of liberty there which they would look for in vain in any other part of Italy. It is true that strangers seldom abuse this liberty, and on that score the young French artists are irreproachable. Their public conduct is exemplary, and with the exception of some scholars' tricks, of the kind in which Panurge excelled, they leave excellent recollections behind them. It is at the *Caffé Greco* that the new-comers are received; it is there that the goers take a farewell leave of their comrades—that appointments are made—that letters are addressed, and parties of pleasure made up. In short, the *Caffé Greco* must be regarded as an indispensable appendage to the Villa Medici; if it were closed, the academy would be in danger. On this point there are not two opinions at Rome.

“During the carnival, the theatres, the balls, the horse-races, the masquerades, give Rome quite a new aspect. The pensioners take a very active part during these noisy days; they are the most terrible dischargers of the *confetti*, or *bombons* of chalk filled with flour, with which they bedaub the passers-by. The talent consists in throwing them with force and precision, so as to obtain the double result of powdering the coat and injuring the person; the sublime would be, no doubt, to kill a man upon the spot: were such a thing ever to happen, it would certainly be a pensioner who would have the glory of it. They also excel in the art of staining the dress with the *mocoletti*, the *mocoletto* being a bundle of little wax tapers lighted, with which they sprinkle persons who attempt to extinguish them. In these noble amusements of the *Populus Rex*, they display a superiority which shows the universality of the French genius, and does us infinite honour.

“All this takes place during the winter: the promenades at the *Caffé Greco* are not equal resources except during that season. The arrival of summer brings with it the heats and fevers: that is the time when the pensioners proceed upon their travels; some go to Florence, some to Naples; others go hunting for adventures in the Calabrias; a few make the tour of Sicily. In the autumn they all return to Rome.

“In this manner are the four years spent.”



one may observe the near vicinity of Italian life, noisy and gay, seeking room under porticoes and in the open air. \* \* \*

"In the evening we suddenly heard sweet female voices, and a melody that penetrated through bone and marrow. We followed the sound, and behold! two young girls were singing popular Tyrolese songs at the *table d'hôte*. We bade them come to us next. They came, and sang all they knew, even till midnight. We were beside ourselves with delight. \* \* \* We thanked God for the happiness of hearing these songs in the Tyrol itself, and sung by natives. The peculiar mode of singing them, that variation and fraction of sounds,\* celebrated all over Germany under the name of to *jodeln* or *jöhlen*, which is held to express a redoubled alternating echo of herdsmen's voices and hunting horns amidst the mountains, requires such marvellous action of the voice, such springs and falls of tones, as cannot possibly be produced by other throats than such as have had the Alps for their singing school. They are imitated however, as may be, especially at German Universities, where, as is well known, a sort of forester's or hunter's life is always led. Nay, at Jena, the *Senatus Academicus* was compelled to publish a prohibition '*more Tyrolensium inconditos clamores edere*,' (to utter rude clamors after the Tyrolese fashion,) because it happened that all the windows of a many-storied house, situate in a large market place and entirely inhabited by students, were, for a considerable length of time, seen open from morning till night, and crammed full of shirt-sleeved sons of Minerva, who *jodled* away all day long, in so full a chorus, that business was at a stand, and the whole town remained as if deaf and dumb.

"But it was not by their lays only that the young songstresses afforded us poetic enjoyment; the story of their own life, which we had from the people of the inn, is highly poetical. They are properly three in number, orphans, in age from fifteen to twenty, live in a little cottage out of Insbruck, and support themselves by their singing. They visit the town daily, or are sent for, to sing their simple ditties to lovers of music and travellers. Two are sisters, who have taken the third, a poor orphan like themselves, into their singing association. This last, who is the prettiest, we did not see till the following morning, when we had appointed them to come again and repeat their songs. They now sang in addition a ballad upon the *Sandwirth* Hofer and his feats; they stood before his portrait, and his blithe countenance seemed to listen with pleasure to his name, as it sounded so gratefully on the lips of the daughters of his country. Nature has endowed all three with admirable voices; they have practised singing together, and they give the whole with a force, a warmth, a correct harmony, and a musical judgment that cannot be sufficiently praised. Neat and clean in their dress, they are free alike from all appearance of beggary, as from all marks betraying the loss or impairing of female honour. They come in only when summoned, drop a modest but slight curtesy at the door, step quickly forward, place themselves in a triangle in the middle of the floor, look only at

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\* We cannot accurately translate the strange word *liudbrytandet*, (literally, sound-fraction) nor does it appear descriptive of the thing; but all who recollect the singing of the Tyrolese Minstrels will understand what is meant.

each other, and instantly begin their songs. Even when these, as is not unfrequent in popular songs, express passion in its coarser forms, they seem nearly as unconscious as the rose when it stands forth amidst the sunshine, the very image of nature's voluptuousness. \* \* \*

When they have sung as much as they can, they at length raise their eyes to the travelling audience, and with simple childlike friendliness, and a pretty curtsey, ask whether they have given satisfaction, adding that they can sing no longer. He were a barbarian who could scantily reward their nightingale-toil! Thereupon they return thanks for what they have received with another curtsey, somewhat deeper than the former, and rapidly vanish from one's sight. We were assured that according to their station, they maintain themselves richly by their art, and doubtless will soon find honourable suitors. Could prettier materials for a novel be devised?"

We must now bring this article to a close; but not before we have given a specimen of the talents of the same highly gifted author in his own peculiar line. The little poem, of which we here offer a translation, seems to us extremely pretty and fanciful, and it is moreover curiously characteristic of a cold climate, from the way in which it dwells upon warmth as an enjoyment. A southern poet would probably have made his necklace offer to refresh his lady's neck with its coolness.

TO A LADY, WITH A NECKLACE.

The azure shining here in bed so fair,  
Like a Forget-me-not 'mid Christmas snows,  
Would melt our Northland ice with Spring's soft air,  
Warm from the Isle of Happiness\* that blows.  
But if the trinket boast small worth or name,  
Thus does its bashful pray'r in whispers sound:  
' Though I but languidly a deathless flame  
' Interpret, clasp me thy soft neck around.  
' Since I by him whose soul would blend with thine,  
' Was for a faithful chain of memory formed,  
' Reflect what moments of delight were mine,  
' By thy heart's blood of angel-pureness warmed,  
    ' Silently hearkening to the simple, high,  
' And holy breathings of thy virgin breast,  
' Watching how rapidly from heart to eye  
' Thoughts spring, in that clear orb's blue light expressed.  
' Oh wear me quickly, often wear, wear still  
' The speechless messenger of distant love,  
' And dream thou hear'st the lark his carols trill,  
' And scent'st the vernal fragrance of the grove!

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\* The title, it will be remembered, of Atterbom's Poem.



' For then, when Nature, weary of the gloom,  
 ' Where she on empty dreams and wishes pines,  
 ' Withdraws the veil from kindly Spring's young bloom,  
 ' And through her tresses rosy garlands twines;  
 ' Then he who sends me, now in sorrow rife,  
 ' With the flow'r's gladness and music's swell  
 ' Shall joyously return, hail thee his wife,  
 ' And Winter's dreary images expel.  
 ' Oh, let me then the while, with reverence due,  
 ' Enjoy thy heart's mild warmth, delicious prize,  
 ' And with mine azure, constancy's own hue,  
 ' Rival, as best I may, thy beauteous eyes!"

We flatter ourselves that the account here given of this Swedish periodical, and the selections we have made from its very miscellaneous contents, will, when coupled with the previous articles on Swedish Literature in this journal, have afforded our readers ampler and better means of judging of the Swedish literary character, than they could have derived from the observations of any of the recent travellers into that country.

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ART. V.—1. *Della Felicità che gl' Italiani possono e debbono dal Governo Austriaco procacciarsi, col Piano di una Associazione per tutta Italia avente per oggetto la diffusione della pura Lingua Italiana, e la contemporanea soppressione de' Dialetti che si parlano ne' varj paesi della Penisola*; del Conte Ferdinando Dal Pozzo. (On the Happiness which the Italians might and ought to attain under the Austrian Government; with the Plan of an Association throughout Italy for the diffusion of the pure Italian Language, and the contemporaneous suppression of all the Dialects spoken in the various countries of the Peninsula. By Count Ferdinand Dalpozzo.) 8vo. Paris. 1833.

2. *La Giovine Italia*. (Young Italy.) 3 vols. 8vo. Marsiglia. 1832-3.

We have no particular desire to enter the weary maze of Italian party politics, but we think we ought not to pass unnoticed the two works before us, which deserve to be distinguished from the common herd of ephemeral pamphlets. Of Count Dalpozzo's book we purpose to speak at some length, but we shall first briefly advert to the second publication on our list. "*La Giovine Italia*" is—(or rather *was*—as we understand it ceased to appear after the third number,) a political journal, published at Marseilles by a society of Italian refugees, by whom it was set on foot for the avowed purpose of preparing their countrymen for a general and sweeping revolution all over Italy; and it has the

merit at least of using no deception or subterfuge; its language is frank, and explicit, and uncompromising. But the means? We confess we cannot find in it any very rational prospect of accomplishing so vast a scheme: and even supposing the revolution accomplished—supposing all the existing Italian governments overthrown, supposing every Austrian soldier driven beyond the Alps, to return no more, what is to be done next? “That is to be left to the national sovereignty!” But we find it acknowledged in several places that the masses—that is to say, the immense majority of the people—have no political education or experience whatever,—that they do not read,—that the educated classes are too *individual*, material, and selfish—that the young men on whom all the hopes of “young Italy” are grounded, have no real political instruction (vol. ii. pp. 205—216); what, therefore, can be expected from such a “national sovereignty” let loose, but confusion and discord, a fresh foreign interference, factions and demagogues, the whole ending, as it has ended before, in a new invasion, or in some usurper or usurpers reaping the fruit of all the bloodshed, the devastation, the incalculable calamities, which must necessarily accompany the tremendous struggle?

Count Dalpozzo treats all such plans and attempts as visionary and mischievous, and he advises the Italians, at least the Northern Italians, who are already subject to Austria, to try if they cannot make friends with that government, and by so doing share in its nationality and the advantages resulting from it; to become, in short, *bonâ fide* members of the Austrian monarchy.

“But the Italian liberals, instead of endeavouring to identify themselves with their sovereign, to dispose him to come and reside in Italy, instead of trying the great game of eventually rendering Austria dependent on Italy, rather than Italy upon Austria, do the very reverse. They insult their sovereign, they ridicule him, they conspire against him, they perpetually worry him, they do every thing to alienate him from Italy, and to make a tyrant of him, were he disposed to be a tyrant, and this has been their conduct ever since 1814.”

Count Dalpozzo may appear eccentric in his ideas, but we believe him to be perfectly sincere and disinterested in this advice. We had occasion once before to review one of his works,\* on which we expressed ourselves pretty freely; but we think that he is much better acquainted with Italian than he was with Irish politics. He certainly must know something of his own countrymen and the state of feeling among them. He is a man of experience, having filled several important political and judicial

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\* *De la Nécessité de soumettre les Catholiques d'Irlande à des réglemens civils speciaux.*  
—F. Q. R. No. VII.

offices; he has therefore a great advantage over many of his liberal countrymen in that respect.

It is a remarkable fact that the Italians, who have so long been accused by foreigners of being the fathers and the inventors of all crafty and tortuous policy, have shown themselves during the last forty years confident and credulous in the extreme, and open, more than any people in Europe, to the suggestions of foreign intrigue, or of domestic rashness and presumption. One reason of this may be, that practical politics are an art which must be acquired by personal experience in affairs of state, and not from books; mere speculative reasoners prove generally, when put to the test, but sorry statesmen. This applies more particularly to a country like Italy, whose general politics are so much interwoven with those of other nations, and of its own various states. International questions must occur at every step. The question of the papal power alone, in its double temporal and spiritual capacity, has been enough at all times to puzzle the boldest politicians, even Napoleon in all his might. In the middle ages, the learned men of Italy were also men of business, often entrusted with affairs of state; such was Petrarch, such Machiavelli, Guicciardini, such even Ariosto. But is it so now? Is there not in all the recent political effusions from that quarter a sad deficiency of sober statistical calculation, and an ignorance of political geography, which leaves an unsatisfactory vagueness in all their well-turned sentences? We certainly cannot except the volumes of *La Giovine Italia* from the application of this remark.

Count Dalpozzo tells the Italians that the political division of Italy seems to be inherent to its geographical configuration; that the whole country was united only once under the same sway, and that by the iron grasp of Rome, and as soon as that grasp was loosened, it again fell a prey to intestine discord; and that to restore it to unity nothing less than another power like that of Rome would be required, which is a thing incompatible with the present political state of Europe.

“As a proof of the possibility of the union and independence of all Italy, people talk of the efforts, certainly admirable, made by the little Italian republics of the middle ages (always, however, divided among themselves); they quote grandiloquent sentences of poets and orators on the state of Italy; they boast of its having been the teacher of arts and sciences to other nations, which is certainly true; but then, by confounding ancient with modern Italy, and both with the Italy of the middle ages, by mistaking the arts of peace for those of war, which last alone mainly decide the political destiny of nations, they build castles in the air, they compose eloquent dissertations and sublime verses, and they create a fanciful, a poetical Italy, which neither does nor ever can exist in reality.

and meantime they rivet those chains which by a wiser course they might assist in loosening and lightening."—p. 29.

The Austrian dominion over part of North Italy, is, according to our author, not only *legitimate*, according to the general acceptance of the word, by succession or conquest, long possession and the confirmation of treaties, but is withal so firmly rooted in the soil, that no event, not even the power of Napoleon, has been able permanently to remove it. From 1796 to 1801, Austria sent six successive armies to fight inch by inch for the defence of her Italian territories, and notwithstanding all her reverses, she retained by peace a large and fine portion of Italy. In 1805, another Italian campaign was fought, and was lost by Austria only through the defeat of her armies in Germany. Then at last she was driven out of the Italian boundaries, but in 1809 her armies again advanced beyond those limits, and drove the French and Italian troops beyond the Piave as far as the Adige. They would have entered Milan, had not fresh reverses in Germany obliged them to hasten back to the defence of Vienna. "*Cette . . . maison d'Autriche ne meurt jamais!*" is said to have been Napoleon's exclamation. In 1810, all chance of the Austrians ever returning to Italy seemed removed, but in 1813 a new war with France broke out, and the Austrian eagles again crossed for the twentieth time the Piave and the Brenta, the Adige and the Adda, and at last retook Milan and the whole of Lombardy. No security, argues Dalpozzo, could therefore be found, even if the Austrians were expelled from Italy, against their again returning thither the first opportunity. In this view of the subject, the destruction of the republic of Venice by Bonaparte has been a most serious injury inflicted on Italy. The Venetian territories, bartered and retaken, and again reconquered, have lost all nationality, and lie open at the mercy of any invader. Since the fall of Venice, they in fact can claim no Italian individuality. The boundaries of Italy on the side of Germany are also much less marked than on the side of France or Switzerland.

The shades of gradation between the upper vallies of Brescia and those of the Tyrol, between Venetian Friuli and Istria, and the German part of those provinces, are so slight as to be almost imperceptible to the traveller. The two races, German and Italian, are intermixed, and both languages common over a considerable tract of country on both sides. The communications are likewise much easier than over the western Alps. The valley of the Adige, or Etsch, a river German at its birth, opens a natural road from the Tyrol into the heart of Lombardy. On the north-east, the frontiers of Friuli can hardly be defined: they have been often the subject of contest between the Venetian, re-

public and the Dukes of Austria. The river Isonzo is both Italian and German; Gorizia or Goerz, seems also to belong to both countries. And this may partly account for the facility with which the Germans have ever found access to Italy and constantly retained a footing there, whilst the French, after their many arduous expeditions, have been always obliged to evacuate the country at last.

“Supposing even the Austrians entirely expelled from Italy,” observes Dalpozzo, “unless the Austrian power be totally effaced from the political map, there will ever be an Austrian pretender, and a formidable one, to the former Austrian states in Italy. This pretender will be a rallying point for the disaffected or enemies to the new Italian power, whatever that may be. Italy could never reckon upon a permanent Austrian neutrality towards her.”—p. 33—35.

“Nothing less than a general revolution in the Austrian states is required,” says *la Giovine Italia*, which sees and admits the difficulty, and in order to meet it hatches a grand project for revolutionizing Hungary. This is a project in which Napoleon, in the zenith of his power, completely failed—one resting upon vague suppositions of the existence of party feelings in a country of which foreigners really know very little, but where it is certain that the nobles are every thing and possess every thing, and the people nothing. And this is the country chosen by the writer to forward the progress of a democratic revolution in Europe! A drowning man catches at straws, and so it is with violent party spirit. But we ask, after this, after the manifestation of such views, deadly not only to the pride or security, but to the very existence of Austria as a nation, can we wonder when we hear of arrests, and *carcere duro*, and Spielberg, and so forth? But would this vast dream of insurrection and breaking up of the Austrian empire, even if it were realized, turn to the advantage of civilization? Would a Slavonian, Croatian or a Magyar power, formed of scattered heterogeneous fragments, prove more civilized or liberal than a German power, such as Austria now is? And the very idea of such a conflagration, in the very heart of Europe, of the dreadful calamities it must inflict on millions of the living generation, is all this to weigh as nothing in the scale against such wild schemes?

But let us shake off this feverish dream, and step out into the open atmosphere to breathe. Let us again talk with reasonable men. What does Maroncelli, Pellico's companion in misfortune, who has gone through all the realities of adversity, what does he say on these matters?—

“How would it be possible to impose upon Austria a form of government different from the present, so long as the people of Austria do not

feel that they are deprived of any right, so long as the nation does not feel its pride offended, so long as it is satisfied with and blesses the paternal solicitude of its shepherd, who every day leads out his flock to the pasture, and in the evening returns it safe to the fold? All depends on the diapason of our thoughts. Until another scale of thoughts and opinions be formed in Austria, if you attempt to alter that which now exists, it will be nothing but raving, or it may be violence, and it will not last. Violence, whether employed by the good and for good objects, or by the bad and for evil purposes, can never be permanent."

He had just before said that—

"Italy will remain in servitude as long as it remains ignorant and selfish, as long as its philosophy is of the material school; this I predict not merely of Italy but of the world at large."—*Maroncelli, Addizioni alle Mie Prigioni, Introd.* p. xxxvii.

Count Dalpozzo next alludes to another speculation of some Italian liberals, namely, that Austria should exchange the fine provinces she possesses in Northern Italy against some part of the Turkish dominions bordering on her frontiers, such as Croatia, Bosnia, Servia, &c.\*

"But no government submits to such proposals unless constrained by force. If the Ottoman empire fall to pieces, Austria will have her share of the wreck without making exchanges.

"Another of the many delusions which the Italians are so apt to entertain, was that of the insurgents of Bologna, Modena, and other parts of central Italy, who built their hopes of success on some French harangues about an abstract principle of non-intervention, a principle which every government or party twists and interprets according to its own interest; as if it were likely that France, with so much business already on her hands at home, would risk a general war for the sake of planting a free government in Italy."—p. 40.

One would have thought that the famous letter of Napoleon to his credulous instrument Villetard, after the peace of Campoformio, would have proved an everlasting warning to the Italians concerning foreign disinterested assistance.

"The French republic," said that memorable letter, "never proposed to itself to make war for the sake of other people. I should like to know what principle of philosophy or morality could justify the sacrifice of forty thousand Frenchmen against the true interests of the French republic, merely to please a gang of bawlers, whom I should better style as madmen, who have taken into their heads the scheme of a universal republic. I wish these gentlemen would make a winter campaign with me."

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\* This project has been broached by a countryman of M. Dalpozzo, an Italian emigrant in France, in a work styled *Independance de l'Italie, ou Partage de la Turquie*, par G. B. Marochetti, 8vo. Paris, 1830. He proposes to give the whole of Northern Italy to the King of Piedmont, the island of Sardinia to France, Savoy to Switzerland, Bosnia, Servia, &c. to Austria, and Constantinople to the Duke of Modena!

It is one of the dogmas of the writers of *La Giovine Italia*, that the generation born within the last century is effete and worn out, that the young men of the present century alone understand, their mission—that of remodelling the world. This notable distinction is, however, not original: it is borrowed from “*la jeune France*,” in whose language, we remember some years ago, men above thirty-five were politely classified into *ganaches*, *cadavres*, *momies* and *fossiles*. However, the men born in the eighteenth century cannot be altogether put on one side; they still form at least one-half of the grown-up population, they are the fathers and relatives of the men of the nineteenth. They have had their full share of troubles and revolutions, and of the calamities attending on them. Are they to sacrifice themselves for new experiments?

“I will tell my liberal countrymen, at the hazard of displeasing them, that they ought to think more modestly of themselves; they should consider how small is their number compared to the entire population of the Italian peninsula; they should give over talking everlastingly of Italian valour and Italian unity—cease to treat as strangers those who have been for centuries their fellow subjects, and to call barbarians the natives of a country as civilized and as enlightened as their own—for such is Germany by universal consent. And let it not be started as an objection that Austria is inferior to the rest of Germany, for Austria is part of Germany, and Vienna is certainly as great a mart of learning, of letters, of arts and refinement as any in Europe.”

And as evidence of the small number of the ultra-liberal or democratic Italians, he quotes a passage from a French liberal writer, whose work was recently noticed at length in this journal,\* who states that—

“In every one of the twenty or thirty cities of Italy there are two or three hundred unhappy young men, a prey to the aspirations of energy without an object, full of exalted ideas of courage, and having no help to expect from either heaven or earth. They are true Tantaluses of liberty; they are perpetually restless and worn out by vain wishes; bent down by an iron hand, they still hope!”

We believe there is much truth in this description. M. Dalpozzo thinks the calculation is exaggerated—he is sure it is so at least as far as Turin is concerned; but even allowing it to be true to the full extent, allowing that there are thirty cities in Italy containing each 300 determined liberals of the species described, “What,” says Mr. Dalpozzo, “would be the amount of the whole?—Nine thousand. And what are nine thousand republicans scattered over a country of twenty millions?”—p. 46.

Signor Marochetti, in the work on the “Independence of Italy,”

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\* Mercey, *La Tyrol et le Nord de l'Italie*. See No. XXIII.



already referred to, says, in answer to those who observed that the Italians have made no strenuous efforts to conquer their independence, as Greece and South America have done:—"There is a great difference between a civilized country, which has every thing to lose in a war of principles carried to extermination, and semi-barbarous populations that risk little or nothing in struggling to shake off a yoke become insufferable." No doubt; and this is one reason for the inertness of the great mass of the Italian population. Italy is still a fine and comfortable country, on the whole; life is there by far too pleasant, for people to risk it for abstract political questions. Whole populations will not fight unless they are impelled by a sufficient motive. What do the Neapolitan, Roman, Tuscan, Piedmontese or Genoese peasantry care about the Austrians? They see no Austrians in their country. *La Giovine Italia* acknowledges this difficulty, but says, "they ought to be made to understand that were it not for the Austrians being masters of Upper Italy, the other Italian governments could not support themselves, and must be overthrown" . . . and then? The liberals would establish a republic, we suppose. But would the peasantry be much better off afterwards? Would they be any the richer? At all events, the train of reasoning, we suspect, is too *circuitous* for the peasant's conviction.

With regard to those who have emigrated, either voluntarily or per force, we have an acknowledgment in *la Giovine Italia* in which there is much candour.

"Perhaps we in our exile fancy *now* that we see the necessity and the possibility of reforms which, when fortune shall have returned us into the midst of our brethren, may *then* appear to us useless, mischievous, impracticable, or may be unequal to the wishes and the wants of the people. The land of the stranger is not a fit spot from whence to dictate models of constitutions to our country. We require to breathe once more the air of Italy, to renovate our minds, to warm our hearts at the rays of the Italian sun."—vol. ii. p. 41.

This is both eloquent and sensible. Oh! *si sic omnia!* A similar acknowledgment we have heard repeatedly made by honest and sensible Spanish emigrants respecting their own case.

M. Dalpozzo contends, and apparently with some reason founded on past experience, that if ever Italy should be left to itself to choose its own form of government, this circumstance, instead of being a harbinger of union, would let loose more than ever the spirit of discord and disunion; in proof of this, he instances the recent events of 1820—1821. When the insurrection broke out in Piedmont, two juntas were formed, discordant between themselves, that of Alessandria being much more democratic and revolutionary than that of Turin; when the latter obtained

the preponderance and established itself into a government, the Genoese started up for themselves, arrested their excellent governor De Geneis, established a separate administration for themselves, and would not depend on the constitutional junta of Turin. The same thing happened in Sicily, when the people of Palermo and other parts of the island would not recognize the parliament assembled at Naples, and proclaimed "a repeal of the union" of the two countries. Sicilian constitutionalists waged war against Neapolitan constitutionalists, much blood was spilled, and many atrocities were perpetrated. Count Dalpozzo here confirms the account we had heard before of certain transactions at Turin in 1821; and he is very good authority, for he was minister of the interior during the short-lived constitutional government. The Neapolitan constitution was defunct, and that of Piedmont at its last gasp: the Austrian troops were ready to cross the Ticino: the Prince of Carignano (the present king) had abandoned the constitutionalists: every thing was lost, when Count Mocenigo, the Russian ambassador at Turin, offered his mediation to shelter at least the Piedmontese constitutionalists from the effects of a reaction. He offered, on condition of their submitting to the king, to guarantee to them, in the name of the Emperor Alexander, a full amnesty, that no Austrian troops should enter the kingdom, and the promulgation of an edict which, by stipulating certain concessions, however limited, offered at least one very important advantage in the eyes of clear-sighted men, that it justified and legalized in some degree the previous revolution, which thus would have terminated with the least possible mischief. But the more violent liberals refused these conditions, and the consequences were the defeat of Novara, the Austrian invasion, the proscription and total ruin of the constitutionalists; in short, all the evils which Mocenigo wished to prevent.

"Marentini, the president of the junta and myself," says Dalpozzo, "who, having carried on the negotiation with Count Mocenigo, had the means of being fully convinced of the sincerity of his proposal, were afterwards stigmatized as traitors to our country!"—p. 44.

And Mocenigo has been likewise abused for having *deceived* the Piedmontese constitutionalists,\* whom, when reduced to the last extremity, he wished at least to save in their persons and property. Count Dalpozzo says, that, from motives of prudence and delicacy, he has not thought proper to publish his

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\* The writer of the work already mentioned, *Indépendance de l'Italie*, repeats in two or three places this charge against Mocenigo, which is like most assertions of the sort; it passes from mouth to mouth, and pen to pen, without any one taking the trouble of examining the grounds of it, and is at last perpetuated in the pages of history. Many historical facts have no better foundation.

history of the Piedmontese revolution, of which several facts still remain concealed; "I say *my history*, because in times of civil troubles, every one writes his own."

" 'Why have I dwelt,' our author thus resumes, 'on these lamentable transactions? Am I an enemy to Italy, am I a lover of servitude? So little so, that in order to enjoy some liberty, especially that of writing, which I was denied in Piedmont, I resolved to become as much French and English as I could, and to reside alternately in those two countries. I was thus enabled to tell my countrymen my free sentiments, and some unpleasant but useful truths. Austria is to me unknown, either through benefits or injuries. I was always averse to absolute governments, not that some of these may not at times be good, but because they can seldom continue good for a length of time.'

And he refers, as evidence of his sentiments, to his late work on the general assemblies that formerly met in Savoy and Piedmont, and to his former publication, "*Opuscoli politico-legali*," which he published at Milan in the years 1817-20, in which he freely censured the arbitrary conduct of the royal government in Piedmont after the restoration, which pretended to abolish, by a stroke of the pen, all regulations, engagements, sales and grants of the French administration, which had governed the country for fifteen years.

"I found the Austrian censorship extremely indulgent at that period, so did the Advocate Marocco, who wrote freely on matters of legislation; in fact, before the insurrections of 1820, much practical liberty was enjoyed at Milan, and the existence of the police was hardly felt. Travellers came and went without any impediment, the Milanese assembled how and when they pleased in their casinos and coffee-houses: in short, life at Milan was as pleasant and as free as it could possibly be. When I was obliged to return to the formality and monotony of Turin, I never ceased to regret Milan."

This is all true enough, and the same might be said of Naples and other Italian states at that epoch; it was the ill-judged and ill-contrived attempts of 1820-1 that rendered the governments suspicious and inquisitorial, as they have since been. It is matter of undoubted notoriety, that a conspiracy existed at Milan for the overthrow of the Austrian government, and that the revolutions of Naples and of Piedmont were part of one and the same plan. And here Dalpozzo takes occasion to examine the "*Mie Prigioni*" of Silvio Pellico,\* (of which he speaks in the

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\* We are glad to notice that Mr. Rolandi, of Berners-street, has brought out another beautiful edition of this delightful book, (which must now take its place as an Italian classic of the first order,) more complete than any that has preceded it; a well-written biographical sketch of the author, by Professor Rossetti, is prefixed, and the whole of the "*Addizioni*" of Maroncelli, which immediately relate to the book, are subjoined. A portrait of the author and a vignette view of Spielberg are added as embellish-

same terms of praise which it has called forth from persons of all parties and opinions in all civilized countries,) in several passages of which the existence of plots against the Austrian government evidently transpires. "I saw," says Pellico, "that unless I chose to purchase an infamous impunity by the ruin of others, my fate could only be either the scaffold or a long imprisonment."—pp. 13, 19, and 43 of the Turin edition. The real charge against the Austrian government in Pellico's book is not his imprisonment, trial, or sentence, (all of which were in conformity to the established forms,) but the unnecessary and cruel rigour of the prison regulations at Spielberg. Prisoners of state should not be treated like common felons; and even a common felon ought not to be denied the quantity of food required for the support of his frame. M. Dalpozzo here makes one remark which had also forcibly struck us in reading Pellico's book, and that is, that all the agents and subordinates of the Austrian government, with whom he came in contact during his long captivity, commissaries of police, guards, officers, chaplains, inspectors, gaolers, all, by his own candid and grateful acknowledgment, were kind, honest-hearted, good men. Pellico praises particularly the Austrian clergy, among whom he found "not one bad, not one uninformed, rude, or deceitful!" Surely a government that employs such agents cannot be so very barbarous, so very unprincipled, so very bad as it is represented. And the moral effect produced on the prisoners themselves corroborates this remark.

"Not only Pellico and Maroncelli, whose books bear evidence of their moral improvement, but, as I have heard from very good authority,—*all* the liberated prisoners have come out of their confinement sincerely religious and moral, without superstition or fanaticism, and they maintain themselves such in the midst of the world; which shows that there was no hypocrisy, no violence, but true conviction in their moral conversion."—*Dalpozzo*, p. 146.

Returning to the main question, our author expatiates on the many and important ameliorations which have taken place in the administration of the Austrian monarchy under Maria Theresa, Joseph II., and under the present Emperor Francis. Many of these are matter of history. The abolition of feudal servitude and personal services in Bohemia and other Austrian states, except in Hungary, where the nobility, while they boast of their patriotism and nationality, have in general opposed the ameliorations suggested by the crown in the condition of the peasantry;

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ments. Signor Maroncelli, we understand, has abandoned the idea of publishing his "*Gli Anni del Dolore*." He has recently married and quitted Europe for the United States of America, where he has connected himself with a respectable seminary of education.

the abolition of torture; the determined resistance to any encroachments of the Papal authority; the gradual and considerate suppression of superfluous monasteries; the security afforded to literary property; the establishment of elementary schools all over the monarchy, which have now spread to an extent unknown to any other country in Europe;\* the abolition of corporal punishment in those schools; all these are matters well known, at least "to the men of the eighteenth century." It is also known, that in every part of the Austrian monarchy there are provincial states, which meet to discuss matters relative to the administration, especially financial, of their respective provinces. They lay the result of their deliberations and their suggestions before the sovereign. In the Italian provinces they are called Congregations; of these there are two central ones, one at Milan and the other at Venice. They are composed of deputies from three classes—nobles, proprietors not nobles, and deputies of the cities. The communal council elects three candidates for every vacant place, out of which the Emperor chooses one. Their functions chiefly relate to the repartition of taxes between the various districts, of military lodgings, and other charges, the inspection of hospitals and other charitable institutions, of roads, bridges, canals, &c. The administration of the municipal and communal finances is especially entrusted to the provincial congregations, of which there is one in every province, and which are composed on the same principles as the central ones. The central congregations have also the right of making known to the sovereign directly the wants and wishes of the nation.

The Austrian government, although not constitutional, cannot be called despotic. It has fundamental laws, usages, and precedents, from which it does not deviate. The right of private property is held sacred. The Emperor makes general laws for his subjects, but no special or exceptional ones for particular persons or cases. There is equality before the law, and no odious privilege of caste is now admitted. There is no abusive influence of either aristocracy or clergy. The judiciary power is held independent, and not interfered with by rescripts from the sovereign. No special commissions are appointed to try particular cases; no

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\* It has been the fashion lately, both in England and France, to consider Prussia as the *only* continental country which presents a model for such establishments; whereas the fact is, that in several other European states equal attention at least has been paid to them, and with not less beneficial effects on the character and morals of the people. Holland, for instance, deserves particular mention; a very interesting account of her schools will be found in MM. Cuvier and Noel's Report of their mission to examine the state of education in the United Provinces, published in 1811. An account of the system introduced into the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom by the Austrian government, will be found in the *Journal of Education*, Nos. V. and VI. in the articles on *Italian Education*.

arbitrary penalties are inflicted. All those who were condemned for political offences in 1820-1 were regularly tried: several were condemned to death, but *not one was executed*. The proceedings in the civil courts are neither dilatory nor expensive. The conveyance of property has been rendered, by a wise system of registration, as easy and safe as any commercial transaction. With the exception of political cases, the penal code is very mild. The punishment of death is awarded in very few instances. Few countries in Europe enjoy so much material prosperity as the Austrian monarchy.\*—*Dalpozzo*, pp. 125-6.

What are we to infer from all this? That the populations long used to the Austrian government are neither unhappy nor discontented; that those of Lombardy were likewise well affected before the French invasion of 1796; that since that time the people of Lombardy have felt new wants, new aspirations, which are not now satisfied. We believe, however, that these aspirations are confined to comparatively few, but these few constitute the organs of the educated classes, of the intelligence of the country, and they in a great measure give the tone to, and influence the sympathies of, the mass of the people. The alienation of the Northern Italians with regard to Austria appears to have become a matter of feeling rather than of reasoning. We fear, therefore, that M. Dalpozzo's advice 'will be thrown away upon them. His main argument seems to be this:—as you cannot drive away the Austrians, better make friends with them, than live in a continual state of mutual exasperation. But whatever may be thought of the soundness of his arguments, there is much in his book that

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\* This is in some measure a refutation of a book called "*L'Italie sous la Domination Autrichienne*, par Henri Misley," published at Paris in 1832, the materials of which are said to have been partly furnished by the late celebrated Melchior Gioja; but as it appeared under the immediate sanction of a noted French propagandist (M. Mauguin,) we are entitled to look upon its statements with considerable suspicion, and that suspicion will not be diminished by the general tone of the book, which is evidently more French than Italian. An instance of this occurs in speaking of Baron Salvotti, an Austrian officer at Milan, the nephew of Andrew Hofer, the Tyrolese patriot, where the latter is qualified as a "brigand;" the epithet sounds naturally enough in the mouth of a French Bonapartist, but comes rather awkwardly from that of an Italian liberal. One of its exaggerations we have seen noticed. It is stated, at p. 114, that seventy millions of francs, proceeding from the taxes paid by the Italian subjects of Austria, are annually remitted to Vienna, and thus Lombardy is drained of its wealth. Now the whole of the revenue of Austrian Italy does not exceed eighty-three millions, of which forty-three go to defray the ordinary expenditure of the state, and fifteen for the support of the Austrian troops in the country, and the maintenances of the fortresses, &c. The residue, therefore, which is remitted to Vienna, cannot be more than twenty-five millions of francs, or about one million sterling. Under the French, the revenue of the so-called "Kingdom of Italy," containing a population of six millions (or about one-third more than that of Austrian Italy at present) was 140 millions; in 1808 the expenditure was 120 millions, in 1811 it rose to 132, and was further increased in the following years. Thirty millions were annually paid to France for the support of its auxiliary troops stationed in Lombardy.



deserves a calm attention. Prejudice and passion are bad reasoners, and on grave political questions, the truth, and the whole truth, ought to be dispassionately told and listened to. It is for this reason that we have given this brief analysis of Count Dalpozzo's work.

He offers also to the Austrian government some good advice, which probably will meet with no more attention than that which he tenders to the Italian liberals, (although we understand it has allowed his book to be circulated in the Italian states.) He tells Austria that she is powerful enough to be generous even to her declared enemies; that she ought to grant a full amnesty to those condemned for political offences in 1820-1; that she ought to grant her subjects an unlimited liberty of travelling, (as the Sardinian government does), the restrictions imposed on the locomotive faculties being both absurd and odious. That she ought to allow the free introduction of foreign books and journals, as the Tuscan government does. The more people read about foreign affairs, the less they will be liable to be imposed upon by political quacks and alarmists. That she ought to employ as many Italians and as few Germans as possible in her Italian dominions. The administration of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom ought to be made, at least in the details, independent of Vienna. The imperial court should come and reside now and then for some time in Italy. That she ought, careless of the taunts and sarcasms of the violent liberals, who are comparatively few, to conciliate the more moderate ones, whose wishes of social ameliorations are reasonable, and whose interest it is to preserve order and peace, and not to run the risk of new convulsions.

"The Austrian government is not hypocritical, it disdains to colour its actions as some other governments do; it follows a straightforward course, heedless of the talk, and criticism, and ridicule of foreign journals. It ought however to persuade itself, that it is not useless nor derogatory to enlighten and conciliate public opinion, and to dispel unfair charges." —p. 136.

And with this we leave for the present the Austrian government and the Italian liberals, respectively, to meditate upon and digest Count Dalpozzo's conciliatory suggestions.

The editors of *La Giovine Italia* wrote to M. Sismondi, inviting him to contribute to their work. M. Sismondi good-naturedly replied at length, stating his views and objections. The correspondence is printed by his consent at the end of the second volume, and is not without interest. M. Sismondi tells his correspondents, that before another revolutionary crisis occurs,



it were well to think beforehand of the form of government to be given to Italy, whether monarchical or republican, whether single or federal: how the public voice is to be expressed, when the great masses of the people have no political information, &c. But before he contributes to the discussion of these important topics, he requires two conditions:—first, that the journal shall not place itself in hostility towards the French government, whose hospitality and protection the writers enjoy; as it does not become foreigners to interfere in the internal dissensions of a country which affords them an asylum. The natives have rights which they may use or abuse, foreigners enjoy only a favour, on condition that they should conform to the order established; no one desires their aid, they are only asked to keep themselves peaceful. This caveat was called for by some violent articles in the first number, against Louis-Philippe's government, and against MM. Guizot, Dupin, Cousin, &c.; secondly, that *La Giovine Italia* shall not shock the religious feelings of nations. "You desire a religion, and yet you reject all those that exist. You wish to impress on the people the want of a faith; it is like telling a man that he is hungry, instead of supplying him with food to satisfy his hunger." And he continues to say, that being sincerely attached to the doctrines of the reformed church, as professed at Geneva, he sees in the Christian doctrines all that reason can wish or discover for the moral improvement and welfare of man. And he has no hopes of happiness for Italy, until its religion be likewise purified. "The time for this, however, is not yet come, and till then, I should not like to see religious men shocked in their faith, in their dearest hopes."—*Giovine Italia*, vol. ii. pp. 207—213. We respect M. Sismondi for the expression of these sentiments, and were all republicans—were indeed many of those who profess to be republicans—like him, we ourselves might perhaps become converts to republicanism. We do not object so much to forms as to the manner of carrying them into execution.

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ART. VI.—1. *Histoire Naturelle des Poissons*, par M. Le Baron Cuvier et par M. Valenciennes, Professeur de Zoologie au Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle. 4to et 8vo. Tom. I.—IX. Paris, 1828-33.

2. *Selecta Genera et Species Piscium quos in Itinere per Brasiliam annis MDCCCXVII.—MDCCCXX. jussu et auspiciis Maximiliani Josephi I. Bavariæ Reg. Aug. peracto collegit et pingendos curavit Dr. J. B. de Spix; digessit, descripsit et observationibus Anatomicis illustravit Dr. L. Agassiz; præfatus est et edidit Dr. F. C. Ph. de Martius. Fol. Tom. II. Monachii, 1829-30.*

3. *Prodromus Ichthyologiæ Scandinaviæ*; auctore S. Nilsson. 8vo. Lundæ, 1832.

4. *Commentatio de Esoce Lucio neurologice descripto et cum reliquis Vertebratis Animalibus comparato: in certamine literario civium Academiæ Belgicarum præmio ornata*; auctore Carolo Marino Giltay. 4to. Lugduni Batavorum, 1832.

5. *Natural History of the Fishes of Massachusetts*, by Jerome V. C. Smith, M.D. Boston, 1833.

ALL knowledge originates either more or less directly in the desire to better our own condition and add to our own conveniences. The metaphysician searches into the hidden mysteries of the heart, and traces out the secret operations of the mind, that from these he may be able to deduce the principles of an enlightened morality, and evince that virtue is man's truest interest, by showing that it leads most directly to a happy life. The physician investigates the nature of our corporeal frame, examines its remotest structure, observes its minutest operations, and learns to know how fearfully and wonderfully we are made, that, when disease has interfered with and disarranged the machine, he may be able to remove the offending cause, once more to set the functions in the train for action, and restore to all the parts that perfect harmony on which our health, and with it our every comfort, depends. The mechanical philosopher studies the laws of inert matter, and labours to bring its several properties—whether existing in the mighty mass or the almost inappreciable particle, in the ponderous axle or the scarcely gravitating vapour—into subservience to his management and direction, that he may thus alleviate human toil, and add to the extent of human power. The astronomer, too, reads the face of the heavens, and prolongs his midnight watch, that, taught by his experience and guided by his observations, the sailor may in safety maintain our intercourse with foreign climes, and from their stores bring fresh additions to

our comforts or our luxuries:—neither is the natural historian an exception to the general rule, nor has his science alone had a different origin from that already assigned—our necessities and our desires. The animals which supplied barbarian tribes with food and afforded them objects of chase—whether in the air, on the earth, or sunk in the briny wave—were soon distinguished and recognised by marks easy and familiar; this distinction of one species from another, rude and empirical though it may have been, was yet the first and most necessary step in zoological science, and man commenced to be a naturalist when he shot his arrow at the edible fowl, and suffered the carrion bird to wing past its way unheeded, or drew his nets to shore and then sorted his fish, reserving for his own use such as experience had taught him were the best, and leaving the remainder a spoil, perhaps, for his canine attendant—perhaps a prey for the “basking cormorant.”

Such was, in all probability, the humble commencement of ichthyological science, which from such slender beginnings has had so mighty an increase, and to which such proud monuments are now erected as the splendid works of Cuvier and Valenciennes—Spix, Martius and Agassiz:—on these chiefly we propose to found our present article.

Ichthyophagous nations are generally slow to advance in civilization. The nature of their food—requiring no cultivation, calling only for occasional exertion, placing them, by a successful take, in sudden opulence, or leaving them, in case of unpropitious skies, constantly liable to famine—is little favourable to the establishment of social intercourse, legal restrictions, or settled habits of industry. Examples are numerous even in the present day; the Esquimaux, the Greenlanders, the Kamtchatkadales, the inhabitants of the Maldive rocks, of several islands in the South Pacific, and of some of the Australian shores, are familiarly known to subsist in a great measure or altogether upon fish, and, though placed under such far different circumstances of climate and locality, to be equally sunk in barbarity and ignorance. It would appear as though this evident tendency had not escaped the notice of the Egyptian hierarchy, and that thence they used so much exertion to prohibit, or rather limit their people in the use of this kind of sustenance. They therefore themselves strictly abstained from it, and went so far as to declare some fish sacred; many different species are depicted on their monuments which have come down to our days, and some have even been preserved as mummies. Perhaps we may here trace a second step in the progress of our science. For the purpose of delineating them, some attention must have been paid to their external appearance, the number and disposition of their fins, the character of the rays

in each, and the nature of their scaly covering, while in preparing them for preservation some notice would naturally be taken of their internal structure and organisation. But the popular acquaintance with them was much more eagerly cultivated. The extensive river which flowed through the land presented too rich a supply of delicious food to be altogether relinquished; the people compounded between their religion and their taste—they worshipped the fish their priests had pointed out as sacred, and they ate the rest.

The Jews, with an indifferent sea-coast, with but one moderate river, and a couple of freshwater lakes, had little temptation to this kind of nutriment. Their Dead Sea was too strongly impregnated with saline and bituminous particles to produce many inhabitants, and the fish they did require were chiefly supplied them by Phœnician merchants.—“There dwelt men of Tyre also therein, which brought *fish* and all manner of ware, and sold on the Sabbath unto the children of Judah and in Jerusalem.”\* Yet a certain degree of acquaintance with them is evinced by the Mosaic regulations respecting their use, and the inhibition against certain kinds is at least a singular coincidence with the Egyptian enactment to which we have alluded, while the circumstance of its being founded on the characters of the *fins* and *scales* may go in support of the inference we have already drawn, as to the probable attention which these parts had received.

But Greece, with her thousand bays and creeks and inlets—Greece, with her seagirt isles and naval population—how could she be otherwise than piscatorial? Along all her shores fish were taken and saved; they became the source of a most lucrative commerce; establishments, originally erected for the purpose of preserving and salting them, grew by degrees into flourishing cities; Synope and Byzantium, amongst others, claim this origin; and the latter, from the profusion which it always supplied and the consequent greatness of its traffic, obtained the appellation of the Golden Horn—an appellation which to the present day it retains. Of course the subjects of so much profitable speculation received a proportionate share of attention; works were written, either on the fish themselves, or on the mode of taking them, on their use as articles of food, and on the precautions thereby required; of these, none have come down to our days, we know of them only by the references and quotations made by other writers, such as Athenæus; but that the knowledge of species was both general and precise is indisputably proved by the

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\* Nehemiah, xiii. 16.

fact, that more than 400 distinct names for different kinds of fish are known to exist in the Grecian tongue :—

“ Cette abondance des mots,” observes Buffon, “ cette richesse d’expressions nettes et précises ne supposent-elles pas la même abondance d’idées et de connaissances ? — Ne voit-on pas que ces gens, qui avoient nommé beaucoup plus de choses que nous, en connoissaient par conséquent beaucoup plus ? ”

Of all these riches Aristotle was, we believe, the first to make a really scientific use, as he certainly is the first whose works on the subject have come down to us. The details which he gives respecting the structure of fish are as remarkable for truth and accuracy as the other labours of this wonderful man, while his acquaintance with their habits reached to such a degree of minuteness, that some of his observations remain to the present day alike unconfirmed and unrefuted, while others, which had long been ridiculed as paradoxical\* or absurd, have received the fullest proof from the latest researches of continental zoologists.

“ As for the species,” says Cuvier, “ Aristotle knew and named a hundred and seventeen ; and with respect to their modes of living, their migrations, their attachments and their hatreds, the stratagems which they employ, their loves, their periods of milting, of laying, and their fecundity, the modes of taking them, and the season at which their flesh is best, he enters into details which it is difficult at this day either to contradict or confirm, so far are the moderns from having observed fishes with the same care as this great naturalist appears to have done, either by himself or through his correspondents. To be capable of forming an opinion on this subject, one should live many years in the isles of the Archipelago, and make his dwelling in the tents of the fishers.”

Of course Aristotle did not personally engage in the greater number of these researches ; “ many thousand men,” says Pliny, “ were placed at his disposal by Alexander, to be employed in fishing, hunting, and making observations and experiments of every description ;” but his was the master-spirit that directed and digested all—from him emanated every suggestion, and to him was reported every fact ; these he received, recorded and compared ; passed through his great mind, they assumed order and importance—from individual facts they grew into general laws ; and *if* the human mind was to have lain in thralldom for some hundreds of years, we know not that it could have been submitted to a more comprehensive or a mightier genius.

The school which he had established continued for some time

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\* “ On a même constaté dans ces derniers temps une de ses assertions les plus paradoxales ; celle que le channa se féconde lui-même, et que tous les individus de l’espèce produisent des œufs.”—*Cuv. et Valenci.* i. 17.

to walk in his footsteps. Theophrastus, his successor, (well known by La Bruyère's translation of his *Characters*,) added several interesting facts to those already ascertained, and amongst the rest described clearly the faculty possessed by certain Indian fish (*ophicephalus*) of living for a considerable time out of water, a faculty which numerous travellers have now confirmed, and which Cuvier has shown to depend on the peculiar construction of the gills, by which they are enabled to take up and retain a supply of water sufficient to maintain respiration during their absence from that element. All our readers know to what extent this power is enjoyed by eels,\* who can live on land for several hours, or even days, in consequence of the extreme closeness of their gills and narrowness of the aperture, while herrings on the contrary, in whom the gills gape widely, are immediately deprived of all resource, and die so instantaneously, on being drawn out of their native element, as to have given rise to the common proverb, "dead as a herring."

Clearchus, Erasistratus, and others, bestowed part of their attention on Fish, and several writers on dietetics also enlarged on their nutritive or medicinal properties. Natural history received some encouragement from the Ptolemies, but the constant labour, the expense exceeding the limits of any private fortune, and the oftentimes unpleasant investigations which it required, caused it before long to be supplanted by the more easily followed pur-

\* Dr. Hancock, a distinguished ichthyologist, says of the hassar (*doras costata*), "this is one of those species of fishes which possess the singular property of deserting the water and travelling over land. In these terrestrial excursions large droves of the species are frequently met with during very dry seasons, for it is only at such periods that they are compelled to this dangerous march, which exposes them as a prey to so many and such various enemies.

"When the water is leaving the pools in which they commonly reside, the yarrows (a species of *esox*, L.), as well as the second species of hassar, to which I shall presently refer, bury themselves in the mud, while all the other fishes perish for want of the natural element, or are picked up by rapacious birds, &c. The flat-headed hassars, on the contrary, simultaneously quit the place, and march over land in search of water, travelling for a whole night, as is asserted by the Indians, in search of their object. I have ascertained by trial that they will live many hours out of water, even when exposed to the sun's rays.

"Their motion over land is described to be somewhat like that of the two-footed lizard. They project themselves forward on their bony arm by the spring of the tail exerted sidewise. Their progress is nearly as fast as a man will leisurely walk. The strong scuta or bands which envelope their body must greatly facilitate their march, in the manner of plates under the belly of serpents, which are raised and depressed by a voluntary power, in some measure performing the office of feet. . . . The Indians say that these fishes carry water with them for a supply on their journey. There appears to be some truth in this statement; for I have observed that the bodies of the hassars do not get dry, like those of other fishes, when taken out of the water; and if the moisture be absorbed, or they are wiped dry with a cloth, they have such a power of secretion that they instantly become moist again. Indeed, it is scarcely possible to dry the surface while the fish is living."—Smith's *Fishes of Massachusetts*, p. 227.

suits of geometry and metaphysics; the peripatetic philosophy was first derided, then persecuted; men ridiculed that toil which they were unwilling to undergo, and Apuleius, who could publish not only with impunity but approbation, all the obscenities of his "Golden Ass," found himself in danger of being punished as a magician, because he had shown some interest in seeking after and examining some rare and curious fish.

With the Romans speculative science had at all times little chance of encouragement, therefore Ichthyology was but little cultivated; yet never were there more glorious opportunities, had there but been an Aristotle to use them. Fish, as an article of luxury, were in the highest request, and no sums were thought too great for such as were of peculiar rarity or bulk. Ponds and vivaries of immense extent were constructed for their reception, the seas were searched "a Gadibus usque Auroram et Gangem," to supply such as were most highly esteemed for beauty or flavour; canals and dykes were made to admit the tide into their new habitation, and in an attempt of this kind, Lucullus actually cut through a mountain in the vicinity of Naples, "at a greater expense," says Pliny, "than would have built a palace," and gained in return from Pompey the appropriate sobriquet of *Xerxes togatus*. Amidst all this profusion of advantages for noticing the habits, the ages, the peculiarities of different species of fish, we regret to say, that scarcely a single original observation is to be found in any of the Roman writers on the subject. Pliny, as usual, compiles from every one who went before him, seeming to consider Nature herself as quite beneath his attention. The few anatomical details he gives are from Aristotle, to whom also he is indebted for the greater part of his general observations respecting this class, and to these he has superadded numerous travellers' stories, such as the account of Indian whales four acres in size, of eels in the Ganges three hundred feet long, and of a fish in the Po, which, when you had hooked, you were obliged to get a team of oxen to draw it out.

Oppian, Athenæus, Ælian, and others, followed much in the same style; the works of Athenæus, however, are valuable, as preserving relics of older authors, of which we have no other knowledge; and amidst the confused mass into which Ælian has thrown his matter, facts of considerable importance occasionally occur. Ausonius deserves to be excepted from this class; he describes the fishes of the Moselle from his own observations, named fourteen species which appear not to have been previously known, and it is in his work that we see, for the first time, the salmon-trout, the common trout, the barbel, and some other fresh-water fish. Some passages found in the works of Geo-



graphers and physicians complete what the ancients have left us in ichthyological science; and, adds M. Cuvier,

“ From a careful comparison of all these works, it appears to me that the ancients had distinguished and named about a hundred and fifty species of fish, which include almost all the edible species found in the Mediterranean; but they had not accurately fixed their characters, they had not even cared to arrange them methodically, so that they were themselves constantly embarrassed in their nomenclature. As to the organization of this class in general, no one, since Aristotle, had regarded it. The decay of the peripatetic school had caused the downfall of all direct researches into nature; its history was no longer treated, but by superficial compilers; and as regarded this branch of science nothing remained for the barbarians to destroy—it had ceased to exist previous to their invasion.”

During the middle ages a few dreaming monks, studying translations of Aristotle and Pliny, made at second hand from the Arabic versions, were little likely to extend natural science. They wrote some commentaries on the first chapter of Genesis, and some more, we believe, on the great fish that swallowed Jonah; but though there was, doubtless, much ingenuity and speculation spent on each of these points, there was a “ plentiful lack” of original facts, and it was of these the science had most need. The worthy Bishop Isidore, of Seville, devoted a chapter out of his twenty books of “ Origines,” to explaining the names of fish, and the peculiar characteristics from which they were derived. “ Balenæ,” he says, “ are great beasts, so called from emitting and pouring out water. For they throw up the waves of the sea higher than all other beasts; for βάλλειν, in Greek, signifies to throw.” This, however, does not equal his proof, that a whale’s belly is like the pit of hell: “ Cete dicta τὸ κῆτος διὰ τὰ κῆτη, hoc est ob immanitatem. Sunt enim ingentia genera beluarum æqualia montium corpora, qualis cetus excepit Jonam: cujus alvus tantæ magnitudinis fuit, ut instar obtineret inferni: dicente propheta: *Exaudivit me de ventre inferni.*” “ Thynni,” he tells us, is a Greek name for a fish to be found on the coasts in the spring season; they always approach by the right side, and depart by the left, *because* “ dextris oculis acutius vident quàm sinistris!” He further informs us, that eels spring from mud, which is the reason why “ the tighter you hold them, the more easily they slip through your fingers;” also that musculus (the mussel) is so called, “ quasi *masculus*, quod sit *ostreæ* masculus; ejus enim coitu concipere hæc perhibetur,” and besides, that murenæ have most undoubtedly their lives situated in their tails, “ for if you strike them on the head you will never kill them, which a blow on the tail instantly does.”

But we must pass from this learned trifling, and omitting to notice Albertus Magnus, Vincent de Beauvais, and many other compilers, carry our attention to the period when the discovery of the new world, with the occupation of both Indies, opened immense stores, as well to the naturalist as the conqueror; stores from which ichthyology was not long in deriving benefit. The colonists of these new lands wrote home strange accounts of the wonderful productions of nature they had seen; savans and naturalists were piqued to hear of so many novelties; collections were formed, voyages undertaken, and researches made, the accounts of which brought daily additions to the facts already ascertained, and amongst the illustrations by which they were accompanied, the inhabitants of the deep were not forgotten. In this way originated the works of Hernandez, Piso, Bontius, Valentyn, Margraave, Kæmpfer, and Plumier. Meantime the anatomical schools of Italy, under Vesalius, Eustachius, Fallopius, and Fabricius, the master of our own Harvey, shed a flood of light upon the hitherto neglected subject of the organization of fish. A society of young physicians at Amsterdam, amongst whom were Gerard Blasius and the immortal Swammerdam, investigated their splanchnology, and described the numerous appendages which in so many species are substituted for a pancreas. Numerous individuals, Harvey, Needham, and Collins, in England, Duverney and Perrault, at Paris, Malpighi, at Bologna, Steno and Bartholin, at Copenhagen, Borelli, at Pisa, Valisneri, at Padua, and Schelhammer, at Kiel and Jena, had occupied themselves in similar researches; an immense body of facts had been accumulated, almost too numerous to be recollected, and some person was now required capable of forming the whole into a system, and thus enabling ichthyology to take its stand as an established science. This, however, was reserved for our own countrymen, Ray and Willughby:—

“They first gave an Ichthyology, in which fishes were described clearly from nature, and distributed according to characters drawn solely from their organization; in which their history was divested of all those passages from the ancients so arbitrarily referred by the writers of the 16th century to one species or another, and so many of which were improbable or unintelligible.”—*Cuv. et Valenc. i. 55.*

Of the system thus proposed, Cuvier gives a full analysis, into which our limits forbid our entering: suffice it to say, that the primary divisions were founded on the osseous or cartilaginous nature of the skeleton, and the secondary, on the general form, on the teeth, on the presence or absence of ventral fins, on the nature of the fin-rays, whether soft or spinous, and finally, on the number of dorsal fins; characters so judiciously selected that the

greater part of them are in use at the present day. This is, in fact, the great epoch in ichthyological science; a skeleton was now formed, round which all the detached members could be grouped, an outline sketched, which it would be the work of future naturalists to fill up; new species could at once be referred to their proper situation, and compared with those already known, and the scattered observations of remote ages combined into one harmonious whole. Artedi pursued the path thus traced out; he added to the system a complete and philosophic terminology, the want of which had impaired the influence of the works of the English ichthyologists; he traced rules for the nomenclature of genera and species, and assigned them characters concise and admitting of easy comparison. His orders are founded solely on the consistence of the skeleton, the gill-covers, and the nature of the fin-rays; of his *acanthopterygii*, *malacopterygii*, *brancheostegi*, and *chondropterygii*, the third alone has been rejected; the other three are perfectly natural, and admit of no improvement. Unfortunately, he did not live to see the publication of his own labours; he was drowned at the age of thirty, in one of the canals of Amsterdam, and Linnæus, the friend of his youth, having succeeded, with some difficulty, in rescuing his papers from the hands of his host, gave them to the world in 1738, after having spent more than a year in revising, completing, and preparing them for the press. Perhaps the principal error with which Artedi is chargeable, is that of leaving the whale tribe still in the class of fish; but this was an error committed by all his predecessors, and from which he was unable entirely to extricate himself, though he seems to have appreciated, as Aristotle did before him, the remarkable dissimilarity which they present to all other inhabitants of the deep, in bringing forth their young alive, and nourishing them at the breast. The distinction was first made by Brisson, in the year 1756, who formed the *cetacea* into a distinct class, which he placed immediately after his viviparous quadrupeds, and Linnæus uniting these two together, formed his great and natural class *mammiferæ*; a class which, as it is founded on considerations truly physiological, can never be disturbed. Other innovations made by Linnæus were by no means so fortunate. He transported the *chondropterygii* (rays, sharks, sturgeon, &c.) of Artedi, and placed them amongst the reptiles, under the title of "*amphibia nantes*." He even added the fishing-frog, and in a subsequent edition, the trunk-fish, globe-fish, and other *brancheostegi* of Artedi, though we are utterly at a loss to know how he could for a moment have supposed them possessed of lungs. He was also injudicious in suppressing the division of ordinary fish, according as they have

spinous or soft rays, first introduced by Willughby, and substituting in its stead characters taken from the presence or absence of fins, and the situation of the pectorals, in relation to the ventrals. Nothing can be more artificial than the families thus formed, nothing more destructive of all regard to natural affinities; yet so great was the facility they afforded to mere nomenclators, and so flattering to human indolence the idea of being able to classify all fish from one or two obvious characters, that his ichthyological system, like his botanical, was rapturously received and eagerly retained: to the disgrace of our schools, the latter is still taught by professors aware of its inadequacy, while the former has but lately yielded to the more philosophic views developed in the *Règne Animal*.

The naturalists who immediately succeeded Linnæus did little more in the way of system than to propose minute alterations in different parts of that which he had established: as a whole, they seemed to consider it perfect. But Ichthyological science was materially aided and advanced by the number of scientific voyages undertaken during the latter half of the eighteenth century, and in which this country had again the honour of setting the example. Byron, Wallis, Carteret, and, above all, Cook, placed a girdle round the globe, and returned to us laden with specimens or descriptions of the productions of many lands. Pallas traversed the extensive regions which own the Russian sway, and amongst the invaluable stores which he thus collected are to be found figures and descriptions of several fishes from the rivers of Siberia, the lake Baikal, and the Caspian Sea. Commerson accompanied Bougainville in his voyage of discovery, and on their return landed at the Isle of France, where he remained for the purpose of exploring its riches. Indefatigable in labour, full of ardour and sagacity, he made immense collections in the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms; but particularly in ichthyology, in which he left us descriptions more exact and more detailed than those of any of his predecessors, embracing fishes of the Atlantic, of the coast of Brasil, of all the Indian Archipelago, and especially of the Isle of France and Madagascar, to a number exceeding a hundred and sixty species, of which more than two-thirds were then new. Figures, drawn either by himself or his assistant Sonnerat, accompanied the text; and that their exactness might at all times be verified, he made preparations of the fishes themselves, dried after the manner recommended by Gronovius.

But Natural History, in any of its branches, now becomes too extensive a subject for our limited space. Researches were pushed in all quarters of the globe, expeditions were fitted out, travellers were constantly bringing home new species, which

learned men in their cabinets were employed in arranging and classifying. The science had attained rank and dignity; nobles bowed themselves down before it, and princes delighted to do it honour. It even seemed to overpower the strength of national animosity, and allay the horrors of general war: orders were known to be issued that vessels sent out on such investigations should be suffered to proceed unmolested—and the peaceful flag of scientific discovery might be seen to wave in safety between the blood-stained pennons of contending fleets.

As we approach nearer to our own immediate days, M. Cuvier becomes more detailed in his account of what was done by his predecessors. He seems anxious to afford a perfect view of the state of Ichthyology at the period when his labours commenced; with indefatigable diligence he enumerates every work on the subject, from the ponderous folio to the smallest pamphlet—from the learned and full-formed system to the casual paper in a periodical, or the stray notice at the end of a topography—he analyses their contents, explains their merits and defects, supplies sketches of the lives of the authors, and thus forms a series of notices, scientific, critical, and biographical, presenting at one view every thing that is to be desired in the history of the science, and forming a narrative which cannot be read without exciting the liveliest interest. But for this we must refer to his own delightful pages, where the systems of Lacépède, Dumeril, Risso, Rafinesque, De Blainville, Goldfuss, and Oken will be found delineated with accuracy and examined with justice. It is time we should say something as to the nature of FISH, their organization, habits, reproduction, and the principles according to which they are now classified.

More than two-thirds of our globe are covered by the waters of the ocean, and of the remaining third a great part is washed by extensive rivers, or occupied by lakes, ponds, or marshes. In these watery realms, teeming with life, the animal kingdom presents its extremes of greatness and smallness, from the myriads of monads, with whose existence we should have been unacquainted had it not been for the powers of the microscope, up to the whale, the mighty monarch of the deep, exceeding in bulk more than twenty times the largest terrestrial quadruped. Here also every class of animals seems to find its representative; even birds, those beings essentially ærial, form no exception, the penguin being confined for life to the wave, by that organization which has endowed it with a wing incapable of raising its bulky body in flight, but acting rather as a fin, to aid it when diving in pursuit of its fishy prey. Seals, morses, manatees, which can remain at no great distance from the sea, together with whales, which never

leave it, though constantly obliged by the nature of their respiration to seek its surface, belong to the great class *Mammalia*. The reptiles are represented by turtles, crocodiles, serpents, and the whole family of frogs. Many insects are aquatic even in their perfect state, and a still larger number, under the form of larvæ or nymphs, spend the greater part of their lives in the water. *Mollusca*, *crustacea*, *annelides* and *zoophytes* are almost peculiar to this element, having but a few scattered representatives on earth; but amidst all its varied inhabitants there are none more exclusively confined to its realms, none that rule them with such absolute sway, none more remarkable for number, variety of form, beauty of colour, and, above all, for the infinite advantages which they yield to man, than the great class of fishes. In fact, their evident superiority has caused their name to pass as a general appellation to all the inhabitants of the deep; whales are called fish, crabs are called shell-fish, and the same term is used to denote oysters, though the first are *mammalia*—the second, *articulata*—and the third, *mollusca*. There is, however, really no class more easily distinguished, or marked by characters so precise and unchangeable, as fish. They are “*vertebrated animals, with red blood, respiring by gills, through the medium of water.*” This definition is so far empirical that it is the result of accumulated observations alone, but, once attained, its truth can be proved synthetically, as from it, by a fair process of deduction, can be inferred the general nature of the beings to whom it refers.

“Vertebrate—they must have an interior skeleton; the brain and spinal marrow encased in a skull and vertebral column; the muscles exterior; four extremities only; the organs of the first four senses in cavities of the head, &c.

“Aquatic—that is to say, inhabiting a liquid more weighty and resisting than air, their motive powers must be disposed and calculated for progression, the form of their body such as to cleave their forward way, the chief muscular power situated in the tail; the limbs must be short, supported by membranes capable of expansion to strike the water, and of being folded up so as not to impede a rush; the integuments must be smooth or scaly—never invested with feathers or hair.

“Breathing only through the medium of water—that is to say, depending for the arterial properties of their blood upon the scanty portion of oxygen contained in the air mixed with water, they must be cold-blooded; their vitality, the energy of their senses and movements must be less intense than in *mammalia* and birds. Thus their brain, though similar in construction, is proportionally much less, and the exterior organs of the senses are not calculated to convey to it any powerful impressions.”—*Cuv. et Val. i. 202.*

Fishes, in fact, are of all vertebrated animals those that give the least apparent signs of sensibility. Wanting lungs, and not



having elastic air at their disposal, they are of course without voice: they remain therefore strangers to all those emotions which voice awakens or communicates. Their eyes, fixed and immovable, their hard bony face, their limbs inflexible, save in one piece and for one definite end, deprive their physiognomy of all expression. Dwelling in the realms of silence, hearing would be of little use, consequently their *ear* is reduced to its simplest form, enclosed in the bony walls of the head, deprived of external auricle and internal cochlea, so that though it may give notice of such noises as produce a concussion affecting the whole head, we cannot conceive it to appreciate combinations of sound or variety of intonation. Thus fishermen, when casting their nets, are obliged to maintain silence, as any disturbance would frighten away their prey; the ancient Romans had accustomed the fishes in their ponds to assemble at the sound of a bell to be fed—nay, further, we are told that they had even trained them to know their own names, but this we must venture to doubt; at least, moderns have never been so successful in their education. Light penetrates the medium in which they live only to certain depths, and deprived of much of its intensity.\* To remedy this, the *eye* is large, in order to collect as many as possible of the feeble rays, and it has been suggested that this character alone, much more marked in some fishes than others, might afford a means of deciding the depths to which they relatively descend, though a better judgment regarding this point might be formed from the resisting nature of the sclerotica, or outer coat of the eye, varying from an actually bony structure in rays, who prowl at the bottom, to a yielding membranous texture in shoal water fishes. This eye, scarcely capable of changing its direction, ungifted with the power of adapting itself to different focal distances, watered by no tear, covered by no lid, sparkling with no feeling, is but a faint representation of the same organ in the higher classes—so beautiful, so animated, so expressive. Those very muscles by which the human eye is made the index of the soul, which cause its uplifting in devotion, its soft and gentle fall in pity or sympathy, are in the fish reduced to a few rudimentary fibres, marking by their situation an analogy of structure, but totally incapable of performing the function. Yet this organ presents many curious

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\* With respect to the propagation of light through water, it has been calculated that not a tenth part of the incident light can advance five fathoms downwards in the most translucent water; that even of vertical rays one-half is lost in the first seventeen feet, and that they become reduced to one-fourth in traversing thirty-four feet, which correspond to the mass of an atmosphere. It thus follows that only the hundred-thousandth part of the vertical rays can penetrate below forty-seven fathoms, which is scarcely equal to the glimmer of twilight; and that the depths of the ocean must be always in perpetual darkness.—*Prout on Meteorology, &c.*



instances of adaptation; the aqueous humour, which, as it equals in density the medium through which the animal moves, could be of no use, is almost reduced to a nullity; the cornea is consequently nearly flat, but to compensate for this the pupil is widely open and nearly immoveable, so as to admit the greatest possible number of rays, while the crystalline lens, globular and prominent, seems to project through the pupil for the purpose of meeting them, and is enabled by its strong refracting power—stronger than in other animals—to bring them to a focus upon the retina. Lachrymal glands would be superfluous where the eye can never be in want of moisture; they therefore do not exist. Eyelids there are none, though occasionally a membranaceous fold in front and rear of the eye may be detected, as in mackerel or herrings, but in the ray kind a curious substitution is observed, the top of the iris being rendered moveable and capable at will of being drawn over the pupil, so as to close it as with a curtain. But the most extraordinary deviation from the symmetry usually observed in the position of similar organs is exemplified in the eyes of the pleuronectes, such as the sole, plaice, turbot, &c. where we see them both situated at the same side of the head, the one a little above the other; yet this deviation is the very clearest evidence of design, as of what use could one eye be in that side of the fish which is constantly resting on the bottom? Still, sight cannot be a very perfect or distinct sensation in this class; a fish will rise at a clumsily made artificial fly, if of the proper colours, and for many of them a piece of red cloth is a sufficient bait, being readily mistaken for a morsel of raw meat.

That fishes possess the sense of smell, that certain odours attract or repel them, seems unquestionable, and there is every reason to believe, that as in other animals, so in them, the seat of this sense is in the *nostrils*, which we find tapestried with a fine mucous membrane curiously plaited, and furnished with branches from the nerve, analogous to that which in us is the olfactory. But this sense also must be wanting in acuteness, and far less seldom exercised than in animals who breathe air, and whose nostrils are thus constantly traversed by odoriferous vapours. Fishes, as we have said, breathe only through the medium of water: this passes from the mouth to the gills, and the nostrils have no share in the operation; from the intricacy, however, of their structure, and the abundance of nerves with which they are supplied in certain species, it would seem probable that their function is something more important than the occasional power of smelling, of which we cannot conceive them to stand much in need, and Cuvier conjectures that this further function may be that of recognising certain substances, not in themselves odori-

ferous when mixed with or dissolved in water, and thus enabling the fish to exercise a selection of such waters as may be purest, or otherwise best adapted for its habits. There would appear to be the more necessity for endowing the nostrils with some such sense, inasmuch as taste is almost totally wanting; the *tongue* is reduced to a simple pad of cellular structure, fixed by its whole base to the floor of the mouth, deprived of motion, as is evident from its want of muscles, and from the total absence of the hypoglossal or ninth pair of nerves, which in other animals direct and produce its motions, wanting also the power of taste, as is indicated by the absence of the gustatory branch of the fifth pair, on which this power depends, and seeming merely to serve the purposes of deglutition, as we find it still combined with the action of the throat in swallowing, by receiving a few branches of the *glosso-pharyngeal*. Taste, in fact, would be of little use to a fish. Their whole dental apparatus is suited in a great measure for prehension rather than mastication; in general they swallow their prey whole and without division; even those whose jaws are in some measure adapted for cutting and bruising their food, could not retain it for any length of time in the mouth on account of the situation and play of their respiratory organs, and as they have no salivary glands to dissolve sapid particles, taste would necessarily be very imperfect, even though the tongue were abundantly, as it is now scantily, furnished with nerves. The final cause of all this would appear to be, that the food of fish is in a great measure homogeneous, and admits of little variety. Some few of them feed on vegetable substances, but by far the greater number on animal bodies, other fish, crustacea, mollusca, or insects; taste, therefore, as a means of selection, is unnecessary, and being, as we have shown, incompatible with other parts of their organisation, does not exist. In some species the tongue is even covered with bony plates, or paved with rounded teeth, acting against similar bodies fixed in the palate, so that its whole function is here in a great measure changed.

“ We may suppose,” says Cuvier, “ that the sense of which it is thus deprived has been transferred to certain parts of the palate or pharynx, and the supposition receives additional confirmation from the fact that in the carp family we find at the entrance of the gullet a thick, soft, fleshy mass, which being abundantly supplied with nerves from the eighth pair, and situated directly opposite the pharyngeal teeth, so powerful in these animals, presents all the combinations necessary to a gustatory organ: it is extremely difficult, however, to demonstrate how far the conjecture may be founded on fact.”

With respect to *touch*, fishes are little more favoured than in taste. Deprived of extensible members, particularly of fingers

capable of bending round and grasping objects, they have scarcely any other method of investigating the form of bodies than by their lips, and even these in some species are hard and horny. Appendages, termed barbels, are to be found surrounding the mouths of the horn-pout, the loche, and many of the cod and carp tribes; filaments detached from the pectoral fin, and standing out like fingers, occur in the (thence called) *web-fingered gurnard*; the head of the fishing-frog is furnished with certain elongated moveable rays detached from the first dorsal fin; but all these contrivances serve rather to give notice of the approach of foreign bodies than accurately to investigate their form and consistence. Within their limits, however, these *feelers* are very sensible, and receive nerves remarkable for their size. Much tact of course cannot be possessed by the general surface of the body, covered as it usually is with scales horny, insensible, and laid so close that one locks like a tile over the other; but much difference exists in this point as we pass from the lamprey, whose skin is completely smooth and unarmed, through the eels,\* in whom we perceive incipient scales imbedded in the skin, and still so small as to leave interstices between them, up to the sturgeon, where they form hard osseous bucklers, or the trunk-fish, in which they are united into an inflexible cuirass.

“ Thus the external senses of fishes are little suited to give them lively or correct impressions. The world by which they are surrounded can only affect them in a confused manner; their pleasures are little varied; and of pains they have none, save such as arise from actual injury done to their bodies. Their constant care, that which, except during the season of impregnation, alone actuates and incites them, in short, their ruling passion, is to appease the sensation of hunger—to eat is their only occupation when not engaged in reproduction, and to this end their whole organization is directed, their whole structure framed. To pursue a prey or escape a destroyer is the business of their life: it is this which determines them in the selection which they make of different habitations; this is the principal object of the variety of their forms, and of

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\* It was by a mistake that the Jews abstained from eating eels. The prohibition is as follows:—“ All that have not fins and scales in the seas and in the rivers, of all that move in the waters, and of any living thing which is in the waters, they shall be an abomination unto you. They shall be even an abomination unto you; ye shall not eat their flesh, but ye shall have their carcasses in abomination.”—*Lev. xi. 10, 11.* The *siluridæ*, which have no scales, were held in abomination by the Egyptians. In describing one of them (the *schall*), which he had found in the Nile, M. Sonnini says—“ A fish without scales, with soft flesh, and living at the bottom of a muddy river, could not have been admitted into the dietetic system of the ancient Egyptians, whose priests were so scrupulously rigid in proscribing every aliment of unwholesome quality. Accordingly all the different species of *siluri* found in the Nile were forbidden.” This then was probably one of the forbidden kinds, and this fact supports the opinion before ventured as to the origin of the custom. The rest of the prohibition was probably levelled against aquatic reptiles, which were generally looked on as possessing poisonous qualities.

the few instincts with which they are endowed, or the few artifices they exhibit: the fishing filaments of the angler, the suddenly protruded muzzle of the coricus and epiboulos (*sparus insidiator*, Pall.), and the dreadful shock given by the torpedo or the electric eel, have no other object."—*Cuv. et Val.* vol. i. p. 205.

"Eat or be eaten" seems the only law known to the inhabitants of the ocean: each individual, under the instinctive influence of that immutable ordinance, feeds luxuriously on its nearest neighbour, and at last, from the insecurity of its home, is preyed upon in its turn. Cartilaginous fishes, such as the shark and ray, are peculiarly voracious, and their habit of swallowing large bodies whole is considerably facilitated by the nature of their frame, which never hardening into perfect bone, but always retaining the consistence of an elastic gristle, yields and accommodates itself to the necessary distension. In fact a great part of the natural history of fish is made up of observations as to the modes in which they gratify their two leading wants—nutrition and reproduction. This idea, that the delineation of character will depend in a great measure on accurately tracing the development of one or two ruling propensities, might be extended much beyond our present subject, but we shall now confine ourselves to exemplifying its truth in the graphic description of the *serrasalmo*, that tyrant of Brazilian rivers, taken from the accurate and interesting pages of Martius.

"Great bands of these, amounting in number to many thousands, may be seen to commence their course along the river, attacking all animals that may come in their way. Their mouth is armed with a double row of sharp teeth, so powerful and so closely set, that Gumilla tells us the Indians use their jaws, set in handles in the manner of a shears, to cut off the heads of their slaughtered enemies; which arms, united to an incredible voracity and thirst for blood, render this fish the most dreadful tyrant of the streams which it inhabits; for it not unfrequently happens that an ox, a tapir, or some other large animal, entering the water to drink, and meeting a shoal of these fish, is eaten up in a moment, each fish, perhaps, getting but a single bite, yet, from their immense numbers, the whole animal has disappeared in less time than is credible, nothing but the skeleton remaining. The people dwelling along the Oronoco, called Guarauni, use this to their own advantage, for having the custom of preserving in baskets the skeletons of their friends, they suspend a corpse only for a single night in the river, with the certainty that the following day they may draw it out a clean skeleton.

"The animals inhabiting on these rivers, as if taught by experience, take the utmost precautions, when drinking, not to disturb or move the water. Horses and dogs, when thirsty, violently disturb some spot and immediately fly to another, where they drink in safety while the *serrasalmones* have flocked to the first; but if they are caught by them, they

not unfrequently lose their lip, carried away at a bite. Even animals when pursued fear these aquatic enemies, and the capibara particularly will stop in the middle of its swiftest flight, if it fears its motions may attract the *serrasalmo*.

“ Thus these fishes are more dreadful than the crocodile itself, which even its coat of mail does not protect from their attack. The Brazilian otter alone, which beneath its long hair has a coat of soft thick fur which their teeth cannot penetrate, is reported to put them to flight. Their power of smell is very keen, and a few drops of blood shed in the water will quickly attract them. The first who mentions this thing, as far as I know, is Gumilla, who, in his *Oronoco*, has spoken largely of the *piranhas* (the native name), occasionally intermixing a little falsehood, as when he says that a man may swim among them in safety provided he have no sore or wound on his body from which blood oozing might tempt their sanguinary dispositions. ‘*Contra quod faciunt, quæ Dobrizhoffer refert, qui dicit, novisse se duos milites Hispanos, qui nantes in flumine, nantes equos sequebantur, perfectissime eviratos a palometis.*’\* Yet it is certain that the natural voracity of these animals is wonderfully excited by any admixture of blood or flesh with the water, and I myself have seen an Indian servant of my own, who, having very incautiously returned to the spot where he had been washing and cleansing some fowl, was seized as soon as he approached his hand to the water, and only got off with the loss of half a finger.”—*Spir et Martius*, vol. ii. p. 7.

We presume Dr. Smith knew little of all this when he attempted to institute an analogy between two great divisions of fish, osseous and cartilaginous, and the two leading divisions of mammalia, graminivorous and carnivorous, attributing to the latter all the voracity, and to the former the generally mild, timid habits that cause their unarmed possessors to seek shelter in society. The *piranhas* (osseous fish), it is true, unite in troops, but it is only, like wolves, for the purpose of increasing their powers of destruction. There are, however, sufficient other examples to put an end to all analogy. Pike and wolf-fish are both osseous, yet it would be hard to exceed them in rapacity.

The *reproduction* of fishes is a subject full of curious interest, and affording much matter for observation. In most instances no

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\* Mankind would appear to have in these rivers a still more dreadful enemy, if we can believe the following singular account:—“*De alio pisce hominibus infesto nonnullâ afferre debeo, quem Brasilienses candiru, Hispani in provincia Maynas degentes, canero nuncupant. Singulari enim instinctu incitatur in ostia excretoria corporis humani intrandi, quæ quum igitur in iis, qui in flumine lavant, attingit, summa cum violentia irrepit, ibique carnem, morsu appetens, dolores imo vitæ periculum affert. Urius odore hi pisciculi valde alliciuntur, quam ob causam accolæ intraturi flumen Amazonum, cujus sinus hac peste abundant, præputium ligula constringunt, et a mingendo abstinere.*”—*Spir et Martius*. The fish spoken of is one of the *siluri*, of small size, and probably the same as the *silurus cacutiens* of Lichtenstein. In some of its tastes it seems to resemble the scatophagus (*piscis stercorarius*) of the Coromandel coast, originally described by Nieuhof.

intercourse takes place between the parents: the female, overburthened by the weight of the eggs with which her ovaries are distended, endeavours to relieve herself by swimming generally into some shallow place, where, pressing against the bottom, she gradually expels them. In this situation, held together by a glutinous liquor shed along with them, and which forms them into long filaments or networks, bound to some stone or submarine plant, they are fecundated by the male passing over them; and when we consider that there may be thousands of parcels of eggs thus left by females of different species, and that each of these will only be visited by the male of its own species, we cannot sufficiently wonder at the accuracy of that instinct (or is it the insensibility of the germ to all but the one appropriate stimulus?) which is thus made the means of propagating uniformity of type, and preserving the waters from being peopled with monsters. A few mules, it is said, can be generated, but only between species belonging to the same natural family. Jacobi succeeded in procuring a cross by squeezing the milt of a dead salmon over the eggs of a trout, but of the young thus produced, numbers had two heads, or two tails, or wanted the belly, or were affected with different other deformities, and they barely continued to exist until they had exhausted all the nutriment contained in the egg, and then died when they were thrown for support on their own resources. Each egg contains a germ and a yelk, not as in birds, surrounded by a transparent albuminous matter, but merely enclosed within an envelope of very varying density. In the ray kind it is a hard horny shell, and being thus by no means so frangible as the shell of a bird's egg, the young would have found much difficulty in escaping, had not nature provided for this by leaving an opening at one extremity, through which the young one is able to thrust out its tail, and so force a way when it has become too large for longer confinement. In the sharks, whose young are born alive, the egg is as it were hatched before it leaves the oviduct, and in consequence, requiring no provision for its defence, the envelope is nothing more than a thin membrane. After the young one is born, the yelk of the egg, which is to supply it with food for some time, may be seen attached to it by the umbilical cord, through which its contents are absorbed into the general circulation; and this again is a singular substitution for the lactation in mammalia, and which, for want of the appropriate organs, could not be performed in this class.

It may be supposed that little natural affection exists in this cold-blooded race, and in fact fishes constantly devour their own eggs, and at a later period their own young, without compunction or discrimination. Some few species bear their eggs about with



them until hatched; thus the *syngnathi* (sea-horse, Pegasus, &c.) have behind the anus, beneath the base of the tail, a small cavity, closed by two scaly pieces, which lap over it like folding doors. Within these are placed the eggs, enveloped in a fine membrane, and are allowed to remain there until the young ones appear. This we thought about the utmost extent of care which fishes lavished on their young, but Dr. Hancock has stepped in to rescue at least one species from the unmerited charge.

"It is asserted," he says, "by naturalists, that no fishes are known to take any care of their offspring. Both the species of *hassar* mentioned below, however, make a regular nest, in which they lay their eggs in a flattened cluster, and cover them over most carefully. Their care does not end here; they remain by the side of the nest till the spawn is hatched, with as much solicitude as a hen guards her eggs, both the male and female hassar, for they are monogamous, steadily watching the spawn, and courageously attacking the assailant. Hence the negroes frequently take them by putting their hands into the water close to the nest, on agitating which the male hassar springs furiously at them, and is thus captured. The *roundhead* forms its nest of grass, the *flathead* of leaves. Both at certain seasons burrow in the bank. They lay their eggs only in wet weather. I have been surprised to observe the sudden appearance of numerous nests in a morning after rain occurs, the spot being indicated by a bunch of froth which appears on the surface of the water over the nest. Below this are the eggs, placed on a bunch of fallen leaves or grass, which they cut and collect together. By what means this is effected seems rather mysterious, as the species are destitute of cutting teeth. It may possibly be by the use of their arms, which form the first ray of the pectoral fins."—*Zool. Journ.* No. XIV.

We think the story would be incomplete without Dr. Smith's pithy comment.

"One is warranted in supposing that the hassar, of which Dr. Hancock gives such a glowing account in the fourteenth number of the Zoological Journal, belongs to an order vastly more civilized than those on this side of the Atlantic."

Pennant, indeed, gives an additional instance of parental affection in this much wronged class, for he says that the blue shark will permit its young brood, when in danger, to swim down its mouth, and take shelter in its belly! The fact, he tells us, has been confirmed by the observation of several ichthyologists, and, for his part, he can see nothing more incredible in it than that the young of the opossum should seek an asylum in the ventral pouch of its parent. He does not tell us, however, that any of these ichthyologists, who may have seen the young sharks swimming down the throat of their affectionate parent, ever saw one of them returning; and until that is seen we must think the evidence rather incomplete, more particularly as the position and direction



of a shark's teeth seem to us to render such a feat next to impossible.

But affection is scarcely to be looked for where the offspring is so very numerous as to put all attempts at even recognising them out of the question. How could the fondest mother love 100,000 little ones at once? Yet this number is far exceeded by some of the matrons of the deep. Petit found 300,000 eggs in a single carp; Leuwenhoeck, 9,000,000 in a single cod; Mr. Harmer found in a sole 100,000, in a tench 300,000, in a mackerel 500,000, and in a flounder 1,357,000.\* M. Rousseau disburthened a pike of 160,000 and a sturgeon of 1,567,000, while from one of this latter class some other person (whose name we do not immediately recollect) got 119 pounds weight of eggs, which at the rate of seven to a grain, would give a total amount of 7,653,200 eggs! If all these came to maturity the world would be in a short time nothing but fish; means, however, amply sufficient to keep down this unwelcome superabundance have been provided. Fish themselves, as we have already mentioned, men, birds, other marine animals, to say nothing of the dispersions produced by storms and currents, the destruction consequent on their being thrown on the beach and left there to dry

\* Mr. Harmer's paper will be found in the Philosophical Transactions for 1767. The results of his investigations he has reduced to a tabular form at the end, from which we extract the following list:—The first line will indicate the name of the fish, the second its weight, the third the weight of spawn, the fourth the total number of eggs, the fifth the number of eggs in a single grain, which will show that fishes' eggs differ much in size, and the last column the time of year at which his investigations were made, and therefore the time about which the fish may be generally supposed to spawn.

1. Name of Fish.	2. Weight.	3. Weight of Spawn.	4. Fecundity.	5. No. of eggs to a grain.	6. Time of Examination.
	os. dr.	grains.			
Carp .....	25 8	2571	203,109	79	April and May.
Cod-fish .....	—	12,540	3,686,760	294	December.
Flounder .....	24 4	2200	1,357,400	617	February and March.
Herring .....	5 10	480	36,960	77	October & November.
Mackerel .....	18 0	1223½	546,681	449	June.
Perch .....	8 9	765½	28,323	37	April.
Pickrel .....	—	3248	80,388	24½	November and March.
Roach .....	9 10½	417	113,841	273	May.
Smelt .....	2 0	149½	38,278	256	February and March.
Sole .....	14 8	542½	100,362	185	June.
Tench .....	27 9½	1969	350,483	178	May and June.

Another tench was brought to him so full of spawn that the skin was burst by a slight knock and many thousands of the eggs lost; yet even after this misfortune he found the remainder to amount to 583,252! Of other marine animals which he includes under the general term fish, the fecundity, though sufficiently great, is by no means so enormous. A lobster yielded 7227 eggs, a prawn 3806, and a shrimp 3057.

up, all combine to diminish this excessive supply over demand. Yet on the other hand, (so wonderfully are all the contrivances of nature harmonized and balanced,) one of these apparent modes of destruction becomes an actual means of extending the species. The eggs of the pike, the barbel and many other fish, says M. Virey, are rendered indigestible by an acrid oil which they contain, and in consequence of which they are passed in the same condition as they were swallowed, the result of which is, that being taken in by ducks, grebes or other water fowl, they are thus transported to situations, such as inland lakes, which otherwise they could never have attained, and in this way only can we account for the fact, now well ascertained, that several lakes in the Alps, formed by the thawing of the glaciers, are now abundantly stocked with excellent fish. Dr. Smith has ventured some further speculations on this subject, and argues that not only the eggs but the fish itself might use a similar mode of conveyance and be none the worse for the journey.

“ Birds, in their rapid flights from one section of a country to another, have not only distributed the eggs of fishes and the seeds of plants, but even the living animals themselves. It is in this way that we are obliged to account, for example, for the appearance of a lamprey in a small pool, hundreds of miles from the ocean, which has no communication whatever with running streams. The wading birds, as the heron, might swallow one of these animals, whose vitality is of so low an order that it is not necessary for them to breathe a mouthful of water even for many hours, and convey it in its intestinal tube three hundred miles, and if it were voided when such carnivorous birds would be most disposed to rest, the fish would recover any temporary injury by the journey; and if it were pregnant the race would be propagated, and thus the waters of the interior country become stocked by a new family of aquatic beings.

“ Such is the power of life, that it completely resists for a long time the gastric juice of the stomach. Repeated observations are on record by credible eye-witnesses, who have seen birds of prey swallow an eel, who escaped unharmed in a few minutes. Nor is this very strange when it is recollected that the intestine is very short and large, and that the imprisoned fish has prodigious strength in proportion to its weight, and, above all the rest, coated with a mucus so slippery that the grip of a strong man's hand cannot hold one fast.

“ On some of the highest points of the green mountains between Massachusetts and New York, in those small basons of water which are formed between different eminences, lobsters are not only numerous but really and truly formed precisely like those of the ocean, yet they rarely exceed two inches in length.\* The question at once arises, how came these animals in that locality, if the ova of the lobster were not conveyed

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\* We are inclined to think that Dr. Smith's mountain lobsters are nothing else than craw-fish.

there by some bird? The fresh water, together with the climate of these high regions, have prevented the full developement of these miniature lobsters, though in character, habit and anatomical structure, there is the most perfect resemblance; and were the ova from the family on the mountain placed under favourable circumstances in the borders of the sea, we have no doubt that the progeny would be as large in one or two generations, as any specimens that are exhibited from the ocean."—*Smith*, p. 74.

To these points, which to us possess much interest, an objection of a very unsatisfactory nature was made by the American reviewer of Dr. Smith's work. We can see no reason, he observes, why the creation of fishes should not have extended to the rivers and lakes as well as the seas, therefore all suggestions respecting the mode in which they might have become stocked, however ingenious, are unnecessary. The answer to this is obvious—several of these lakes have sprung up almost before our own eyes, and have no communication with water already inhabited, we must therefore admit some such contrivance as those already mentioned, or be driven to the absurdity of supposing that a new pair of lobsters, a new impregnated lamprey, &c. are created for each new mountain pool. We certainly believe in successive creations, but not of this kind.

The general structure of fish Cuvier discusses in a series of chapters, embracing their osteology, myology, neurology, and splanchnology, together with descriptions of the external organs of sense and the organs of reproduction, all of which are replete with sound information and valuable generalizations. With unwearied industry also he has added, at the commencement of each genus, a detailed dissection of the fish which he has selected as its type, and repeated this when any thing peculiar occurs in the sub-genus or species. The number of fishes he must have examined to enable him to enter into these details almost exceeds belief. But for these matters we must refer to the work itself, of which eight volumes appeared during the lifetime of its gifted author, and one since his death, brought out by his zealous assistant, M. Valenciennes. The original plan extended to twenty volumes, and from the incessant pains which he took in acquiring fresh information, would probably have exceeded that number. A great quantity of materials remain, which we are led to expect will be given to the world as soon as it can be arranged and digested; but highly as we respect the talents of those to whom is intrusted the pious office of gathering his last literary relics and placing them as a finish on the proud column which he has raised to his own genius, we can never cease to deplore that the mighty spirit, which should have aided and directed them in their task, has fled;

that the master mind which traced the outline and devised the plan has departed, and left to others the completion of the edifice!

It only remains that we should say a few words on the mode in which fish are classified. A classification, in our opinion, to be natural, should be not merely anatomical but physiological, and for this simple reason—the anatomist considers the different parts of the dead body in detail,—the physiologist considers the organization of the living body in its totality. Now no part has been formed to act alone, as no animal has been framed to live solely for itself, he therefore will most truly estimate the nature of the animal and its proper situation in the scale, who views it as a combination of harmonizing organs and as connected by various links with all creation, animate and inanimate. From the difficulty of making accurate observations respecting the habits of fish, many of their relations must of course remain unknown, but for this deficiency Cuvier has sought a remedy in the most persevering study of their structure, which, with his usual felicity of induction, he takes as a guide to their functions. The first point to be attended to, and which indeed had long since struck systematic writers, is the nature of the skeleton, which in the greater number of fish hardens into bone, but in some remains always a kind of elastic gristle. This gives rise to the primary distribution of fish into—1. Osseous; 2. Cartilaginous, or, to use Cuvier's term, *Chondropterygii*. This last division is again subdivided into three natural families, represented by the sturgeon, the shark and the lamprey; the first of which forms an order distinguished by having the gills free, the other two another order in which the gills are fixed. These, however, constitute but a very small part of the entire class, and some characters must be sought according to which we may arrange the rest. For this purpose we regard an assemblage of osseous fishes, and we notice that the rays which support the fins are in some stiff unbroken spines, while in others they are articulated or composed of a number of joints, look softer and appear split, as it were, into numerous fine divisions. The first of these is termed *acanthopterygian* or spiny-finned, the second *malacopterygian* or soft-finned, and after having studied fish for nearly forty years in themselves, their skeletons and viscera, after having also dissected several hundred species, Cuvier declares himself satisfied that no *acanthopterygian* should ever be mixed with any belonging to other families. He also declares that the *acanthopterygians*, who make three-fourths\* of all

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\* The *acanthopterygii*, it is true, constitute about three-fourths of all known fishes, but it is not therefore to be supposed that they will constitute so large a proportion of the fishes found at any given place. This in fact varies, as Professor Nilsson observes,

the fishes known, are also the most perfectly wrought type, that nature seems to have elaborated most carefully, and which has maintained most resemblance to itself amidst all the variations of detail it has been made to undergo. But this very sameness and constancy render it extremely difficult to find characters sufficiently marked for the subdivision of this very extensive order, and, in fact, the different families of which it is composed run by such gradual shades into one another, that we cannot mark the point at which one commences and the other ends. The general shape of the body, the number of branchial rays, the position of the inferior extremity or ventral fin, the number of dorsal fins, the nature and situation of the teeth, the armature of the cheek, the more or less elongated form of the mouth, the nature of the operculum or gill-cover, together with other characters, have been used for the minor subdivisions, but though affording some assistance, they are by no means sufficiently invariable to be relied on. For instance, palatine teeth, by which it has been attempted to distinguish the percoïdes from the sciænoïdes, are yet wanting in a large group, which, under all other circumstances, seems naturally allied to the former. In *malacopterygians* the differences are more decided, and have been found to agree so exactly with the empirical character derived from the ventral fin, that this has served for the establishment of three orders, the *abdominal*, *sub-brachial* and *apodal*, according as the ventral fin is situated behind the pectoral, as in carp, or beneath it, as in cod, or is totally wanting, as in the eel tribes. These characters, in fact, indicate corresponding changes in the internal structure, such as the situation of the bones of the pelvis, their greater or less elongation, their being suspended merely in the flesh of the abdomen or attached to the humeral apparatus. There still remain two small groups, marked by such distinctive and invariable characters, that Cuvier has been induced to make of them two orders, *lophobranchii* and *plectognathi*, the former deriving their name from the form of their gills, which are placed in tufts along the branchial arches, the latter, from the immobility of their upper jaw and palatine apparatus, which are articulated by close sutures with the bones of the cranium. Of this latter kind are those singular-

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with the latitude ; acanthopterygian fish becoming more numerous as we approach the Equator, malacopterygian as we near the Poles.

“ For example, the Scandinavian Fauna exhibits about 160 species of fish, of which scarcely one-fourth are acanthopterygian ; and the Icelandic Fauna, still further north, has only fifty species of fishes, of which not more than one-fifth belong to this order. The chondropterygii, on the other hand, seem to increase as we go northward. According to Cuvier they constitute, even including *syngnathi* and *orthogoriscæ*, not more than a tenth part of known fishes ; in Scandinavia they are almost a seventh, and in Iceland a sixth.”—*Nilsson, Prodromus Ichth. Scand.*

looking animals termed globe-fish, balloon-fish, trunk-fish, &c. and as in them the skeleton takes a long time to acquire the firmness of bone, or even in some seems never to attain it, while all the rest of their structure bears analogy to that of ordinary fish, we have thus a link formed between the osseous and cartilaginous fish, which binds the whole together, and makes the transition at once easy and natural.

All fish may therefore be looked on as included in the following orders, which we place as treated of by Cuvier, subjoining an example of each, but neglecting the minor subdivisions into families, genera and species:—

First Series.	OSSII.	Bony Fishes.	Examples.
1st Order.	Acanthopterygii	.....	Perch, mackerel, gurnard.
2nd	Malacopterygii, Abdominales	.....	Carp, pike, salmon, herrings.
3rd	Malacopterygii, Subbrachii	.....	Cod, flat-fish, lump-fish.
4th	Malacopterygii, Apodes	.....	Eels, electric eels.
5th	Lophobranchii	.....	Sea-horse, Pegasus-fish.
6th	Plectognathi	.....	Balloon-fish, trunk-fish.
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Second Series.	CHONDROPTERYGII.	Cartilaginous Fishes.	
7th	Eleutherobranchii (gills free)	.....	Sturgeon
8th	Pektobranchii (gills confined)	.....	Shark, rays, lampreys.

ART. VII.—*Tutti Frutti. Aus den Papieren des Verstorbenen.*  
(*Tutti Frutti*—from the Papers of the Departed.) 2 vols. 8vo.  
Stuttgard. 1834.

THE author of the *Briefe eines Verstorbenen*, or, according to the very prosaic English title, “The Tour of a German Prince,” comes before us again in the disguise, or rather the thin veil, it was his pleasure to assume.

If this new production of his has the same excellencies as its predecessor, it has also the same defects. Nor, we fear, are these defects likely to be cured while they contribute, as we are convinced they do, to make the author’s works popular. For putting aside all his merits, and that power of amusing which he indisputably possesses, and which is the “provoking charm” of authors, the very faults and eccentricities observable in the book, and imputed (whether truly or falsely we know not) to the man, pique the curiosity and attention of the public, and, like other *coquetteries*, are declaimed against, but are not the less successful for all that. For ourselves, we confess we regret that he should condescend to owe any portion of his popularity to such doubtful sources. The present work has more than ever convinced us of the writer’s powers and merits; of his talent for picturesque, we might say dramatic, description; of the mobility, freshness, and vivacity of his imagination; the geniality of his temper; his sensibility both



to the beautiful, the noble, and the ludicrous; the acuteness of his observations on men and manners; and, when those little gusts of personal vanity or personal pique, which savour of the spoiled child, or the spoiled beauty, do not interfere, the depth and largeness, the justness and benevolence, of his reflexions on both. Unfortunately he is not un-infected with that rage for bastard distinction and effect, which is the disease of modern literature—displaying itself in France in convulsive absurdities and sickening horrors, and in various laborious postures of affectation among our sedater selves. We wish we could persuade our author that not only he could afford to dispense with all these stimulants to the curiosity or the admiration of his readers, but that in fact they are the great blemish of his writings; and that he is never so agreeable and so instructive as when he tells us what he sees, and thinks, and feels, as simply and as truly as possible. An imagination like his will always supply colouring vivid enough. Above all, however, we would entreat him to believe that the strange recklessness he sometimes shows of the light in which he places himself or others before the world's eye, can never have any other effect than to make the judicious and the generous grieve. We are the more urgent with him to reconsider this matter, as we are informed he meditates a long tour through parts of Europe, of which we should cordially welcome such a description as he could well give us. We shall be delighted to hear that he is preparing such a store of amusement for us; for his sake, we must express our earnest hope that while he omits no incident really illustrative of national peculiarities, and, at the same time, inoffensive to any feelings *that deserve to be considered*, he will forget to remember, or remember to forget, whatever is not worth recording or ought not to be recorded.

We confess too that we do not like the blending of truth and fiction, in which he delights. We profess ourselves implacable enemies of that kind of wit which consists in imposing on the credulity of the simple and unwary; whether it display itself in the broad English hoax, or the more subtle "*mystification*" of the French. Let a story be a story, and there is no latitude we would not allow to the wildest imagination, so it be not either revolting or mischievous. We are far from wanting nothing but facts—God forbid! We have too many of them by half. We are so unhappy as to find as little nourishment as savour in the chopped straw on which fact-gatherers would feed us; but we like to know what we eat. Now we defy any one to divine how much of several of the anecdotes contained in these volumes is reality, and how much is fiction. The author evidently enjoys puzzling us with this jumble of "*Dichtung und Wahrheit*;" but



the effect is disconcerting, and if continued long, or repeated often, fatiguing.

It is time, however, that we should afford our readers an opportunity of judging for themselves of the work now before us. We shall indulge in copious extracts, because it is one of those books which lends itself, as the French say, most readily to selection, and because, we fear, that, as a whole, it will hardly be found interesting to the English public. This is no disparagement to it. The author had his own country almost exclusively in view in writing it, and never thought it adapted to the meridian of England. A considerable portion of it relates to the administration of Prussia, more particularly of Lausitz (Lausatia), the province in which his estates are situated, and to persons and circumstances little known here. We hear, however, some rumours of a translation, and no doubt, with judicious selection, a very amusing little volume may be culled from the two before us. We do not know who has undertaken the task. All we do know is, that it is not Prince Pückler's former translator. The matter of these volumes is desultory; anecdotes, reminiscences, thoughts, pleasantries, descriptions, and, lastly, vagaries of the fancy and the feelings, which are perhaps the most entertaining of all. Among these we select the following, which seems to us to have great scenic beauty. We do not mean to put lance in rest either to attack or defend any of our author's opinions; spinneries and bleaching-grounds are too dear to every truly English heart for us to hazard ourselves upon such sacred ground. We must only beg our utilitarian readers to observe, that in speaking of the *useful*, our author clearly means only the *mechanically* or *materially* useful.

"This evening I took a twilight walk in the park. Gusts of wind blew fitfully along the valley, as, by the light of the potters' fires, I sat me down on the grave of an unknown stranger, and looked thoughtfully on the chapel where my own final resting place awaited me. Night-thoughts flitted like bats around my head. Among others, I pondered on the strange tendency of men, great and small, to attach such importance to their burial; and on the various changes this ceremony had undergone, according to the various phases of humanity.

"The moon rose red and full over the battlements of the old tower, and it was as if she lighted me back into the depths of long departed ages.

"Before my fancy all earthly barriers disappeared. I was suddenly transported back into gray antiquity. As if in a magnetic sleep, I looked back, and it seemed to me that I was about to see the last honours paid to the leader of a barbarian horde.

"Hundreds of giant-limbed warriors, clad in the skins of wild-beasts, moved in wild confusion around the murky fires which blazed

on a freshly-raised hill of regular form, at the foot of which a dark opening seemed destined to receive the lifeless body. Some uttered howls and lamentations; others drank out of the skulls of slaughtered foes. Sidewards, under the shade of a primeval oak, stood priests of ferocious aspect, busied in bloody rites. A loud war-whoop, repeated at intervals, at a sign given by them, overpowered the screams and groans of the wretched victims, who were slaughtered on an altar of stone in honour of the departed chief.\*

"I turned away my eyes with horror, and instantly deep night fell like a curtain, before me, and slumber closed my eyelids.

"When I waked again the scene had totally changed. The wild country wore a more cheerful and softened aspect. Over against me, on a pile of wood regularly constructed, lay the lifeless body of the Roman adventurer Mosca, whom our traditions and chronicles report to have been defeated and slain on this spot. The fragrance of costly spices filled the air; Roman warriors in their picturesque attire stood gracefully grouped around, and here and there a half civilized native was seen mingled among them. Here too were priests:—where were they not? Here too fell sacrifices:—but it was only the blood of beasts which reddened the earth at the feet of these already humanized Gods.

"Again the scene shifted.—

"We now stood in the midst of the romantic feudal times—the delight of the poet and the artist, the aversion of the fanatical leveller.

"In full and glittering armour, his trusty sword by his side, lay the bold Gaugraf in his coffin.† His battle-steed, caparisoned with black, the troop of mounted vassals bearing black banners, the beautiful weeping Castelaine, with a blooming boy on either side, looking mournfully up to his mother and proudly down upon the crowd, followed the bier on horseback. The white-robed Pagan priest was transformed into a ruddy well-fed friar, with the victorious cross in his hand, riding at ease on a sleek demure ass. Thus, with melancholy yet warlike clang, the long train passed before me to the lofty church; and soon, amid lengthened trumpet-blasts, the grave closed over the lordly knight—for ever.

"Here it was as if, like a prologue to the coming farce, a Hanswürst sprang across the scene.—Modern times began. I cannot deny it—it was one of my own ancestors whom I saw lying before me on a splendid state-bed, supported on silken cushions. This too is a knight, and a knight of St. John of Jerusalem; but the crimson coat, the short white breeches, the unpicturesque enormous boots, rather make one think of modern tailors and shoemakers than of ancient knights:

\* Muskau (or Muzakow, i. e. the Town of Men) was a place of peculiar sanctity in the heathen times of the Sorben, who made pilgrimages to it. Traces of the religious rites referred to by the author, are still visible.

† The first castle of Muskau (the present is the third) was built in the twelfth century by Markgraf Johann, whose father, Siegfried of Ringelhain, first drove the Hungarians out of this place, and received a grant of it from the Emperor Henry I.

twelve silver candelabra burn day and night around the body in the darkened room, and strangely enough is this room selected; according to ancient custom, it is the eating hall in which the body reposes.

"At length six noble vassals, remnants of an expiring state of things, carry the departed earl, already livid and decaying, at midnight, by the light of an hundred torches, in a velvet-covered coffin, to the family vault. There he will find a lordly company. What if they should rise up, when no earthly eye wakes, and welcome their new guest to the secrets of the grave?

"Who can say, who has explored, where life really ceases, where death really begins? The night-side of nature is closed against us; the day-side scarcely less a riddle! Whence that inexplicable fear of the dead, who can move not a limb to hurt us?—whence the shudder in the dark—the icy dread of that which once had life appearing again in an insubstantial form? In youth we try to conquer all fear. I once had the trap-door which covers the descent to the vault of my fathers, in the middle of the church, opened, sent the sexton away boldly, and descended alone at midnight. Three coffins had been unclosed at my desire, and the lids lay near. I cannot describe the state of mind in which I found myself. No; it was not fear, it was not shuddering or horror, it was not melancholy;—but as if all these feelings had congealed within me into one indescribable sensation; as if I were myself one of the dead:—this was what I felt.

"My grandfather, who died at eighty-six, was the first I looked at. His snow-white hair had changed back to a flaxen hue in its leaden enclosure. His head lay no more in its former position on its cushion, but had turned sideways towards me, as if to reproach me with having, in youthful wantonness, broken the repose of the grave; yet I consoled myself with the thought, that if he lived again, the dear old man would not be angry. He was too kind, and too free from prejudice.

"In the second coffin, under gold embroidered rags, lay outstretched a long skeleton; it was that of a once powerful man, colonel in the thirty years' war, and Landvogt in the Margravate of Lusatia. His stately portrait still hangs in my father's halls, as, at the head of his cuirassiers under Pappenheim, he charged the flying Swede.

"The third coffin contained a woman, called during her life, the beautiful Ursula. The small skull had changed to a dingy brown; the whole of the body was covered with a long mantle of flame-coloured silk, in wonderful preservation. I touched it; at the first touch it fell almost to dust.

"I sat down, and looked at the long rows of coffins, and at the uncovered dead, in a sort of stupor. At last I fell on my knees and prayed till the ice in my breast melted in sadly sweet tears. Whatever of fear, horror, or other unhallowed emotion was in me, vanished before the feeling of God's presence, and a soft serene melancholy alone remained. Without a feeling of disgust, I kissed the ice-cold face of my kind old grandfather, cut a lock of hair from his venerable

head, and had he at that moment raised himself up and taken me by the hand I should not have shrunk from it. This is the true power, the true value of prayer;—not that in our hour of need, it can avert the threatening calamity; millions of pious men have perished spite of their earnest supplication:—but that it strengthens *ourselves* to withstand and to endure the calamity, be it what it may; and by the more intimate communion with God, makes us find something which *of itself* raises us triumphantly above all earthly things. Can so mighty an influence be delusion? Well is it then for the deluded!

“But let me go on with the series of my funeral pictures;—I have done with the past. Now then for a glance into the future.—I bury myself. But how shall I order this most suitably to the times? The present day apes the energy of the past in the ideal-romantic; but this poetry is deeply tinged with the elements of metaphysical scepticism. Peculiar rights are become ill-sounding words: we must talk of nothing for the future but the universal rights of man. Equality is yet more tempting than liberty, and the most material distinctions of rank are already obliterated.

“Therefore, by my vassals, who already would laugh at the very name, I will certainly not be carried to the grave; neither will I have any thing to do with the mouldy old vault; I have seen enough of it in my life. I am too much enlightened by the spirit of the age, and too good a citizen, to go and rot under the feet of a whole parish, gathered together every Sunday, and to have my share of epidemical diseases on my conscience. No; by my good sturdy Wends,\* whose lives I have tried to make tolerable so long as my own endured, by giving them work whenever they asked for it, and to whom this last day's labour shall be reckoned as ten, I will be carred up that hill, and deposited in the spot whence was my favourite view. If I might vanish there in fire, I should like it better, but I believe the church forbids it: she burns the living only, indeed even them no longer;—but that is our fault, not her's. Nor will I have the glare of torches, but sunlight and music must not be wanting; no gloomy chants, but sweet melodies. What need of sorrow? God lives, though we die, and this is in fact no end, only a new beginning—no death, but a new birth.

“I protest solemnly—if I must be laid out—against all the barbarous clothing of our times; whether it be a tightly-buttoned uniform, which must annoy even the dead, or the monstrosity of a modern *frock*, waistcoat, and pantaloons. If any body should take upon himself to hang an order upon me, I hereby give him my curse in anticipation, for daring so to mock the dead. There is, in my opinion, only one proper way of clothing a corpse; and that is, to cover it with

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\* The Wends (Wenden, or Sorben-Wenden,) are the Slavonic population of the part of Germany in which Lausitz is situated. The town or village of Muskau contains about 1400 people. It has three churches—one for the German, the other two for the Wendish inhabitants. In these latter, the service is of course performed in Slavonic. Prince Pückler, in his description of Ireland, compares the character of the Wends to that of the Irish.

a white cloth, as the heavens throw their white mantle over the slumbering year. Love may seek to raise once more the mysterious covering; yes, for love there is no death, no disfigurement, no decay; he dwells for ever in the realms of eternal beauty. Wert thou but granted me, oh enviable lot! Might but one loving heart beat over me, when mine ceases to beat; one tear of sorrow fall on my pallid cheeks, and one trembling hand support my head,—surely my sleep would be the softer and the sweeter!

“And now again, a hundred years are past since my death. How will love fare when the age of industry (manufactures and commerce) is in all its meridian vigour? that age, whose dawn broke so brightly on the world in my lifetime, with its steam-and-money-*régime*? when the Savage, the Classical, the Romantic, our own age, in which all the former are confounded or mimicked, are all gone by, and the *Useful* rules the world with undisputed sway?

“Once more I feel the touch of the enchanter's wand; once more I see the plains, to the embellishment of which I devoted the best part of my life. What do I see? The river\* which flowed through my park is become navigable; but woodstacks, bleaching-grounds, tenter-grounds,—ugly useful things,—have taken the place of my blooming meadows, my shady groves! The castle—can I believe my eyes? by heaven, it is turned into a spinning mill! ‘Where does the master live?’ I exclaim, impatiently; ‘In that small house in the middle of the kitchen-garden and orchard,’ is the answer of my invisible guide. ‘And does all this, which I called mine, no longer belong to my great-grandson?’ ‘Oh no, that has all been divided among a hundred different proprietors: how could liberty and equality exist if one had so much?’

“I walked up to the little house whose walls opened to my magnetic sight, and saw that Death had again been busy; deserted, in the corner of the room, lay the master of the house, motionless in his bed. ‘Father is dead,’ I heard one son say to another; ‘there is no doubt about it, send him out!’

“Ah, reader, what a funeral! You ask where the body was carried? Can you doubt?—wherever it could be turned to the best account.

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“Yes! this earthly reality is not enough; the dominion of imagination too is necessary. We want not only to know how to advance, but where to stop. And though something higher than the every-day world reveals itself to almost every individual within, yet we want that true Church which might gather us all under the banner of one faith; this would put an end to all contradictions, to all cravings.

“But, my good friends, this is a thing you care little about. All your seeking and striving is after Liberty and Equality. You think they will satisfy all your wants and wishes. Seek rather Liberty and Love—they would profit you more.

“The wild striving after equality, which can never be satisfied on

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\* The Neiss, a clear rocky stream which runs through Muskau.

earth, since Providence has willed it otherwise, is the second bite of the apple, which will cast us out of what remains of Paradise. You will doubtless obtain many advantages at first: there will of course be much less intense suffering; perhaps, too, much less enjoyment; for what beautiful lights will vanish with those shadows! All the virtues of love—voluntary self-denial, humility, self-devotion; child-like obedience, disinterested fidelity till death, generosity, high chivalrous honour—I fear they will gradually wither and dry away on the hard soil of liberty and equality, and give place to sheer justice and rigid selfishness. There will be no more lovers and friends, but partners associated according to contract—for business, or for the continuance of the species. Instead of parental authority will be state-policy; instead of kings, presidents; instead of knights, citizen-soldiers; instead of servants, helpers; lastly, instead of our Lord and God, a constitutional governor of the universe *in abstracto*. Poetry and art, magnificence and luxury, will vanish in the universal flat mediocrity. Every man will have what is just necessary, and none a superfluity. Ambition will no more plague mankind, since there will be nothing to envy; no glittering goal to strive after; no height to climb, where dull household competence is all there is to aspire to. In a word, no burning colours will play over the surface of life; a cold grey upon grey, my dear posterity, are the only shades you are destined to interweave in the noisy loom of time. Much good may it do you! Willingly shall I sink down before those days arrive, with my dear motley old world; as the Catholic would rather rest beneath the dim and many-coloured light which falls on his grave from the jewelled window of his gorgeous cathedral, than in the broad daylight of a barn-like Protestant church."

It will be seen that, though a Liberal, our author is by no means a democrat. Indeed, he has as high notions of the utility of an aristocratic order as any Tory amongst us. He does not, however, think that the people are created for the service of the aristocracy; but that a body of men possessing wealth, leisure, and higher mental culture than can possibly be attained without those two advantages, *is capable of becoming* an element of the utmost value to society; that, indeed, no society will arrive at a very high pitch of civilization without the existence, under one name or another, of such an element. He is probably the more led into this view of the matter by the peculiar circumstances of his own country. It is unquestionably the plan of the Prussian government, as it is of all strong monarchies, to keep down the nobility or great proprietors, with whom, otherwise, the monarch must always be content to hold a more or less divided empire. Nobody can look back to the feudal times of Germany without confessing that this policy finds great justification in the multiplied abuses of aristocratical power. At the same time, as every course of policy has its attendant evils and abuses, we can per-



fectly understand that the complaints of excessive generalization; of ignorance of, or inattention to, local peculiarities; of burthensome multiplication of government officers, and of needless interference with the affairs of individuals, are not without foundation. They are the evils which a reasonable person expects to find attached to a single-handed and active government, however conscientiously intent on promoting the good of the whole. Prince Pückler-Muskau (for we may permit ourselves to speak of him as the author), though himself a considerable sufferer from certain recent changes made by the government in the relation of the peasantry to the landholders, gives it full credit for the justice and benevolence of its intentions, but evidently doubts the expedience of the means used for the designed end; viz. the improvement of the condition of the peasantry. This question we cannot go into here; but we perfectly agree with him that a body of landed proprietors who *understood their vocation*; who were educated up to it, and who made its fulfilment as completely the business of life, as other men do the profession by which they gain their bread, would be of incalculable advantage to any country—beacon-lights kindled on every eminence in the land, to light and cheer and guide the dwellers in the lower grounds. All that is wanting (alas, what a want!) is the motive; a motive as strong as that which goads the poor and obscure man to toil for the wealth and the distinction which the hereditary proprietor is born to. Is it impossible that a highly corrected and refined public opinion may in time supply a motive, if not quite as powerful, yet powerful enough to urge on generous youth in so noble a career? Whenever popular respect and popular applause become worth having—whenever they are so directed that a man of delicate honour and scrupulous conscience can propose them to himself as objects—then, and not till then, will ambition be turned into noble and useful channels. Men of wealth and station will not submit to comparative neglect and contempt; and will labour in *their* vocation, and addict themselves earnestly to pursuits for which they possess such peculiar advantages; in which, indeed, it is absolutely impossible that any class possessed of less leisure could compete with them, and which would secure to them an ascendancy the most glorious to themselves and the most beneficial to society. Whether this be not the most Utopian of all Utopias we will not pretend to say. It seems to be the drift of the author's remarks, and we think the feelings which dictate them do him the highest honour. In a passage we have quoted later we see that he trusts, and no doubt he is right, to the universal diffusion of intelligence for the tranquil cure of all the grievances he complains of in Prussia.



But we have been led much further than we intended, and must return to our author. Those who know how intense is the prejudice against the Jews, in otherwise unprejudiced Germany, will estimate the liberality of thought shown in this passage.

"I am often out of humour with the English because they are so great, and yet so little. But to-day, as I laid the newspaper out of my hand, I felt impressed with deep and unalloyed respect for them. This emancipation of the Jews, which I mentioned just now, is really an important and glorious mark of the progress of intellectual culture among them, and will have a beneficial effect in softening and enlightening their religious opinions; for one step towards good leads as surely to better, as, on the other hand, '*das Böses immer Böseres muss gebähren*.'\* Hail to you then, noble people, who in so many things have lighted on the rest of the world to improvement, and have now laid the axe to the root of this stupid barbarism, with which throughout Europe we have so long, to our eternal shame, persecuted a numerous class of our fellow-men, and first depraved them, that we might afterwards upbraid them with that depravation! It is a beautiful final victory of humanity and justice, held up as an example to the world; and we willingly throw a veil over the tendencies which manifest themselves among us on the same subject. I don't know how other Christians feel, but for my own part I can say, that since I came to years of reason, I never met an educated Jew without feeling a sort of shame; for I felt that it was not we who had a right to despise the believers in his creed, but they to despise us.

"Nor will it stop here. The present age, with all its defects and all its painful throes, yet treads one hateful prejudice after another into the dust.

"It is, however, a remarkable proof of the inconsistency of men, that the noble motion for the emancipation of the Jews, and the ludicrous bill for the better observance of the Sabbath (which is full of the most inconceivable absurdities) could come under debate in the very same session of the English parliament; and that there was the same small majority *for* the former, as *against* this fool's-cap-and-bells bill."

We take almost at random a few detached reflexions.

"What are we to call serious?—what child's play? To which of these categories belong such great public and state actions, as, for instance, the gentle, peaceful, murdering at Antwerp, with the *prisoners of peace* of the French, and the incognito war of the English? the *heroism* of the king of Holland, and the *liberty* of the Belgians? or the revolutions of the French, recurring like Olympic games? or their challenges to four thousand men? or the Frankfort enormities? all in broad contrast to the immoveable policy of other powers, who weigh down their people with monstrous armies only to preserve eternal peace!

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\* The bad must ever give birth to worse.

"The political events since Napoleon's time seem to me very like the ballet after a tragedy. Hitherto we have had nothing but exercises of the figurantes; we are still waiting for the solo dancers; nothing remarkable has appeared but a few capers in the east. In the mean time there is a great deal of unpleasant crowding in all parts of the theatre; cabal and noise and confusion in the pit; and desperate heat in the boxes. Those who have not a great passion for play-going had better stay at home."

The thought contained in the few following lines is well worth the attention of those who talk of "encouraging the arts." The superficial notions current about Art, and the sordid views of it—as if it were a trade or a pastime—sufficiently prove that the soil whereon art should grow is dried up. We may rake and water the scanty surface as long as we like—no vigorous or splendid vegetation will spring up. Some plants are pretty and feeble—some distorted and misgrown; it cannot be otherwise, and all the "encouragement" in the world will produce nothing better. Prince Pückler goes to the bottom of the want:—the sentiment out of which the highest beauty and sublimity in art arose—*the sentiment of the superhuman*; the profound belief in something better, nobler, fairer, more glorious—or more potent, more terrible—than we walkers on the earth. It is necessary, first, that this sentiment, this belief should exist; and, secondly, that it should not be too spiritual and abstract; for then it becomes (as to our sensual conceptions) "without form and void." This is no place to discuss the attendant good and evil of those different states of the human mind; what is certain is, that, between the believers in nothing but what they see and the believers in what is far removed from the ken of the mind's eye in its most daring moods, art goes to the ground.

"Somebody says in a favourite book, truly enough, 'A falling off in art can never fail to follow upon a total falling off from religion;' but then he adds, 'Music is the only art which still forms an integral part of our religious worship; we must therefore use it as the only means of restoring a more intimate union of all the arts with religion.'

"This is a strange conclusion. Art is degenerate because the true sentiment of religion—like all poetry—is, in our days, become feeble. Were this first strengthened, the arts would bloom again of themselves: but you cannot reverse the matter. If music be necessary to this strengthening process, perhaps the most effectual sort would be a thirty years' cannonading; the wailing of a hundred thousand wretches dying of the plague; a few earthquakes, and a partial deluge."

The following is part of a long gossip between old brothers in arms:

"Another ball, which was given about the same time, had an occasion which was almost touching. It was given by a private of the

Garde. This man had distinguished himself in an extraordinary way at the battle of Bautzen, under the eye of the Emperor, who desired that his name might be written down. For some time nothing came of it. It was not till the last week of the truce that an ordnance officer of the Emperor came to Grh——, asked for a soldier of such a name, who was just sitting at table with some of his comrades, and then and there delivered to him his brevet as captain in the very same regiment in which he had served, with a bill for three thousand francs for his outfit. I happened to be in the same room at the inn, and never did I see a man so out of himself with joy as this bearded warrior. With French vivacity he snatched a ring from his finger and the watch from his pocket, thrust both into the hand of his host, and desired him to regale all his comrades who might come into the house in the course of the day, at his expense. Every body must drink a glass of wine with him to the health of the great Napoleon. He told everybody, almost with tears in his eyes, of his good fortune, and expatiated on the '*finesse du petit caporal*,' in giving him this distinction in the very regiment in which he had first served. The next day he gave his comrades the ball I speak of, at which, no doubt, a good part of the outfit money went. But at that time we cared little for money. Every one lived for the present day as completely as he could, uncertain what would become of him the next."

"And yet that is not always the case," interrupted his son-in-law. "Often, as every old soldier knows by experience, a dim presentiment seems to announce near death with inevitable certainty. I remember, among others, one very curious instance of this, though of an earlier date, and of which my father was eye-witness. The Saxon army lay then encamped with the Prussian at Biessingen. One day Rittmeister von L—— came into the tent of my father, who commanded the carbineers, and asked him to be so good as to procure him witnesses to his will as quickly as possible, as he wished to make it. The Colonel joked him for this whim; the more, as no engagement with the enemy was at that time expected, and endeavoured to dissuade him. All he could say, however, was in vain, and he was obliged at length to comply. The Rittmeister assured him with great earnestness that he believed he had had certain notice of his approaching death; and that he could not die easy, if, spite of this warning, he neglected to provide for his wife and children. All was therefore done as he desired, and, strange enough, the same night he fell, and that, in the most extraordinary way, as came out on the judicial examination of his servant. 'I was lying in the tent near the horses,' said he, 'when my master called me by my name, and ordered me to saddle the little brown horse and lead him out. This horse my master never rode, because it was the worst he had, apt to stumble, and very weak in the crupper. I wondered, therefore, very much at this sudden fancy, but it was my place to obey orders, so I brought out the horse ready. When I came, the tent was open, and I plainly saw my master lying sound asleep; so I called out loud, 'Herr Rittmeister, here I am with your horse!' He started up, seemed greatly astonished, and asked me who told me

to do that. 'You ordered it yourself, said I.' 'I'? said he, angrily; 'you stupid fellow, you are dreaming or drunk! Unsaddle the horse directly, and go to sleep. I have never had a thought of giving you any such order.' At this instant the alarm was suddenly given, and the Rittmeister had hardly time to spring upon his brown horse when the fight with the enemy, who had surprised us, began. The regiment of carabineers immediately received orders to attack, and drove the enemy back. But the Rittmeister's bad horse fell with him in leaping a ditch, and, like Max Piccolomini, he was ridden over by his own men. The next day he was buried in the same grave with three other officers who were killed."

This story is followed by another of the same kind; for, as every body must have observed, nothing is so generative as a wonderful story; but we have no room for more. The instructive part of this long military *geschwätz*, or yarn, as our seamen would call it, is what it is impossible too often to repeat, or too variously to illustrate—the atrocious temper and shameless immorality generated by war. The French use *démoralisation* to express only loss of courage; to us it appears that their armies were never more demoralized than when triumphant. It is incidentally mentioned that General Vandamme, whose gardens at Cassel are celebrated, had halted one day at the author's castle on his march into Russia, and had told him much of this sort, "among other things, that the whole garden was surrounded with iron railings of different patterns, *all of which he had taken out of German churches*; and that his cellar was not badly filled with wine, also out of German convents." Curiously enough, the author was afterwards of a party that took Cassel. "I had then," says he, "an opportunity of satisfying my curiosity about Vandamme's pleasure-grounds. I found all exactly as he had told me; but I suffered no reprisals; only I had one old wine cask, on which was written in great letters, *Aus dem Kloster Mülk*, brought out of the cellar into daylight, and divided among my men." We, in our sea-girt isle, can form no notion of the state of the countries which lay on the line of march of the hordes which swept over Europe. Our author says, "I remember a French general who had served in Egypt, marched through my lands, on his way to that sometime Russian *partie de plaisir*, when he, *accompagné de plusieurs autres*, did me the honour to consider my castle as his own, and even carried his courtesy so far as regularly to invite me to dinner in my own house.\* This fine fellow (he called on me on his way back, and begged me *pour Dieu* to give him an

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\* Muskau has been singularly devastated by war in all ages. In our times, considerably more than half a million men, Russians, Prussians, and French, marched to and fro through this domain, and generally halted in it.

old coat) used to tell me many interesting particulars about Arabian horses."

Here follow some anecdotes of horses, and an eulogium on those noble, and beautiful, and susceptible creatures, which it goes to our hearts to omit. But as some of our readers have doubtless the bad taste to prefer men to horses, we sacrifice our own inclinations in deference to them.

" CONGRESS AT AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

" *October*.—A lady, distinguished for her clever verses and her solid talents,—equally reflecting and vivacious, learned and amiable,—to-day gave an entertainment which the sovereigns honoured with their presence.

" My patriotism triumphed in our king. He looked so plain and simple, and yet like the lord and master. After him, I was most struck with Prince Metternich, who was always an object of peculiar interest to me from the time when, in my earliest youth, I saw him enter on his great career, as ambassador at Dresden; above all, when I watched him in the company of those of higher rank. It was impossible not to feel that he was a man born to command, let his station be what it might; and truly he understands that art as few men do. *He* is no '*idéologue*,' but Germany has more to thank him for than she will readily perceive. History will not refuse him a place far above Kaunitz, and on a line with Richelieu, Burleigh, and other truly great ministers, such as their age required, though often placed in opposition with it.

" Prince Metternich in France, in England, in Prussia, will always appear a totally different man as to his external influence, and yet will always remain the same; that is, in a word, a man who understands his position. Thus in Austria he is that, and that only, which he can and must be;—but for that very reason let others take care when their interests come into collision with those of Austria.

" *Au reste*, Prince Metternich knows as well how to flatter vanity as how to mortify arrogance, or to anticipate it. A friend this morning related to me the following characteristic scene:—

" 'At the sort of court which the prince held every evening,' said he, 'he let two Russians of rank and influence, and in the immediate suite of the emperor, kick their heels in his antechamber for above an hour; though we could all perfectly well see the prince (who never acts without a purpose) through the half-open door of his cabinet, apparently busied with works of art, walkingly leisurely to and fro, and sometimes kneeling down on the ground to unroll prints, while an artist stood near him apparently giving explanations. The Russians had already begun to exhibit various marks of offended impatience, when the little Count M—— came in, looked hastily round the room, and was going out again; upon which one of the Russian generals went up to him, and, not without visible vexation, begged him to call the prince's attention to *their* presence. The Count went, and as long a time again elapsed, and the scene in the cabinet still went on. At

length he reappeared, and with that exaggerated politeness which one may almost call sarcastic, he exhausted himself in apologies;—that the prince was *désolé* at being prevented by urgent and important business from having the honour of receiving their visit, &c. After a few bitter-sweet phrases, the northern warriors strode out with thundering steps, and I, who had only staid so long to see the issue of this curious affair, after them. I can't deny it—my German heart felt a little mischievous pleasure, for, thought I, if we had a German emperor, his prime minister would not need—. But why should I say what I thought? Thoughts are duty-free, but yet they must not pass the frontiers.

“The Duc de Richelieu struck us by the elegance and dignity of his manners, and also by the ash-grey hue of his countenance, out of which all the blood seemed to have vanished—an appearance very suitable for the prime minister of France of that period. One was forced often involuntarily to think of M. de Talleyrand's *mot*—‘*C'est l'homme de la France qui connaît le mieux les affaires d'Odessa*’—for every moment somebody was talking to him about that place, by way of making himself agreeable,—an affectation which did not seem to strike the duke.

“The Emperor of Russia was uncommonly condescending. He took several ladies' tea-cups, and enchanted everybody by his affability. His Russians imitated their exalted model with great success. Capo d'Istrias was the only exception. He seemed to wish to stand alone.

“What is the reason that nobody can go to Austria without a feeling as if it were Sunday? What is the reason that nobody, no German at least, can see the Emperor of Austria without a feeling of affection and respect? There is a peculiar charm shed over the land and its master, which has been often and strongly marked in history, but which is more easily felt than defined. Personal character does much, but that is far from being all.

“The Duke of Wellington attracted much attention. At that time his laurel-wreath was fresh and brilliant; the civic crown of thorns had not as yet crushed and spoiled it. He looked haughty and high-bred. His face expressed thought and power, but little genius;—a periphery thoroughly filled, indeed, but narrow.

“Lord Castlereagh, pale and painfully smiling, looked like a vampire who has lost his prey. Near him was the Prince Chancellor von Hardenberg, a noble, refined and genial old man, but already betraying considerable marks of feebleness. His manners were those of a perfect man of the world, but, in comparison with those of Prince Metternich, less commanding and unconstrained—nay, almost timid.

“General Benningsen, a veteran out of favour, and his wife, formed a truly antique group. Nearly blind, with snow-white curling hair, tall, imposing, suffering and emaciated, led by the beautiful young Pole, he reminded me forcibly of Belisarius. Many a serious reflection besides did he awaken. His conversation, however, answered but little to his impressive exterior; he talked of nothing but horses and the battle of Eylau, where, as many maintained, it depended just on him to have given Napoleon a complete defeat. The excellent counsels of the Prussian general were paralyzed by his timidity.



"Madame Catalani now seated herself at the pianoforte. The Emperor of Russia, always *serviable*, arranged the desk for her. She began—'God'—. At this moment a postilion's horn sounded such a blast under the window of the low house, that, not without some suppressed laughter of the bystanders, the great cantatrice was obliged to stop. The diligence drove by, and she began again—'God save'—; but now the *beiwagen*,\* with an equally musical postilion, followed its principal, and alas! the second horn was louder and more dissonant than the first. It was in vain to think of keeping one's countenance; everybody burst out a laughing, and the confused singer was obliged to chew a piece of rhubarb (which she always carried about her) before she could make another attempt. This time, however, she succeeded in getting through 'God save the King,' without interruption.

"I took a Graf home in my carriage whose Grafschaft had somehow been lost. He was looking about for it at the Congress, like a needle, and in the meantime had nothing he could call his own but his old Dutch uniform. He was a droll old man, whose misfortunes had not robbed him of his *embonpoint*, for his shabby uniform set as tight over his portly belly as if, like that of one of our deceased majors of the Guards, it had been braced together with an iron hoop. He made himself merry at the expense of some of the caricatures we had left, not without humour, and sometimes with a grain of bitterness. Lady C—— held the first rank. 'Her dress, her figure, her conversation,' he said, 'were all of a piece. With her deep voice, her colossal height and enormous bulk, and the feathers on her head nodding at every word she spoke, she looked at once the champion and the wet-nurse of Old England.'

"There were but few German ladies in Aix-la-Chapelle, but those few were models of sweetness and grace. I shall mention only the Princess of Thurn and Taxis."

Among the jokes, this seems to us one of the best:—

"The gate (of the Herrnhuter's churchyard) opened, and a tall man entered. After we had passed each other two or three times, I spoke to him, and admired the beauty of the churchyard. 'I beg pardon, sir,' said he, with Saxon accent, 'I am not a Herrnhuter; I am from *Dresen*.' The *naïveté* of this restored my spirits, for the good man clearly thought I only praised the churchyard by way of paying him a compliment, which he modestly declined: like the honest Austrian, who being at a sermon where every body was in tears, was the only person who did not weep. On this, the greatest enthusiast of the congregation turned to him with some displeasure, and said—'And you, sir, are you unmoved?' 'I hope you won't be angry, sir,' said the good man alarmed, 'I belong to another parish.'"

An obliging friend tells us this is old. Long life to it! It de-

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\* The coach which follows the *cilwagen*, and carries the luggage.



serves to be as old as the hills; but it loses all its pretty little Austriacisms in translating.

The last article in the book is a sketch of Berlin society, beginning with the court and descending to the *bourgeoisie*. Madame de Staël says, "*Berlin est une ville qui ne laisse pas de souvenir.*" "This only proves," says our author, "that a very clever woman may say a very silly thing." In this we quite agree with him; but in order to feel the sort of impression from Berlin which creates *souvenirs*, one must know something of that vast quantity of intellectual light which from the time of Frederic the Great has emanated from thence; and of this, in spite of all Madame de Staël's genius, and in spite of her book upon Germany, she had a very imperfect conception. The author says—

"Prussia is incontestably an object of interest, whether she be loved or hated:—despised she cannot be by any one, *for she ascends*. When the sun sinks, people grow sleepy, but they open their eyes to his rising beams."

"The political constitution of Prussia may leave something to desire; but where light is universally diffused, other defects are but of secondary importance. Under any form, even the worst, human happiness is better secured with that, than without it, by institutions the most artfully contrived. These defects will, however, of necessity, and without any violence, disappear, and all the wishes of *true* liberals, who have nothing in common with frantic destroyers, will be fulfilled."

Though, as he says, and as his book will testify, a very bad courtier, he speaks with great attachment and respect of the reigning family, and especially defends the Crown Prince against the insinuations (which he complains have been so frequent in foreign newspapers,) that his accession to the throne is an event looked forward to with dread by his future subjects. These rumours our author treats as mere calumny. We earnestly hope he may be right. There are few things in which Europe is more deeply interested than the tranquillity of Prussia. If she has peace without and within, her population can hardly, under their actual system of education, fail to advance to a high pitch of moral and intellectual culture, and to operate most favourably on other nations, as she has already done on her bitterest enemy, France, and as she undoubtedly will ere long do on England.

Among the amusements, he speaks of some very curious balls, where every step in the ladder of society is to be found congregated. Of these balls some idea may be formed from the laudable attention to the toilet of the beaux, shown in the order, "that no gentleman be admitted in *dirty* boots." Spite of these refinements,—perhaps because of them,—the balls seem to be dull; but the suppers, enlivened by an incessant *feu-de-joie* of corks from champagne bottles, are joyous enough.

"The last of these balls I was at," says the author, "our gay Prince Albrecht wandered with his adjutants from room to room, unable to find a vacant place at a table. I couldn't help laughing as C — exclaimed with enthusiasm, 'That's what you call an absolute monarchy, where the king's son can't find a table to eat his supper at, because his good citizens have taken possession of them all! A constitutional Orleans would take care to be better served!' 'Yes,' said I, 'that is one reason why we want no revolutions, and are so happy as to have a sound body that doesn't want bloodletting every year or two.'"

We had marked many other passages for translation, but what we have laid before our readers will suffice to give an idea of the varied contents and the various merits of the book. There are passages which show the author's well-known talent for description of natural objects. His ascent in a balloon in 1817, with Herr Reichardt, contains some most striking examples of this. A Transylvanian bear-hunt, taken down from the relation of Alcibiades de Tavernier, a nephew of the celebrated traveller, is admirable. We regret we have not room for it.

We take leave of our author, hoping soon to meet him again on his own undisputed and well-won ground—landscape gardening. Though England is, as he is never backward to acknowledge, the classic land of gardening, we are convinced his acute perception of natural beauty, and his long and large experience, will enable him to produce a work of peculiar interest on that subject.

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ART. VIII.—*Treaty for the Conveyance of Letters between England and France.* (Parliamentary Papers, 1834.)

PUBLIC attention has been recently directed to the necessity of making important alterations in the management of the Post Office. There is a very general impression that this department might be rendered more serviceable and less costly than it is at present. The subject must shortly be taken up seriously in parliament, and the financial part of it will receive due attention. The state of the Inland Office will no doubt be thoroughly investigated, for almost every individual in the country feels a direct personal interest in its good or bad management. But, comparatively speaking, few persons are inconvenienced by the obstacles which the regulations of the Foreign Post Office throw in the way of a cheap and frequent communication with the continent and with America; and there is reason to apprehend that this part of the inquiry may be slurred over. Many also imagine that every practicable improvement has already been effected in this section of the Post Office. This, however, is a

mistake; for it will not be difficult to show that much more might be done with very little exertion by our own government, even without the co-operation of foreigners, and without any sacrifice of revenue.

The Treaty which we have cited at the head of this article was concluded on the 14th of June last, with the declared view and intent of improving the communication between England and France, and maintaining the good understanding which existed between the governments and people of the two countries. It is to be regretted that with such good intentions the negotiators were able to effect so little. The simple result of their labours, about which the public have heard so much, was the establishment of a daily post, or rather a post six days in the week, between England and France. This seems to be considered a mighty achievement; but when it is remembered that individuals of spirit and capital have for years experienced no difficulty in establishing and keeping up daily lines of steam-boats and coaches from London to Paris, and from Paris to London, the only wonder must be that measures were not taken immediately after the peace to put the post office arrangements of both countries on at least an equally good footing.

That an improvement, however, has been effected by the daily delivery and transmission of French letters, is undeniable. The complaint is that the noble postmaster-general did not proceed still further, and equalize the postage on foreign and domestic letters. Why should a letter from Calais be charged one shilling and twopence postage, and one from Dover only eightpence? Why should a person sending a letter to his correspondent at Paris pay one shilling and twopence inland postage to Dover, when, if the letter was to stop at Dover, it would be charged at little more than half that sum? It is not the cost of the conveyance across the channel that makes the difference; this is not pretended: but the only reason that can be, or is, assigned for the extra charge is, that it is a *foreign* letter in the one case, and an English one in the other. That the letter is going abroad is no doubt a complete justification of the extra impost to the minds of all those enlightened persons, who fear that a communication with foreign countries will weaken John Bull's pugnacious propensities, and who would gladly see the island encircled by Berkeley's wall of brass. But the Duke of Richmond professes to be desirous of improving the communication with the continent. Surely then we might expect that he would exert himself to remove so great an impediment to this intercourse.

It is not merely on letters from France that this additional charge is made; a single letter from Germany is charged 1s. 8d.;

from Italy, 1s. 11d.; from Spain, 2s. 2d.; from Madeira, 2s. 7d.; from the United States, 2s. 2d.; from Mexico, 3s.; from the Brazils, Buenos Ayres and Columbia, 3s. 6d. Letters may be carried in first-rate vessels to all these countries for a mere trifle. The Post Office charge in New York for a ship-letter is six cents, about 3½d.: this is the expense of the transport across the Atlantic. But our Post Office demands 2s. 2d. for conveying a letter for New York from St. Martin's-le-Grand to St. Katherine's Docks. An English letter would be carried 400 miles for half the money. One would really suppose, either that letter-writing to foreign countries was, like gin-drinking, a vice to be discouraged by legislative enactments; or that there were foreign establishments for the manufacture of letters which came into competition with similar ones in England, which it was thought necessary to protect. Were this the case, we should have something like a rational motive for over-taxing the foreign correspondence of the country. But as one letter begets another, as the more we receive the more we send, and the more we send the more money finds its way into the public treasury, it seems to be a wretched policy, even regarding the affair as one merely of pounds, shillings and pence, to adhere to our present high discriminating duties on foreign letters.

In fact, in a financial point of view, the system has worked badly. As we foresee that the main objection to the diminution of the rates of foreign postage will be its asserted tendency to reduce the revenue, it may be worth while to dwell a little on this part of the subject.

It will not be denied that the foreign commerce of Great Britain has increased prodigiously during the last twenty years: Possibly it may not have been a very profitable trade; that does not affect our argument: the vast increase in the amount of business done is unquestionable. The number of British residents abroad in pursuit of business, pleasure and cheap living, is much greater than formerly. Men of science, literature and business, from the continent, and from North and South America, have visited this country in much greater numbers during the last few years than they did fifteen or twenty years ago. All these circumstances must have produced a very great extension of our foreign correspondence, and the Post Office revenue *ought* to exhibit a proportionate increase. But how stands the fact? In 1814, the gross revenue for Great Britain was £2,005,987; in 1820, £1,993,885; in 1825, £2,160,390; in 1826, £2,184,514; and in 1833, £2,062,839. Thus we see that there has been no increase worth notice since 1814: since 1826 there has been an absolute decrease of £120,000.

Supposing the internal correspondence of the country to have been stationary, the increase from the foreign correspondence ought to have been sensibly felt in the Post Office receipts. But no one will be hardy enough to assert that there has not been a vast increase in the number of letters written at home during the last few years. A greater proportion of a growing population have become letter-writers. This seems to prove that the rates of *inland* postage have been so high, as to compel recourse to unlawful channels for the transmission of an immense number of letters. But these inland rates are moderate when compared with those charged upon *foreign* letters. The imposition of heavy fines does not prevent the sending of letters by private conveyances. The only way to diminish this smuggling, and to augment the quantity of letters, is to lower the rates of postage. It will be found that the Post Office, like the Excise, will afford proof of the superior productiveness of low over high taxes.

This view is confirmed by a reference to the state of the French Post Office revenue; which is more than double what it was in 1815, as will appear from the following figures. In 1815 the net amount was 7,688,085 francs; in 1820, 11,527,788; in 1825, 14,479,305; in 1831, 15,171,000. The returns of the first quarter of 1834 justify the expectation that the revenue for the current year will be nearly a million of francs more than in 1831. Now what are the French rates of postage as compared with those charged in England? The conveyance of a single letter the distance of 15 miles in France is charged 2*d.*, in England 4*d.*; 20 miles, in France 2*d.*, in England 5*d.*; 50 miles, in France 3*d.*, in England 7*d.*; 170 miles, in France 5*d.*, in England 10*d.*; and so on. Yet the English revenue has been nearly stationary during the twenty years in which the French revenue has been doubled. The cost of collection in France is considerably greater, in proportion to the amount received, than in England; but not so much greater as we should be led to conclude from the fact, that letters are delivered in France over twice as great a space as in the United Kingdom; and that there is a *daily* post delivery in every village of France, while there are several districts in England which do not enjoy that advantage. The total number of persons employed by the French Post Office in Paris and the departments exceeds 8000. Moreover the state of the roads in this country is much better than in France; and the French Post Office authorities, instead of making their contract for the carriage of letters at the cheapest rate, are compelled to employ the *maitres de poste* alone. They calculate that they lose five millions of francs annually by this monopoly.

The mode in which our Post Office accounts are kept, or rather

the mode in which the Returns of the Post Office revenue are made, prevents our ascertaining distinctly the actual amount received for foreign postage. In the Finance Accounts for the year ending January, 1833, we find the revenue derived from "unpaid letters outwards, and paid letters inwards, and *ship* letters, &c. charged to country postmasters," all put down in one sum. Some of these letters, we presume, are foreign letters. The sum of £62,365 was received in 1832, for "postage of letters received by the windowmen, &c. of the Foreign office." This, we apprehend, must refer solely to the postage of letters which are sent abroad from the metropolis, and of a portion of those which arrive from abroad for residents in it. But though we are thus at a loss for distinct accounts of the sum total of foreign postage, yet it is quite safe to conclude that there has been no increase of any consequence during the last fifteen or twenty years. If there were, it would affect the gross amount of Post Office revenue, which has not increased, although the inland correspondence ought to have been vastly augmented with the growth of trade and population.

The Post Office authorities have been negotiating with Belgium for the establishment of a communication four times a week instead of twice. This arrangement has not yet been completed; and we do not consider it desirable that it should be. At present, we send steam packets twice a week to Ostend, at a very considerable but needless expense; that is to say, an expense which there would be no occasion to incur, provided we came to some reasonable understanding with the French direction of the posts. Mails are despatched daily from Calais to Belgium, Holland, and all parts of Germany, and there really seems no sound reason why we should not take advantage of this to maintain a daily communication with all parts of the continent. Our letters might go with the French, at the same moderate rates of postage. What a miserable business it is to keep sending two or even four packets a week to Ostend, when at a less cost we may despatch and receive letters daily from the continent by means of the French arrangements. But our Post Office, which ought to promote public convenience in this, as in so many other ways, is a lamentable obstruction to it. The fact is, that the old notion, that all communication with foreign countries was a privilege of the Secretary of State, has not yet been fully eradicated from the minds of men in office.

We have laid the more stress on this point, because our Post Office authorities appear to be exceedingly well satisfied with the arrangement effected last year with the French administration



of the Posts, as far as regards the transmission of *letters*, whatever disappointment may be felt that nothing was done in regard to newspapers and periodical publications. But the country neither is, nor ought to be, satisfied, unless it is prepared to sanction the opinion that it is wise and liberal to incur a *pecuniary loss* for the sake of obstructing the friendly intercourse of Englishmen with foreigners.

Among some papers relating to the Post Office, recently printed for the use of members of parliament, in addition to a copy of the Treaty for the conveyance of letters, there is a note, dated the 16th July, 1833, from the Duke of Richmond to Lord Althorp, explanatory of the reasons which induced his Grace to reject several propositions of the French authorities for facilitating the mutual circulation of newspapers, periodicals, proof sheets, &c. in England and France. From this it appears that the public were right in suspecting that the monopoly of the clerks in the Foreign Office was the principal obstacle to an arrangement for the circulation of newspapers in Great Britain and France respectively, either free, or at a moderate rate of postage. In the following passage of his note the Duke of Richmond alludes to this proposition.

“ The circulation of Foreign journals in this country, and the transmission of English newspapers abroad, has been from time immemorial the privilege of the clerks of the Foreign Post Office, and the proceeds form the sole remuneration for official services to the head of that office and fifteen clerks.

“ If salaries were to be paid to those persons, the aggregate would not amount to less than £3500, and it is for the Treasury to decide whether the revenue shall be burdened with an additional charge to this extent; *and this, not for the purpose of any general advantage to the public at large, but solely for the relief of the few who are desirous of receiving Foreign journals in this country, or English newspapers abroad, as articles of luxury.*”

As the government has wisely determined to abolish this monopoly, we shall merely remark upon this passage, that it betrays a contraction of ideas which we should have little expected to find in such a quarter. Why are foreign journals ‘articles of luxury’ within the compass of few men’s means? Is it not because this very monopoly of the Foreign Post Office clerks has rendered them so expensive? The annual cost of any of the daily French newspapers is only about £3. 3s., and the expense of transport is a mere trifle; while the rate at which they have been hitherto supplied more than trebles their cost to the English reader. It is the monopoly therefore which makes them dear. And yet the



fact of their high cost, which necessarily renders them in some degree articles of luxury, is used as an argument against any arrangement for furnishing them at reduced prices!

The Postmaster General rejected the liberal offer of the French authorities to circulate in both countries periodical publications, pamphlets, catalogues, music, proof-sheets &c., free of expense. His principal reason for this refusal was the insufficiency of the means of conveyance at his disposal—he was “precluded from entertaining the question by the limit of practicability.” The capacious and leisurely mail diligences in France, he says, have an advantage in this respect over the small and rapid English mails. But the French *malle-poste* is not large, and by no means leisurely. No one supposes that an arrangement of the kind proposed could be entered into, unless both the contracting parties were disposed to earnest exertion for the public advantage. Where there is a will, there is a way. It appears from the reports of the Revenue Commissioners, that owing to the scarcity of passengers on many lines of road (for travellers seem in great measure to have abandoned the mails), it is difficult to procure contractors to furnish and horse the coaches that are required. Suppose that our mail coaches were to carry six instead of eight passengers (and they seldom carry as many as six), there would in all probability be abundant room saved for all the French and other foreign journals that would circulate in this country. Each mail coach passenger may be supposed to weigh upon an average at least 150 pounds: two passengers therefore would give 300 pounds; we should think it extremely unlikely that more than three cwt. of French publications would ever be sent by post beyond the metropolis. At present a large proportion of our own periodicals are forwarded by mail, independent of the Post Office, to different parts of the island. In the absence of data on which to form a calculation, of course we do not mean to speak positively in regard to these quantities; but there really appears to be nothing so formidable in the French proposition as to have caused its instant rejection; and it is disheartening to hear the head officer of an establishment which costs the country six or seven hundred thousand pounds annually, talking of the impracticability of circulating through the post such of the French journals as Englishmen might wish to read.

Upon the Duke of Richmond's own showing we must question the propriety of his rejection of the French propositions. But it should be known that the French Post Office authorities deny in the strongest terms that he has made a fair representation of the case. They are preparing a counter statement; letters have been received from authority on this subject, saying that the “*Director*

*General of the French Post Office will send a complete refutation of the Duke of Richmond's errors."* The statements in his Grace's letter to Lord Althorp are represented as being "far from facts;" and it is said that the French account "will show things in a very different light from the Duke's statements." Should these promises be made good, of course the public interest will require that the negotiation should be renewed, and under more favourable auspices.

It is much to be regretted that the revenue commissioners who made such searching inquiries into the other departments of the Post Office, were prevented from carrying them into the Colonial and Foreign departments. But after the demise of Lord Liverpool, who was the steady supporter of Lord Wallace in all his economical propositions, the interest of the Treasury turned against him and his reports. A person who held high office under the Duke of Wellington, and who had great *Treasury* influence, is considered to have been the principal cause of the inquiries of the commission being put a stop to in July 1830. The commissioners were then in the midst of their researches into the Colonial Post, and had indeed prepared a draft of a report on the subject. It is well known that the commission would not have been dissolved had the Post Office been left alone. This fact should render the representatives of the people more firmly resolved to prosecute an inquiry into that department which the commissioners did not report upon, though they did not scruple to declare the necessity of great changes in it; and we trust that should a committee of the House of Commons be appointed, the Foreign Post will receive its fair share of attention, notwithstanding the efforts which may be made to prevent it.

The actual state of the political world renders this subject one of great importance. No prudent statesman will neglect an opportunity of encouraging the kindly feeling towards this country, which appears to have again sprung up among the people of the continent. The change for the better which has taken place in the feelings of Englishmen and Frenchmen towards each other, proves how much can be accomplished in this way, even by weak instruments and desultory efforts. In the South of France, it appears that the desire to form a close and cordial connexion with this country is so strong, that it is highly probable the government will be forced to yield to it, and give up several of the most obnoxious provisions of their prohibitory tariff. The people are beginning to understand their real interests; and however narrow minded men in both countries may desire to cherish ancient feelings of animosity, it is plain

that it will be no easy matter to get up another war between England and France. This is, indeed, a gratifying reflection. But how has this mighty alteration been wrought? Simply by the intercourse of the intelligent and philanthropic of both countries; by the exchange of journals and works on political economy; by the approximation, in short, of the two nations to each other. We have the most thorough contempt for the understanding, and strong suspicions of the patriotism, of those statesmen, who would not use all the means in their power to draw closer those bonds of amity. There are two modes of promoting this union of the people of civilized countries; namely, by encouraging *commercial* and *literary* intercourse between them. The first can only be effected by abolishing prohibitory duties.\* From many causes, which it is beside our present purpose to discuss, this will be done, but by slow degrees. But there is nothing very formidable in the way of establishing a friendly *literary* connexion. If once we afford facilities for the introduction of foreign newspapers and periodical works, and put an end to the discriminating duties on foreign correspondence, the circulation of English publications, at least of such as the rulers of the continent do not object to on the score of politics, will naturally be much increased in France, Germany, and Italy. But a beginning should be made, and it is important that it should be made without delay. It is a safe game on the part of Englishmen to do away with the restrictions of every kind which repel foreign literature from their country. They could in no possible way be *injured* by setting, or in some instances following, a liberal example; but it is highly probable that they would reap, from an altered system, solid literary, commercial, and political advantages.

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\* We may as well avail ourselves of this opportunity to express our surprise that now, in this twentieth year of peace, the heavy and oppressive *duty on the importation of foreign books* should be still maintained on the war footing. The case was fully stated in an article in the XVIIth No. of this journal, published in January, 1832, and we have nothing new to add to that statement. It really seems inexplicable how the Board of Trade, when it swept off in that year from the customs-tariff so great a number of articles, producing very small returns, should have allowed this to remain. Ever since the discriminating duty was made between *old* and *new* books in 1825, (the former paying only one-fifth of the latter, and which discrimination, by the way, never could have been intended to be permanent,) the receipts from both descriptions have never exceeded 10,000*l.* a year. Surely, this is a sum much too paltry in amount to stand in the way of the application of a general principle, while the maintenance of the duty perpetuates the odium on the government of discouraging the literary communications of the continent with this country (without a single British interest being benefited by it), and exposes it to the reproach of backwardness in following the liberal example set by the governments of France and other countries, in which the duties on foreign books are little more than nominal. Let us hope, now that Lord Althorp's fears as to not having wherewithal to pay the public creditor his interest are entirely dissipated, that the fisc can afford to abolish altogether this solitary remnant of the illiberal system of former days.

**ART. IX.—1. *Histoire de la Legislation*, par M. le Marquis de Pastoret. 9 tom. 8vo. Paris, 1817—27.**

**2. *Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Judicial Affairs of the East India Company; and an Appendix*. 3 vols. folio. London. 1832.**

**THE history of the different systems of law by which society was regulated in the vast provinces of the Indian peninsula, from the remotest times to the period when they finally fell under the British sway, and of the important changes which English legislation has since produced in the condition of the natives of India, is a theme pregnant with instruction to the philosopher, the legislator and the statesman. The latter part of the subject, however, possesses at the present moment so much interest, and must besides so soon form an important topic of public and senatorial discussion, that we are induced to think we shall be doing an acceptable service to our readers, by putting them in possession of the details of the judicial system now established over the immense extent of our Eastern empire. For this purpose the volumes of Parliamentary documents placed at the head of this article, (which from their bulk and general inaccessibility are all but sealed to the great mass of readers,) form an authority which renders recourse to *foreign* aid on the present occasion wholly superfluous. They are part of the voluminous Reports of the East India Committee, published by order of the House of Commons in 1832, and contain the most ample information on all matters connected with the past and present state of the judicial system of India, the working of that system, and the numerous material changes which have been suggested for the purpose of making it still more efficient. We have endeavoured in the following pages to exhibit a brief and intelligible abstract of this great mass of information, together with some notice of such of the proposed alterations as appear most worthy of adoption, and most conducive to the object of all laws—the security of civil rights, and the suppression of crime.**

**In order to form a just opinion of the merits of this system, and of the labours of those who have brought it to its present state of efficiency, we must revert to the circumstances which attended its first establishment. For some years after the East India Company first became possessed of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, the administration of justice continued on much the same footing as previous to that event. The zemindar was the supreme judge in most criminal and civil cases; in the former, generally inflicting fines for his own benefit; in the latter, receiving, as a compensation for the trouble of deciding, 25 per cent. on the thing litigated. He recorded none of his proceedings, and the sole**

check on his injustice was in the necessity of reporting to a superior authority all cases of capital punishment, before the sentence was carried into execution. The injustice and corruption consequent on such a system soon rendered its impolicy apparent. Two courts were appointed to each district, at the head of each of which was placed the English collector for the district, and he was assisted in his duties as judge by the native officers attached to each court. This union of fiscal and judicial offices in the same person was not found to succeed. Without reference to the possible want of the twofold knowledge required from the same individual, it was found that the due performance of his judicial functions was incompatible with the labours of the collectorship: the time devoted to the former was necessarily taken from that of the latter, and both departments suffered. This, however, with some deviation, continued in force till 1793, when the then governor-general, Lord Cornwallis, introduced an entirely new system, which, though materially modified in all parts of India, is the groundwork of that which now exists. All previous systems (for others had existed besides those mentioned above) had been almost wholly carried on by natives; and even in that which superseded them, though the collector presided over both the civil and the criminal courts, his superintendence was, from the causes we have mentioned, often merely nominal. Lord Cornwallis's system was formed on the principle, that as methods depending almost entirely on native agency had failed, that agency should therefore be rejected, and the exclusive employment of Europeans resorted to. This supposition was from the beginning the rock on which the system was wrecked. In only the most unimportant and trivial cases were native judges allowed jurisdiction. The great body both of civil and criminal trials went before the English judge. In one respect, indeed, it was avowedly only temporary. It was admitted that the districts over which each court presided were too large, both in respect to population and extent of country. In the greater number, from these causes, it was out of the power even of the most efficient judge to prevent arrears from accumulating. In consequence, it was declared that whenever the public finances should admit of it, these districts should be diminished in extent, and a greater number of European courts established. But in no state of prosperity that the finances of India have yet attained, or are likely to attain, has there appeared a prospect of their bearing such an increase of European judges as would be able to administer justice efficiently without native assistance.

We have said that this system is the foundation of the existing one. The consideration, therefore, of its original form, and the

changes it has undergone, will by their operation be a guide in our views of future improvement. Three gradations of courts were constituted. The country was divided into large districts called *zillahs*, and cities containing a given population were considered equal to a *zillah*. In each of these a *zillah court* was established, consisting of a judge, register and assistant, with the necessary native officers. The *zillah court* had cognizance of all suits below a certain amount that arose within its district. The register was empowered to try such suits, to a small amount (200 rupees), as the judge thought proper to refer to him. Those generally selected for this purpose were suits which did not appear to embrace any points of peculiar difficulty. Those which he retained, or were above the register's powers, the judge himself decided. When arrears accumulated to a great extent, another register or assistant was often appointed, who thus relieved the *zillah judge* of a still greater portion of the inferior suits. The next superior court was the *provincial court*, consisting of four judges, with native law officers. Its jurisdiction extended over a province, composed of several *zillahs*, and before it came all causes that arose within the province for a higher amount than the *zillah court* was empowered to try. The highest court in civil matters was the *Sudder Dewanny Adawlut*, at first composed of the governor and council. It tried causes for a very large amount, corresponded with the inferior courts, received their reports, and promulgated any additional regulations enacted by the government. Appeals were then regulated by much the same rules as at the present day. A *primary* appeal was allowed of right to the court immediately above that whose decree it was sought to reverse. A second or *special* appeal was admitted from the decision of this court to the highest, only on proof that the proceedings were informal, or the decision at variance with the law.

The criminal law was also administered by the same courts. The *zillah judges* performed the duties of magistrates in minor criminal offences. The judges of the provincial court went the circuit, and held half-yearly sessions and gaol-deliveries at each station within their province. The highest criminal court, composed of the same persons as in civil matters, but called the *Sudder Nizamut*, or *Foujdarry Adawlut*, revised all trials involving capital punishment, and its confirmation of the sentence was necessary before it could be carried into execution. It had also the power, in cases not already provided for, of inflicting any punishment short of death.

This system, though often characterized as exclusively European, cannot be said entirely to have disused native agency, for though by far the greater number of causes came before English



judges, there was constituted a very inferior class of native judges, who had power to decide suits for sums under fifty rupees. It is little astonishing that these men, for whose education no provision was made; of whose honesty and legal knowledge there existed no established test or security before their admission to office; who received a scanty and ill-paid salary, which barely sufficed to supply their necessities, and who held an office but little looked up to by their countrymen;—were often found wanting in all the most essential qualities of a judge; that corruption among them was not uncommon, and their decrees received without confidence. These circumstances, and their confined jurisdiction, were sufficient to make this system almost solely European. The education of a future class of natives to fill the judicial office does not appear to have been even prospectively considered by its framers. This has been the care of succeeding governments, for it soon became evident that the existing European courts were wholly inadequate to the performance of the task allotted to them. Even in the earliest days of the system, before a fresh body of undecided claims had been superadded to the old subjects of litigation, by the confusion attendant on hasty revenue reforms, arrears accumulated. The *Permanent Settlement*, carried into effect at the same period with the judicial reforms, (though the motives of their author were of the purest and most benevolent kind,) has not been found to confer the benefits he anticipated on those provinces to which it was extended. Forty years have passed since that time, and our knowledge of India, notwithstanding the continual additions made to it, is still confessedly imperfect. To the want of information then existing may be traced all the evils that have resulted from the Permanent Settlement. Before it was carried into execution, every right that could by possibility be affected by the measure should have been recorded and defined. But this was not the case. New rights were conferred on the *zemindars*, trenching upon the rights of the *ryots* (peasants), which last remained unascertained and unknown. Hence the surprising increase of civil suits before our courts in the few years that succeeded 1793. The courts were even then unable to bear this greater pressure of business, and heavy arrears were the consequence. The advance of wealth and population, the extension of cultivation and internal traffic, have added still more to their number. To obviate these inconveniences and discharge these arrears, the constant attention of succeeding governments has been given to raise a class of native judges, who might merit the confidence reposed in them. By this improvement on the original system, the acuteness and local knowledge of the native have been rendered far more available to the ends of justice, though his want of moral princi-



ple may still sometimes render necessary the close superintendence of the European judge. The earliest native judges were only empowered to try causes for the lowest sums; but an increase of their powers became absolutely necessary, for in many districts arrears were so heavy, that according to the average rate of decision in the then existing courts, a suit newly instituted could scarcely be brought to trial within the compass of human life.

The necessity of a change in a system affording such encouragement to stronghanded injustice was admitted by every one. In 1803, a new class of native judges was instituted in Bengal, called *Sudder Aumeens* (head referees), with higher authority than the former judges, who were denominated *Moonsiffs*. These were empowered to try suits for real and personal property to the amount of 100 rupees. The experiment was found to succeed; for while the increased care taken in the selection of natives rendered this class more and more useful, and the finances did not admit of a sufficient addition of English judges, the large influx of new suits made daily more apparent the inadequacy of the existing judicial establishment to meet the demand for justice. Through the unceasing exertions of the Indian governments in educating and improving the moral character of the candidates for these offices, they have become worthy of still greater confidence, and their powers have been gradually going on increasing till the present day. In 1814 the powers of the moonsiffs were increased to suits for 64 rupees for money or personal property. In 1821 the sudder aumeens were empowered to try suits for 500 rupees, which were referred to them by the judge; and moonsiffs, suits for 150 rupees. In 1827, sudder aumeens were in some cases allowed to try suits for 1000 rupees, comprising nineteen-twentieths of the original suits instituted. These were the steps by which the government of Bengal gradually raised the powers of the native judges: the other two governments of Madras and Bombay have taken the same measures to relieve their superior courts, though by unequal degrees. Sudder aumeens and moonsiffs now exist all over India. The sudder aumeens are universally men of the highest character, both for integrity and legal acquirements; their office is held in the greatest respect, and they have the entire confidence both of natives and Europeans. One of the latest measures of the Bengal government has been to establish a higher class, called *Special Sudder Aumeens*, who hear appeals from the inferior native judges, and have original jurisdiction of all causes between 1000 and 5000 rupees. One or two sudder aumeens and a special sudder aumeen are generally attached to each zillah-court, the former, as their name imports, trying suits referred to them

by the judge; the latter, with a higher salary, trying original suits and appeals.

The number of moonsiffs in a zillah varies greatly in different parts of India, but the extent of their local jurisdiction is, for the convenience of well defined limits, in general co-extensive with the police divisions, though in some cases one moonsiff is found to be sufficient for two police divisions. They are so stationed as to be always accessible within ten miles at farthest. We have said, that since 1793, their powers and emoluments have been constantly increased, and their legal knowledge and moral character improved. Nevertheless, they have not even now the full confidence of their fellowcountrymen, to the same extent as either sudder aumeens or English judges. From the greater number, indeed, the appeals are few, and in those cases (below 20rs.) in which they have final jurisdiction at Madras, there are but few instances of proceedings against them for bribery. Yet some acts of corruption or ignorance are occasionally brought to light, which may perhaps justify the opinion so generally entertained of them by the natives. It does not appear impossible still farther to raise the qualifications and character of this class of native judges. The former we shall speak of more particularly when we advert to the subject of their education. The latter also undoubtedly depends in a great measure on the education which they receive. But there are circumstances connected with the present mode of paying the moonsiffs which offer the greatest temptations to moral delinquency. Throughout India they receive no salary, but are paid in lieu the full value of the stamp duty charged on the paper on which the plaint is written.\* The receipts of a moonsiff may be compared to those of a gambler; for as the stamp duty he receives varies according to the amount of the sum claimed, his income necessarily fluctuates much from year to year. Thus, in the Bombay Presidency, the receipts of eighty native judges in the first half of 1827, amounted to Rs. 91,818,—those of seventy-nine, in the first half of 1828, to Rs. 152,871. This gives an average in 1827, of 191 rupees per mensem to each individual; in 1828, of 522 per mensem.—(*Appendix*, p. 229.) In the years, therefore, when his harvest of suits is abundant, he may, like a gambler, be expected to revel in plenty; but when his income falls off in a less litigious year, he is driven to dishonest practices, in order to keep up the same

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\* The stamp duty varies according to the amount of the sum claimed, and is paid by the plaintiff. *Appendix*, p. 529. This, if the sum claimed does not exceed 16 rupees, is 1r.; if above rs. 16, and not exceeding rs. 32, is rs. 2; if above rs. 32, and not exceeding 64, is rs. 4; if above 64, and not exceeding 150, is rs. 8. They, therefore, generally receive considerably more than a sixteenth of the thing litigated.

appearance as before. His receipts then are uncertain, and not only uncertain, but often inadequate to the support of that station among his countrymen, without which no judge can be unbiassed or independent. Promotion to a higher office, as a reward for sound decisions and unblemished character, is a practice little resorted to; their sole motive to exertion is in the desire of gaining money, their success in which entirely depends on the number and value of the suits they decide. To this mode of payment there exist still stronger objections. Suspicions have been excited at Madras, that district moonsiffs have been in the habit of getting up "fictitious suits, for the fraudulent purpose of obtaining from government the fee of half an *ana* per rupee, allowed them for all suits instituted within their district and settled by *razeenamah*." —(*Appendix*, p. 225.) To effect this fraud, the moonsiff has only to enter a fictitious plaint and *razeenamah*, and advance the money charged on them, and at the end of the month it returns to him doubled. The suspicions of these practices were excited by the disproportion shown in the monthly returns of some moonsiffs, between the number of suits decided in the regular way, and settled by *razeenamah*; and they are the more difficult of detection, that the moonsiff's court is not a court of record, except in suits for real property. But it is obvious that by changing the uncertain receipt of stamp duty into a salary equal to, or higher than the annual average amount of these stamps, the temptation to such fraudulent proceedings would be removed, and the administration of justice purified, while no increase of expense would accrue to the government, beyond whatever small addition to the annual average might be considered necessary.

There is in the presidency of Madras a still lower class of native judges, called *village moonsiffs*, who have with the district moonsiffs concurrent jurisdiction over all suits under 10 rupees that may arise within their village. By a regulation of 1817, all heads of villages were empowered to take on them this office. Many have refused to do so on account of the disadvantages attending it; as they get no fees, salary, or emolument, as a recompense for their trouble; they are allowed no stationery for drawing up decrees, for writing summonses to witnesses, and reports to the superior judge, or for taking down any of the proceedings before them. They have nevertheless been sometimes made liable to a fine for not sending in reports of all cases decided by them. Certain officers also, who are constantly engaged in revenue duties, are required to be present when the village moonsiff holds his court, and being much less numerous than the moonsiffs, their attendance is irregular, and the delay of trials

great. To all this it must be added that but a small proportion of them can read and write, a few more can sign their names, and the remainder are utterly illiterate. The only inducement to hold this office is the increased influence and consideration which the head of a village receives from his fellow-villagers. From their decision there is no appeal, but in its stead, an action for illegality of decision, or for corruption: it is highly creditable to this class of men that by far the greater number of actions brought against them have been for the former cause. The judges of the Sudder Adawlut, whose report on this subject is published, appear to think that this institution has entirely failed, and that the relief afforded to the district moonsiffs by the diminution of small suits has been but trifling. During the three years 1825—7, the district moonsiffs decided 44,768 suits cognizable by the village moonsiffs, and the latter 14,457, amounting to a fourth of the whole number, among which are not reckoned the many differences which they may have composed before they ripened into law-suits. Small as this proportion may be considered, yet it cannot be stigmatized as a useless or pernicious institution; especially as the character of every head of a village must be so well known to the inhabitants, that one from whom an unjust decision is to be expected, is always shunned. With regard to its application to Bengal, a question which was agitated a few years ago, its utility is not so apparent, as the village economy of that presidency differs materially from that of Madras, and justifies the fear that the village moonsiff would become devoted to the interests of the zemindar or other powerful neighbour, and that his decisions would not be so remarkable for purity as in the territories of the latter.

The inferior officers attached to the courts are the *cauzee* or *moolavie*, a Mahomedan officer, the *pundit*, a Hindoo, and the *vakeels* or barristers. There are also others who attend the courts, and practise as attorneys, though not recognized as such by the Government.

The *cauzee* or *moolavie* is attached to every European court, and sits with the European judge in all cases requiring his presence. These cases are suits between Mahomedans, embracing questions of their law, and all criminal trials. The *pundit* sits only when the Hindoo law is to be applied, viz. in suits between Hindoos. In civil suits, the English judge requires the opinion of one or other of these, with regard to the application of the law to the case in question. The judge is so constantly occupied by the duties of his station, that he can seldom find time or application to master the difficulties of two native systems of law, which are still more effectually protected by two foreign languages. The

life of the native, before his appointment to office, is spent in penetrating the intricacies of one of these systems, and he brings to the task a power of application and endurance which few Europeans in that climate possess. The *cauzee* and *pundit*, therefore, are appointed to supply the deficiencies of the English judge in the peculiarities of their system, but they have not hitherto been found to possess the moral character which must be required of them before they can be permitted to try, without superintendence, those cases to which they now only apply the law. In criminal trials, which, except in Bombay, are decided according to the Mahomedan law, the Hindoo *pundit* is seldom called on for an opinion. This duty is performed by the *cauzee*. Theoretically, the *cauzee* has only to state what the law is, as applicable to the case; but in practice, when the whole evidence on the case is taken, the judge desires the written verdict, or *futwah*, of the law officer, which contains both the finding of the fact, and the law to be applied to that fact; for instance, the *futwah* declares the prisoner guilty, and states the amount of punishment ordained by the Mahomedan law; which, if it be mutilation, or any other punishment forbidden by the English regulations, the judge changes to the appropriate penalty of our law. In case the judge should disagree with the *cauzee's* decision of the fact, the case is referred to the *Sudder Adawlut*. As the law officer gives his *futwah* independent of the opinion of the English judge, and the judge has little power to control or alter this verdict, it may appear to a superficial observer, that the power of the native is greater than that of the European. This, however, is far from being the case; the presence and superintendence of the English judge, the desire to gain his good opinion, and the knowledge that that good opinion is only to be gained by showing discrimination and impartiality in his verdict, induce the *cauzee* to give a *futwah* which will show his possession of these qualities. So conscious, indeed, is he of his own inferiority, that he would always, if possible, discover the opinion of the judge, in order that by that he may regulate his own *futwah*.

The *vakeels* of the Indian courts correspond with the English barristers. They are paid by a per centage on the value of the thing disputed; which, like the stamp duty received by the *moonsiffs*, is determined by a regulation of government. This per centage, which constitutes their only remuneration, is paid into court at the commencement of the suit, by the party retaining the *vakeel*, before the latter performs any act in behalf of his client. When the suit is decided, it is paid over to him. The rate of remuneration, when the subject of litigation is under 5000 rupees, is five per cent.; as the sum increases beyond that,

the rate is regulated by a descending scale, always taking five per cent. on the first 5000 rupees. The vakeels are chiefly educated in public institutions established for this purpose, and previous to their being allowed to practise, they are required to pass an examination before a board specially appointed, who, if satisfied, give a certificate, called in some parts of India a *sunnud* or diploma, permitting them to practise in any zillah or city court, unless sufficient reason be given against their practising in such court. A few still study in private, and are likewise examined by the board, before a certificate is granted. In the *Sudder Dewanny* and provincial courts, their station is considered highly respectable, but in the zillah and native courts, more especially the latter, it is not looked upon as very honourable. Much has been done of late years to increase the respectability of this class of men. They were formerly appointed by the English judge of the court in which they practised, with only a nominal preference of those who were educated in public institutions. But the certificate which is now made necessary ensures their being men of education, and their occupation has accordingly risen much in the estimation of their countrymen. In the examination before the board, they are not required to be so intimately acquainted with the laws and regulations as candidates for the office of judge. A general knowledge of them is considered sufficient; but in case of appointment to such office, they must pass another examination, and obtain a *sunnud* of higher proficiency than the former.

The public institutions for the education of natives in general, who intend to make the law their profession, are, in Bengal, the Mahomedan Colleges of Calcutta, Delhi and Agra, (the two latter very recently established,) and the Hindoo Colleges at Calcutta and Benares. Similar institutions exist at Madras and Bombay. The attention of government has of late been much directed to this subject, and by constant exertions a very improved system of education has been formed. The character of the persons brought up in these institutions is certainly better than that of their less educated predecessors, both for legal knowledge and for integrity. Thus much then has been gained, but to render the system at all perfect, and to make the native judges really worthy of the confidence that is likely to be soon reposed in them, in possessing the whole original jurisdiction of the country, something more is necessary. They still want that incitement to a diligent and honest discharge of their duty, which nothing but the hope of a higher station can give. In some rare instances, vakeels have been promoted to the rank of moonsiffs; in more, moonsiffs to that of sudder aumeens; but neither in



sufficient number to make it appear that the highest acquirements, and the most careful discharge of their trust, are a sure passport to the object of their ambition. If the promotion of all who distinguished themselves by such qualities were made the certain reward of their good conduct, and if all candidates for the higher offices of the law were made to pass first through the lower grades of their profession (a measure which, after a few years, would become no hardship to the present candidates,) a general spirit of emulation would be excited, which is now wanting. This would not only act as a spur to the better performance of their duties on the persons already holding these offices, but it would also raise in public estimation the district moonsiffs and vakeels who might then aspire to the highest judicial situations; and perhaps this increased esteem might diminish the reluctance, which is still felt by members of the most respectable native families, to enter a profession which promises so little honour.

The education of native judges and pleaders has, as we have said, occupied much of the time and attention of successive governments of India. Not so, however, that of European judges. The former may, perhaps, be justly considered of the greatest consequence. For besides their superior numbers, and the greater number of suits which they consequently decide, they could hardly, without the education which they now receive, perform their duties even respectably; while the English, who are sent to fill responsible offices in the courts in India, though not specially educated for the law, are at least sure to have all the common advantages of a liberal education. This it is which has given our countrymen such a vast moral superiority over their fellow-subjects in India, and still continues to be one of the surest safeguards of the permanence of British rule. But when, in all other countries, we observe that an unceasing application and study of the laws is the only passport to the station of judge, that a life spent in attaining the requisite knowledge is worthily crowned with the reward of this last object of ambition, something more than a liberal education is surely necessary, to fit the English judicial officers of India to fill employments that give them power over the lives and liberties of millions, and to enable them efficiently to administer laws which no one has yet presumed to characterize as simple and easy of acquirement. By this we would not be understood to assert that the former judges of India were either ignorant or incapable; but that had they made the law their sole study, from the time when they first entered the service until their appointment as judges, instead of being removed according to the exigencies of the government from one line of service to another, from the collection of the revenue to judicial offices, they would,



with few exceptions, have administered the law with greater ease to themselves, and advantage to the countries over which they were placed. That they have performed them well, no one will deny; but they themselves will be the first to admit, that a legal education would have given them facilities which they did not possess. It is scarcely possible in the short time (two years) which is spent in the college in England, that the student should acquire a correct knowledge of any one system of law, still less of the two systems which hold divided sway in India. Besides the shortness of the time, it is so much taken up by other studies, that without some change, more space cannot be devoted to this important subject. Of the Eastern languages, so much more easily acquired in India than in England, the first rudiments would be sufficient to be learnt at the college. They should give place to the more important study of law, and as every one would participate in it, an objection would be removed that has often been urged against such a measure, viz. that a youth in England cannot fix his choice on any particular department to be adhered to by him in India. No one can be otherwise than the better for devoting himself to such studies, and though the greater time given to learning the law would even then be insufficient for a full knowledge of the Hindoo and Mahommedan systems, yet the general principles of jurisprudence, the law of evidence, and the chief features of native law, could be acquired, and form, as it were, a skeleton of knowledge, to be filled up by subsequent study. For the necessity of some change in this respect we need only refer to the evidence given before the Committee by (Mr. Empson) the Professor of Law at Hayleybury College.

“ I can truly say that I have trembled whenever I have sent out a class, and considered that they were to administer law in India.”—*Minutes of Evidence*, p. 1087.

There is yet another evil attendant on the present mode of distributing patronage, which might in like manner be got rid of, to the satisfaction of all parties. The importance of having persons appointed to serve in India fit for their situations, both from acquired knowledge and natural abilities, no one has yet attempted to deny. To ensure a sufficiency of the former, a certain standard has been fixed at the College in England, which, from the multiplicity of subjects taught, is necessarily somewhat of the lowest. The system of education there pursued, while it has the effect of bringing forward the more deserving, does not exclude those whose talents and qualifications are of the lowest order. So long as they steer within the prescribed line, their appointment to service in India is secure; and when once there, persons

of the greatest and meanest abilities must be provided for alike. In course of time the most incapable must necessarily rise, though certainly not to the highest, at least to very high and responsible office, where the consequences of an error of judgment must be severely felt and commented on by those under him. In any country, such a state of things would call for some alteration; but in a country held more by the force of opinion and superior intellect than by any physical strength, such a public functionary may do more to undermine the foundations of that empire, and to dispel the illusion of British superiority, than all the machinations of the disaffected. Shorn of much of the patronage which they once possessed, the Court of Directors can hardly be expected to enter warmly into the views of those who would deprive them of a large portion of what remains, by making all civil appointments the prize of competition in public schools and colleges. A change in some part of the present mode of distribution might, we think, attain the desired end, without loss or dissatisfaction to any party. The annual appointment of supernumerary writers to the College in England, sufficient in number to allow of competition and selection, would afford an ample assurance of a certain amount of talent, while the argument usually advanced against such a scheme, that no one would throw away his prospects in England, merely on the chance of an Indian appointment, might be obviated, by reserving annually an equal number of cadetships for the rejected persons. No patronage would in this case be lost; it would rather be enhanced in value; and the army of India would suffer no detriment from receiving into its ranks the unsuccessful candidates for civil office, who would not be the worse soldiers for having had their education protracted beyond the ordinary time.

The improvement which may be expected to take place in the class of native judges, in consequence of the greater attention paid to their education, will, it is to be hoped, bring the practical part, the administration of the law, to the highest perfection; and we look forward, without fear or doubt, to the whole original civil jurisdiction of India, being, as it now is at Bombay, in their hands. In his intimate knowledge and sympathy with the feelings of his countrymen, and his better acquaintance with their language and local customs, the native judge has an incalculable advantage over the European. In the examination of a witness especially, peculiar phrases and gestures are often indications, in the eye of a native, of hidden feelings that would escape the penetration of a foreigner, and which nothing but a rigorous cross-examination can elicit. In point of economy, the difference between a native and European judge is immensely in favour of the former. The

salary which is found necessary to support in his proper station *one* English judge of the lowest rank, will, from their inferior rank and more contracted wants, amply remunerate *ten* of the superior class of native judges. The original civil jurisdiction may therefore, with an advantage daily increasing with their better education and higher standard of morals, be placed in the hands of natives, doubly recommended by their natural superiority over foreigners, and the diminution of expense consequent on a reduction of English judges. It does not however yet appear possible to free the native courts of law from the superintendence of the latter. For great as may be the advance of morality and public opinion in India, we fear it is not so great as its most sanguine friends would have us believe. At the presidencies, where the light of knowledge has done much to dispel the prejudices of the highest native families, something like an expression of public opinion through the medium of the press is to be found; but the natives in the interior still remain in the depths of utter ignorance. Till this is partially cleared away, the native judge will still sometimes be corrupt and unjust, where no public opinion exists to restrain him, and will require the watchful eye of a superintending court. The reduction of English judges, which would attend the extension of the powers of natives, would not produce any inconvenience in the hearing of appeals. For though the court of appeal would become more distant from the greater number of inferior courts, the distress and trouble often occasioned to the parties and witnesses by attendance on the revising court, need no longer exist. The record of the proceedings on trial, every word of which is taken down, with the ground on which the appeal is made, ought to be sent up; and if either party should complain of essential testimony having been rejected, or not brought forward, an order for a new trial would induce the inferior court more readily to receive all proper evidence in future.

The appeal to the king in council, which is permitted in addition to the regular appeals in India, has been often regarded as unnecessary and superfluous, after every safeguard for justice has been established in India. But for its existence there are many reasons, both political and judicial. It has been argued that the removal of the ultimate court of appeal to a distance of 15,000 miles, can, from the consequent delay, be but a poor boon to Indian suitors. Till recently, this has assuredly been the case. But though it may be a matter of astonishment, it is nevertheless true, that, in the present improved arrangements for deciding these appeals, the delay (we believe about two years) is but half as great as that of the *Sudder Adawlut* of Bengal. The power of appealing from India to the king in council was granted in 1773, and during these 60

years, about fifty appeals have been instituted, the first beginning in 1799. Till 1832, no steps had been taken for the decision of these cases, the parties in India probably supposing, that when the records of the suit were once lodged in the office of the privy council, nothing more was to be done. The deposits &c. in India have therefore, much to their distress, never been given up, as the forms in use before the council were not complied with. In 1832, by the united labours of Sir J. Mackintosh, Sir E. H. East, and Sir A. Johnston, the whole of the appeals were put in a train of being decided, and rules laid down by which Indian suitors may be guided in prosecuting their appeal. Two years were allowed for the appellants in the long standing suits, and if during that time they took no steps in England towards reversing the former decree, the appeal was to be considered dropped; and in future, if the appellant does not appoint an agent in England, within three months after recording his appeal, it is to be treated in the same manner. If prosecuted, the claim is decided upon by a court composed of the president and of retired Indian judges. It is not the least advantage of this change, that while unnecessary delay is avoided, and the privy council has become an efficient court for hearing Indian appeals, no expense is imposed on the government. By the liberal offer of their gratuitous services, Sir A. Johnston, and the registrar, Mr. Clarke, have set an example which will not fail to be followed by other retired judges. The merits of the latter gentleman, in undertaking the laborious task of reducing to form the immense chaos of papers transmitted with each of the old appeals, cannot be too highly appreciated.

Among other recent alterations in the mode of administering justice in India, which have materially deviated from the system established by Lord Cornwallis, are the following.—In Bengal, the provincial court retains only its appellate jurisdiction. In 1829, commissioners of revenue and circuit were appointed, who severally hold gaol deliveries within their districts, each of which comprises but a third or fourth part of the jurisdiction of the provincial court. But the expectations that were excited by this change have not been realized, and, as in many other instances, the failure is attributable to the union of two offices by which both have suffered. A court of *Sudder Adawlut* was also established in the western provinces of Bengal.—At Madras, the *zillah* judges have jurisdiction in both civil and criminal cases: in the former, as in Bengal—in the latter, over most offences not attended with loss of life.—At Bombay, few traces remain of the institutions of Lord Cornwallis. A criminal code, the abolition of *zillahs*, the original trial of nearly all suits by natives, the establishment of Session judges, combining the powers of the criminal judge

and the court of circuit, and the employment of native assessors with the European judge, have been attended with such happy results, that it was in contemplation at Madras to remodel the judicial establishment, in imitation of those arrangements.

We have detailed the constitution and powers of the chief courts of law presided by English and native judges. An inferior native institution, the decision by *Punchayet*, remains, the consideration of which naturally leads to that of trial by jury; and it is to be hoped that the day is not far distant, when the introduction of the latter may confer on the people of India the same benefits which have accrued from it to those of Ceylon. It would be too extensive an undertaking, and if it failed, too pernicious in its political effects, to introduce it hastily, and without ascertaining its consequences, throughout the whole of our Indian possessions. The political relations of Ceylon differ essentially even from that part of India which most resembles it. Its insular situation and smaller population pointed it out as the proper place for an experiment, and diminished the fear of any bad consequences in case of failure. But Sir A. Johnston, with whom it originated, and by whom it was introduced, had too well digested his plan to admit of any doubt of success. In order to adapt it as much as possible to the religion and prejudices of the natives, he consulted the priests of the Buddhoo religion, and the Bramins, and matured his plan in conformity with their suggestions. Every free native of Ceylon, 21 years of age, is qualified to be a jurymen. Persons only of dishonest or otherwise bad character are excluded. They are summoned to the session in turn by the fiscal or sheriff of the province, and especial care is taken that no religious ceremony or civil pursuits and duties be interrupted by the summons. On the first day of the session, all the jurymen summoned attend in court, their names are called over, and they hear the judge's charge. The prisoners are then arraigned, each having the right of being tried by thirteen jurymen of his own caste, unless special reason is given against it, to the satisfaction of the judge, either by the prisoner, or the advocate fiscal. When the caste is decided on, the names of the jurymen of that caste who are present in court are put into an urn by the registrar, who draws them out. The prisoner may object to five peremptorily, and to any number for sufficient cause. The jury are then sworn and the trial proceeds. Particular care is taken, on the jury retiring, that they shall hold no communication with any one till their verdict is given. The jurymen are so summoned, that in two years every jurymen appears once in court, and hears the charge of the judge, about a fourth of them attending at each session. Their great number, and the mode in which they are chosen by ballot, pre-

cludes the possibility of its being ascertained beforehand who will sit on any jury, while the prisoner, by the unlimited right of challenge, has every protection that can be desired. The exclusion of every person of notoriously bad character from the rolls of jurymen has greatly raised the tone of morality among the natives, by degrading in their estimation those who are found wanting, and making the office of jurymen one which all its possessors consider a mark of honour. By their frequent attendance on the court, they are continually brought in contact with Europeans, and have every opportunity of becoming acquainted with their sentiments, and profiting by the information contained in the judge's charge. So great has been the combined effect of these circumstances, that the abolition of slavery, a measure which in 1806 had been regarded by them with distrust, and had been positively rejected by these very jurymen, was in 1816, five years after the introduction of trial by jury, spontaneously adopted by all the slaveholders in Ceylon. They had before been unanimous against it, they were now unanimous in its favour. Among the above-mentioned causes of this remarkable change of sentiment, the one which chiefly tended to produce it, was, the constant endeavour of Sir A. Johnston, in his charge at the commencement of each session, to impress on the jurymen, most of whom were slaveholders, the feelings with which slavery was regarded in England, and the difficulty which they must often find in impartially discharging their duty as jurymen in cases concerning slaves, while they themselves continued slave-proprietors. This effect, so desirable to every liberal mind, has not been the only advantage consequent on the introduction of trial by jury into Ceylon. It has also been attended with considerable reduction both in the number and expense of the judicial establishment. When the English judges were judges both of law and fact, there were two, and sometimes even three judges on a trial: one trial has been known to last six weeks, and ten days was by no means an uncommon time. The trial by a jury composed of natives, who are so much better qualified to appreciate the evidence brought before them, has not only rendered unnecessary the presence of more than one judge, but a trial is now seldom known to last more than a day, or a session more than ten days, thus relieving witnesses and all other parties from a tedious and expensive attendance on the courts. By the increased intercourse that has arisen between the English judges and other law officers, and the native jurymen, the latter have become acquainted with the principles on which justice is administered; many able and public spirited natives, well qualified to act as magistrates, have also been brought under the notice of the government, and are found to perform their duties with



the greatest efficiency; while the attachment of all classes to the British government has been increased by the judicious disposal of these newly created distinctions. The result in respect to finance has been, that the efficiency of the judicial establishment has been increased, and its expense reduced £10,000 per annum. It has thus realized the most sanguine hopes of the distinguished judge who projected it, and by whose unremitting exertions it was carried into effect. It has perhaps gone farther; it has brought with it benefits which have been felt by every class on the island; the finances have been relieved by a reduced expenditure; public spirit excited by the appointment of natives to offices from which they were formerly altogether excluded, and their regard for the English heightened; justice has been rendered more speedy, and slavery has been abolished; while the most powerful engine for the diminution of crime, and the encouragement of morality and truth among all classes, has been raised, by the revision of the rolls of jurymen at every session, when new jurymen are admitted, and those who have shown themselves unworthy are struck off, thus giving good character a value in their eyes which it never before possessed. By this single measure, and its combined effects, the British government has conferred greater benefits on Ceylon than any of its former possessors, whether native or European. To look forward to so sudden and marked an effect, if it were introduced into India, might be considered too sanguine. But that its gradual introduction would be attended with nearly similar benefits, we may safely venture to predict. The finances of India, which are now deprived of the assistance formerly derived from the monopoly of the China trade, would probably be relieved from part of the heavy burden now imposed on them by the existing judicial establishment. The business, as in Ceylon, would be sooner despatched, and fewer appeals preferred. This would allow of a reduction both in the inferior courts and the European courts of appeal. It would also, if good character were a necessary qualification for a jurymen, raise the standard of morality, and thus operate towards the diminution of crime. Yet, while contemplating the benefits that may spring from this measure, we must not lose sight of the difficulties that stand in the way of its introduction and useful operation. It has been long an object with the governments of India, to encourage as far as lay in their power the use of the *punchayet*, both on account of the supposed antiquity of this mode of deciding causes, and its consequent preference by the natives, and from an idea that by relieving the courts of many disputes, both by arbitration before they had ripened into suits, and by the reconciliation of the parties after a suit had been instituted, the courts



of law might be relieved from a portion of their business, and their expenditure be diminished. These hopes, it must now be admitted, have proved utterly fallacious. The punchayet, as a tribunal for the decision of causes, is scarcely resorted to. For instance, in the presidency of Madras, out of 66,984 suits decided in 1828, by the whole judicial establishment, only fifty-seven were by punchayets, and of those the average delay was two years. The recourse to them is voluntary: their little credit is therefore easily ascertained, and may chiefly be referred to the distrust the natives feel for each other, and the necessity in most cases of the consent of both parties to its arbitration; yet as no costs are charged, the preference of an expensive process in courts of law is a proof of its great unpopularity. The punchayet has indeed failed, even in cases which encouraged the best expectations of its success. In the cities and towns of Bengal, it has been used for the appointment of native watchmen, and the settlement and application of rates of assessment. But, even in the discharge of this duty, in which of all others, from its publicity, and the scrutiny which general interest gives rise to, good faith and fairness were to be looked for, the contrary has been the result. The members have seldom made use of the power vested in them, but for the purpose of exempting their rich neighbours, their friends, and themselves, from paying any part of the rates. The institution of native courts-martial, which, from the nature of the persons employed, (native officers of good caste,) may be considered analogous to the punchayet, has failed in a similar manner. They have generally become either a passive instrument in the hands of the presiding English officer, or, when their friends are concerned, the means of shielding them from justice. In speaking of the punchayet, as employed for the adjudication of causes under the regulations, the Bengal government\* has expressed in the following strong terms the objections of the natives to its use.

“ We firmly believe, that whatever may be the defects of our judicial tribunals, the natives repose more confidence in them, than in the judgment of their neighbours, or of such of their fellow countrymen as could be induced to furnish their unpaid assistance in the adjustment of disputes. The latter are not willing to sacrifice their time without remuneration for the benefit of their neighbours or for the public good. They know that their award will, in all human probability, make one of the parties their enemy, and they are too well aware of the character of their countrymen to doubt, that the first mark of such enmity would generally be an accusation, whether just or unfounded, that they had given such award under the influence of partiality or corruption.”

There is, therefore, besides the objections of the suitors, a

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\* Letter to the Court of Directors, 1827, Appendix, p. 239, § 255.

great disinclination on the part of the natives to sit on a punchayet, both from their labour being unpaid, and the fear of future enmity. These obstacles to its general use do not in particular cases exist, as in questions of caste, rules of trades and societies, &c. points of which an European cannot be the proper judge, and in which, if he were so, he could not advantageously interfere. When these and similar intricate questions, such as merchants' books, disputed accounts, &c. become mixed up in a suit, the appointment of a punchayet, or of assessors to sit with the court, would be found highly beneficial. It has also been a valuable aid to collectors, in the settlement of disputed village boundaries, by choosing the members from neighbouring villages, whose inhabitants, while intimately acquainted with the localities, had but little interest in the question. By comparing the cases in which it is much resorted to, with those in which its decision is little sought for, we shall find that its use is beneficial only under two circumstances, either where the passions of the members are not engaged in the point at issue, or if engaged, where the subject is from its nature beyond the jurisdiction of an European tribunal. The great estimation in which it was held in former days, so much relied upon by the eulogists of the system, may be traced to this simple cause, that in the state of confusion in which the country then was, and in the absence of all power in the state but that of the sword, the villagers resorted to an ancient institution, as the sole method of settling their differences, and, on the appearance of fixed authority, as speedily threw it aside. The Report of the Committee does not contain sufficient information with regard to the working of the punchayet system in the presidency of Bombay, to admit of a decided opinion on its success there. What we have said on the subject must, therefore, be understood to apply to Madras and Bengal. The mode in which it has been encouraged at Bombay warrants the supposition that it has succeeded better there than in either of the sister states, and the judgment of Sir J. Malcolm, after a trial of three years, was strongly in favour of an extension of the power of punchayets to that of juries. The following is an extract from the *Bombay Regulation*, IV. 1827 :

“ In the trial of suits, it shall be competent to every court, in which an European authority presides, to avail itself of the assistance of respectable natives in either of the three following ways :—

“ 1st, By referring the suit or any point or points in the same, to a punchayet of such persons, who will carry on their enquiries apart from the court, and report to it the result. The reference to the punchayet and its answer shall be in writing, and be filed in the suit.

“ 2d, By constituting two or more such persons assessors or mem-

bers of the court, with a view to the advantages derivable from their observations, particularly in the examination of witnesses, the opinion of each assessor shall be given separately and discussed: and if any of the assessors or the authority presiding in court shall desire it, the opinions of the assessors shall be recorded in writing in the suit.

“ 3d, By employing them more nearly as a jury, they will then attend during the trial of the suit, will suggest, as it proceeds, such points of enquiry as occur to them: the court, if no objection exist, using every endeavour to procure the required information, and, after consultation, will deliver in their opinion.

“ 4th, It is to be clearly understood, that under all the modes of procedure described in the three preceding clauses, the decision is vested exclusively in the authority presiding in the court.”

These rules were extended to criminal trials in the same year. Among the variety of modes in which judges are thus authorized to use the punchayet, it is scarcely possible but that some one must have been tried with success. The third mode permitted by the regulation is, as it were, an imperfect form of jury, where the jury only gives an opinion on the fact, while the actual decision is vested in the judge. This is a step gained, and by many it is still thought that India is not sufficiently advanced to receive an extension of these powers. But our judgment of its practicability must be formed by a reference to its benefits in Ceylon, and the failure of the punchayet in India. The case of unfair assessments can scarcely apply to this question, as an objection to the introduction of juries; for there the interest and passions of the members are affected to a degree which never could occur in a jury—the fear of enmity from either party would be overcome by the numbers among whom it would be divided; and the repugnance to this duty, arising from unwillingness to work without remuneration, would be supplanted by the feeling of pride and distinction, which the new value for good character would excite. The strongest case against the jury is that of the native court-martial; but even this differs in an essential circumstance, that there is no selection and rejection of candidates. In short, there are few arguments that can be brought forward against it, that did not equally apply to Ceylon, and which, as in Ceylon, would not yield to the sentiments caused by its beneficial influence.

Among the advocates for its introduction, may be reckoned many of the persons most distinguished in India during the last twenty years. Among these the most determined was Sir T. Munro, who never entertained a doubt of its salutary effects with regard to Madras. The ultimate end of our possession of India must be to give to that country free political institutions; and the trial by jury would be a powerful instrument to prepare it for

such a change, by promoting among the natives, patriotism, morality, and education. If it should be determined to introduce it into India, the time and place are next to be decided on. Many circumstances conduce to point out Madras as the fittest place for the experiment. The native population of Ceylon resembles the inhabitants of the neighbouring coasts of India, in point of character, &c., more than those of any other part of the peninsula; its success, therefore, is more probable in that part. For the time, none can be more propitious than the present, for recent occurrences at Madras have rendered a native jury peculiarly desirable. In 1830, three native judges were appointed to act with the full powers of European zillah judges, both in civil and criminal cases; one actually entered on his functions, and executed them for some time, but in consequence of a communication with the supreme government, the plan was dropped. If, however, the native judge, in whose firmness and integrity a doubt is allowable, is to be entrusted with the same powers as an European judge, surely it is time to prevent the possibility of his misconduct, by creating a check by means of a jury, which even the European judges are said to want. We must now leave this part of our subject, the extreme importance of which has led us farther than we intended.

The proceedings on trial next claim our attention. The proceedings in a criminal trial are short and simple. There is no pleading, no counsel for the accused. The court is supposed to stand him in the stead of counsel. The prisoner's name is on the list, and comes to trial in its turn. The *Sheristadar*, who takes down the answers, questions the witnesses, and if questions of importance occur the judge asks them, or the moolavie suggests those which he wishes to be asked, and the latter may cross-examine at the end of each witness's evidence. When the evidence of the witnesses has been taken, and the prisoner has made his defence, the judge refers the whole to the *moolavie*, and requires his verdict or *futwah*. In a civil suit, the regular pleadings, the plaint and answer, are put in; and two supplemental pleadings are admitted, on special leave given by the court for sufficient cause. If, which is now less frequently the case than formerly, the pleadings should not clearly ascertain the point at issue, the court examines the parties, or their vakeels, on the first day named for hearing the cause, and records on the proceedings the points which must be substantiated by either party. To prevent the unnecessary inconvenience to witnesses that has often occurred, from many being summoned from a distance, whose evidence did not materially affect the case, it is enacted, that none shall be summoned except on the points specified on the records

of the court. The pleadings being completed, exhibits are filed, witnesses summoned, and the evidence taken as in criminal trials. The vakeels seldom address the court, and the usual subject, when they do, is the presentation of a petition, or a request that essential testimony, which has been neglected, may be taken before the case comes to judgment.

The average expenses in law-suits, as far as the documents laid before the House will allow us to judge, are by no means excessive. The table of the expenses of suits instituted in the Zillah Court, appealed to the Provincial Court, with a second appeal to the Sudder Dewanny, which were produced in evidence by Mr. Holt Mackenzie, relate only to Bengal; and in the other presidencies, as the system is similar, they may be supposed not greatly to differ in amount. The expenses, as regulated by government, are recorded in the decree of each court, with an order for their payment on the party liable. They are classed under the following heads, (the greatest care being taken that no more than the legal expense shall be paid by either party, even to his vakeel)—institution stamps, miscellaneous stamps, pay of peons, vakeel's fees, and maintenance of witnesses. The institution stamp is affixed to the paper on which the plaint or petition of appeal is written, and varies with the amount of the thing claimed, regulated by a descending scale, in a similar manner with the pay of moonsiffs and vakeels. The miscellaneous stamps are on a great variety of papers. All supplemental pleadings, rejoinders, and petitions, powers of vakeels in each case, copies of decrees, and applications praying for permission to file exhibits, or to summon witnesses, without which neither can be done, and many other papers, are required to be stamped, the duty varying in amount from a half to four rupees. The peons are paid by a daily stipend during the performance of their duty. We select four suits from the number, which will suffice to show the average expense of both parties.

Value claimed.	Costs of plaintiff and appellant, in three original suits and two appeals.			Do. defendant.	Total.
930 rupees	.	424	.	244	668
1500	.	460	.	283	743
129	.	104	.	57	161
250	.	260	.	113	373

The expenses of the two last suits are great, but they sink into insignificance when compared with those of our own courts in similar cases; for the costs here given are those of extreme litigation, which have been appealed as far as lay in the power of either party. In the first suit, which is one of average expense,

the costs of both parties amounted only to 284 rs., and but few comparatively go beyond a first trial; and this, where the stamps form so large an item as nearly one-third of the whole, (81 rs.) is moderate. The stamps, though in cases of high amount, and where the parties are in good circumstances, they may be little felt, yet in suits for small sums, as those between the poor ryots always must be, are not only oppressive, but often amount to an actual denial of justice. A most remarkable proof of this occurred in the Bombay territories a few years since. All causes were subject to an institution fee. In 1826 Mr. Elphinstone, with the wisest and most benevolent motives, exempted the Decan provinces from this duty in all suits under 100 rupees. In 1827 he extended this exemption to the rest of the provinces under his government. The stamp receipts diminished in consequence; the whole falling off was a lac and half of rupees. (This was partly owing to other changes.) But, as it appeared to some of the authorities at Bombay, its most pernicious effect was, that while the stamp collection decreased, the number of small suits increased. The effect was noted in a minute by one of the judges, "as an instance, how, in judicial arrangements, in most cases, it is better to be guided by the results of practice, than by conclusions drawn from theory." No less, it appears, than an addition of seventy thousand suits annually, formed the conclusive evidence that the theory had failed. It was thought necessary to quell this litigious spirit by the re-imposition of the stamp duty. It was accordingly restored. We cannot better express our sentiments on this subject, than in the words of the Court of Directors, in a letter to the Bombay government, in which they justly reprobate this measure.

"It should have been known that the only legitimate way to get rid of that inconvenience (the additional pressure of business) was to decide the suits, not refuse them a hearing. The theory which was thought so little deserving of attention, was a fundamental principle on which justice is administered, namely, that suits, mere applications for justice, must be taken *prima facie* as fair demands; that to provide for the reception, investigation, and determination of such demands, is one of the first duties of government; that to exclude any class of suits is so far to deny justice; and that to receive those only which are paid for, is to sell justice to the rich, and refuse it to the poor."—*Appendix*, p. 228.

They conclude with expressing their regret that "so good a measure as the abolition of the tax should have been so little appreciated and so soon abandoned." To render justice accessible to the poor as well as to the rich, is undoubtedly the duty of every government; and where so many law-suits take place between the poor, as is the case in India, it becomes more peculiarly



incumbent on it to do so. Some such measure as that rejected at Bombay, should be extended to the whole of India; for the present mode of admitting pauper suits, and the forms required to prove the poverty of the plaintiff, cause a needless waste of time, which might be spared by a similar exemption. Such a change must, however, be preceded by an alteration in the mode of paying moonsiffs, who would thereby be deprived of a large portion of their present receipts.

Another evil which presses heavily on the poor, while by the rich it is comparatively little felt, is the excessive size of many of the zillahs. Our observations must not be understood to apply to the Bombay territories, where the division by zillahs has been done away, but only to such parts, viz. Madras and Bengal, where that division still exists. The distress which their great distance from the station of the courts often causes to the poor, is scarcely felt by the rich, to whom the expense and trouble of such a journey may be little more than an inconvenience. The poor man who is summoned to attend the court as a witness, may have to travel 100 miles, in the worst season of the year, and on foot; and the delay which often occurs at the court in taking his evidence, must deprive his family during that time of the support of his labour. To prevent the necessity of his attending the court for trifling cases, a registrar, with magisterial powers, often resides remote from the station of the court. But when his evidence is called for in questions which the registrar is not empowered to decide, he must attend the head station, at whatever distance it may be; an evil which in a country where there are no public conveyances, is only to be surpassed by the denial of justice. The rulers of India are well aware of the defects of the system, and have done much to remedy it by dividing the larger zillahs, and creating a separate establishment for the new districts. To extend this expensive change still further, it is necessary to wait for improvements in the finances, which it may take years to effect. But we think there is a readier and less costly mode of remedying this grievance, which though at first it might be productive of some confusion, would in the end, in most cases, attain the desired object. The zillahs are in some cases of an immoderate extent, in others excessively small. Under the government of Bengal, for instance, there are forty-seven zillah and city courts, each containing, on an average, an area of 5000 square miles, and a population of upwards of a million, (*Appendix*, p. 275.) "The extreme length of twelve of the largest districts is, on an average, 158 miles, and their breadth 100 miles." The following six zillah and city courts, of which we give the area and population, will sufficiently illustrate our meaning:



	Square miles.	Population.		Square miles.	Population.
Patna	667	255,705	Suburbs of Calcutta	1105	360,360
Dinagepore	5920	2,341,420	Nellore } under	7980	439,467
Rajeshye	3950	4,087,155	Salem } Madras	16,480	1,714,184

Thus the average of zillah and city courts' jurisdictions being one million souls, Patna contains a quarter of a million, while Rajeshye has four millions. The two latter, Nellore and Salem, belong to Madras, and are sufficient to prove that some change is necessary there as well as in Bengal. These zillahs which we have selected are by no means extreme cases. A similar inequality exists throughout the greater part of the others. This enormous disproportion can surely be remedied. The limits of some of the city courts might be extended with little difficulty. Thus Patna might be made to take in the nearest parts of the adjoining zillahs of Shahabad and Bahar, which are not more than 30 miles from that city, while they are more than twice that distance from their own head stations. In some places, an unwillingness has been felt to divide and intermix promiscuously large provinces inhabited by peculiar tribes, both on account of the destruction of nationality, and the probable unpopularity of such a proceeding. But these cases must be few, compared with those in which the simple alteration of boundaries, and equalization of the limits of the several courts, might be carried into execution. We have an instance at home in the boundary bill, of how easily such a change can be effected, and though in India it would extend over a much larger surface, it would from that very cause be facilitated, by rendering unnecessary the minutiae of distance &c. which that bill entered into, and making the great features of the country and its natural divisions subservient to a plan in which great nicety is not required. For the first year, perhaps, the natives might feel some inconvenience from the change of the old routine to which they had been accustomed, and their ignorance of the new divisions; but time would reconcile them to the change, when they found that their long journies and tedious attendance on the court were at an end. At Bombay, the changes that have taken place entirely supersede all such considerations, as the original trial of all suits, with a few exceptions, is before native judges who are universally accessible at no great distance. But if the zillahs are to exist as heretofore, it is most desirable that they should be made more generally equal.

We adverted, in our last number, to the use of the Persian language in the proceedings of the courts of law—a language with which neither judges, litigants, nor witnesses, are generally familiar. The absurdity and inconvenience of its employment are

obvious, and need no illustration. Yet, in forming our judgment on the acts of Indian governments, where the rulers were placed in circumstances so materially different from those of other nations, we can scarcely arrive at a just conclusion, unless we divest ourselves [of all preconceived opinions, derived from a knowledge of other countries, and consider the case solely on its own merits. When the courts were first established, a language was to be selected in which the proceedings should be conducted. The choice lay between the Hindoostanee, the native dialect of each province, and the Persian. The knowledge of English was at that time so confined, that, had it been chosen, the whole body of our subjects would scarcely have furnished forth the required number of persons for taking down the evidence in each court. The construction of Hindoostanee, its numerous inflections, and other qualities, unfit it for being speedily transferred to writing. The great variety of dialects, which differ generally in every province, and often in the same, is an effectual bar to the most obvious mode of proceeding, the use of the vernacular language of each province.—In the province of Canara, in the presidency of Madras, there are no less than six languages, used by as many different classes; and though the acuteness and indefatigable perseverance of a Munro surmounted these difficulties, such unparalleled labours are not to be looked for from a body of men whose time is already taken up by their official duties. The multitude of languages would impose double labour, not only on the immediate judges, but on those of the superior courts. The latter would require to be acquainted with all the dialects spoken in the provinces under their jurisdiction; a mass of knowledge only to be acquired by the unceasing study of a powerful mind, during a life exclusively devoted to that object. These schemes then being impracticable, the situation of the founders of the Indian law courts naturally suggested Persian as the most eligible for the purpose. The English themselves were generally acquainted with that language, from its use in the courts of the native princes and among persons of education, as the language of politeness and diplomacy: in the same manner that the French language is now generally employed in Europe. We have said that the almost universal ignorance of English entirely precluded its being put in competition with Persian. But the case is now materially altered. The objections to the latter continue unchanged, while the former has gained additional arguments in its favour. The knowledge of English has increased, while that of Persian has remained stationary. The former is gradually becoming as well known to the educated, especially to those brought up on the English system, as the latter; and to its more

general introduction there exists but one obstacle, the necessity imposed on those who are candidates for legal offices, of acquiring an accurate knowledge of Persian. At the best, indeed, either language must for some time continue to be an imperfect medium for the transaction of judicial business; but the adoption of English in our courts, being the mere substitution of one foreign language for another, would impose little additional trouble on the native student, and would, at the same time, open to him, and eventually to the rest of his countrymen, the hidden hoards of genius and learning which it contains, now feebly transmitted through a few obscure translations, or for the most part entirely beyond their reach. We have said nothing of the increased facilities for the administration of justice, which such a course would give to the English judge. In the trial of criminals, should he happen to be ignorant of one of the dialects spoken within his district, the evidence of the witness must be translated to him, not into English, but into a language which, in many instances, is imperfectly understood both by himself and the officer of the court. The testimony therefore is liable to misinterpretation, either through the insufficient knowledge of the former, or the wilful or accidental mistakes of the latter. In the *Sudder Adawlut*, in the hearing of appeals, a similar error may occur. The records of the appealed case are sent up from the inferior court in Persian; and if, as is permitted in Bengal, the evidence should originally have been taken down in the provincial dialect, an accompanying translation into Persian is forwarded for the information and guidance of the superior court. These translations are extremely liable to error, for the *sheristadar*, who takes down the evidence, turns it into Persian as he writes. In the last-mentioned instance, indeed, there is a greater safeguard for justice, for the case is reported in the words originally delivered, and the Persian translation made afterwards. In either case, the state in which the evidence finally arrives at the mind of the judge, after undergoing the double process of translation into Persian, and re-translation into English, can bear little resemblance to its original form. Why should not this version be into English? Why should the judges be required to wade through a mass of papers in a foreign language—which is equally foreign to the writer of the court, and all other parties—which is liable, from these very circumstances, to the greatest inaccuracies,—and which is in many respects inferior to the English, in none more eligible? We cannot but think that the gradual substitution of English for Persian would not be so difficult as it is generally imagined; that as the offices of those who take down the records of the courts

fall in, their places should be supplied by persons understanding English; till, at length, in course of time, a language well known to the judges, and with which it is desirable that the natives should also be acquainted, becomes amalgamated with the system.

Having now detailed the state of the courts which administer justice in India, and the persons who preside in those courts, we must advert to the nature of the laws which they administer, and to the persons subject to those laws. In considering the state of the civil law, one cannot but be struck by the remarkable similarity existing between it and that which prevailed in France and the North of Italy, after their conquest by the barbarians, on the fall of the Roman empire.

In other countries, the law is obeyed as what may be called a territorial law, *i. e.* a rule of conduct observed by all the persons residing within one country under one government. In these, on the contrary, the law is not territorial, but personal—not obeyed by all the subjects of one state, but by all the members of one tribe or religion, and attached to the person, or hereditary. In France the conquerors, though they seized part of the land, left the Roman provincials their other rights, and among the rest, that of being judged in civil cases by their own law, preserving at the same time their own civil law for disputes among themselves; each person, therefore, obeyed the law of his forefathers. The law of the wife was the same as that of her husband, but a widow reverted to the law under which she lived before marriage. In suits between parties subject to different laws, the law of the defendant was always taken as the guide. Under the British rule in India, an exactly similar course is pursued with regard to the law being attached to the person. The Mahommedans and Hindoos are guided by their respective civil laws; and when the parties in a cause are of different religions, the defendant, as was the case in France, has the benefit of his own law. The justice of this rule is obvious; the defendant well knowing the provisions of his own law, might find that he had unwittingly transgressed the law of the plaintiff, with which he is unacquainted, and in his dealings with persons living under a different law, would be embarrassed by the regulations of conflicting systems; but under the present practice, the knowledge of one of these laws is a sufficient guide for his conduct. Practically, perhaps few cases occur in which the law of the defendant is applied; for the pure law of either party is seldom used in the courts, except in questions of adoption or inheritance. Land is held by a fixed tenure, independent of the religion of the holder; and contracts, which most frequently give rise to such law-suits, are construed according to the general principles of

equity, with a due regard to the custom of the place. The causes to which an Englishman is a party, which are chiefly those of debt or contract, do not in general require a very exact knowledge of a third system of law, that of England; that general knowledge of it, which the proposed improvement of education would secure, would fully suffice for the decision of all such claims.

Perhaps a more exact resemblance to the system of personal law in France may be found in India before its occupation by the English, when the Mahommedan conquerors retained their own civil law, and left undisturbed that of the original inhabitants, the Hindoos, extending at the same time one criminal law over both.

Both the Mahommedan and Hindoo law have in some degree been altered by the regulations of the British government, but not in such a manner as at all to injure the rights of the persons subject to them. In order to ensure the general knowledge of, and obedience to, these regulations, it is provided, "that all which may affect in any respect the rights, persons, or property of the subjects of government, shall be formed into a regular code, and printed with translations in the country languages;" (*Regulation XLI. 1793*); and a copy of each new regulation is sent to every court for its guidance.

Besides these regulations, which are in fact the statute law of India, it has been the object of the Indian governments to encourage, by every means in their power, the translation and publication of works of authority on either native law, with reports of cases most laboriously compiled. From these sources the greater part of the knowledge of Indian law possessed by the English judges there, is derived. They have in fact laid open the great body of both systems of law, and, with the aid of native information, afford a wide basis for the formation of a single code.

The Mahommedan law is derived from a variety of sources, which rank in authority according to the following order:—  
1. The Koran, as interpreted by the best authorities; 2. The sayings and decisions of Mahomet, handed down by his companions; 3. The judgments of his companions, many of which have been most laboriously recorded—and as the Mahommedan conquerors of Hindostan were Soonnees, those of his companions who became Shiyas are little regarded in that country. If these three sources should fail in laying down the principle applicable to the case, the judge is enjoined to decide to the best of his judgment, to aid which many collections and reports of ancient decisions have been formed. These various authorities give rise to great differences of opinion among native lawyers. The truth of many traditions and precepts is denied

and disputed; and the vagueness of rules sometimes occasions a doubt of their being applicable to the point in question: contradictory opinions are in consequence frequently given by the most eminent of the natives; and this is more remarkably the case when brought up in different provinces, where different traditions and authorities are in the highest repute. All these, even the Koran, are superseded by the Criminal Regulations, which, in the cases which they provide for, are supreme. These regulations, the first of which was passed in 1793, at the establishment of the present judicial system, have been enacted from time to time since that period, and modify or alter the old law in cases which appear to require reformation. In its pure state, as administered by the Mussulman conquerors and rulers, their law was more suited to thinly-peopled and semi-barbarous countries, than to a populous and civilized empire. But by three great alterations, it has become in its present state as applicable to the populous plains of India, as in its former it was to the deserts of Arabia, or the ill-cultivated districts of Persia. These are—1. That instead of the punishment of crime being the consequence of individual resentment, which a pecuniary compensation, or submission on the part of the offender, might appease, (a provision of law suited only to a rude state of society, such as existed in Europe and Asia during the middle ages,) the public is considered the injured party, and is therefore the prosecutor; 2. The barbarous punishments of torture and mutilation have yielded to those of imprisonment and fine; 3. In judging of the amount of crime, the weapon used is no longer held to be the test, but the intention, as far as it can be discovered, with which it was used. As a whole, the Mahomedan criminal law, though an institution belonging to rude times and uncivilized countries, instead of being, as might be expected, severe and bloody, is more scrupulous of taking suspicious evidence, and more unwilling to convict, without the clearest proof, than any other code of modern times. Combined, as it now is, with the English regulations, it is more tender of human life than the law of England, while its secondary punishments are sufficiently severe to deter from crime, instead of being, as in England, the scoff and jest of every hardened offender.

Yet with all its excellences, and after all the alterations that have been proposed, for the purpose of rendering both it and the civil law still more perfect, there remains one thing to be added—a correct and ample code of laws, by which all the courts and the subjects of the government may be guided. Though every person is supposed by a fiction of law to be acquainted with the laws of his own country, such is far from being really the case; but the possession of a code of laws removes the



obstacles to the attainment of that knowledge, which the various sources from which they are drawn, create, and which render its intricacies in general unattainable by the great body of the people. And here again, in applying these remarks to India, we must turn to the example of Sir A. Johnston in Ceylon. The same benefits that France received from the Code Napoleon, (whatever might be its imperfections) of easy acquirement and simple administration of the law, were conferred on Ceylon through his suggestions and labours. In that province a code of laws exists in its greatest perfection. The best informed persons in each province were formed into a committee for the purpose of reporting to the government the laws and customs which prevailed in their respective provinces, with any alterations to be made in them which might appear desirable. The report was then publicly exhibited in every village, there to receive the approbation of the inhabitants, and if any mis-statement or inaccuracy occurred, their objections were publicly recorded and examined into. All parties, therefore, who were in future to be subject to it, were made to express their assent to the code, and, by the power of objecting to any part of the report, the truth was clearly ascertained. The code was then framed from these reports, with an attention to the local laws and usages; and an universal knowledge of any addition that might have been considered necessary by the compilers of the code, was secured, by depositing in every village a copy of it in the native language for public perusal. A similar measure was executed at Bombay in 1827, at the same time with the other alterations in the courts. A single criminal code was compiled from the old laws and regulations, and translated into the native languages; but though no dissentient voice has been heard to detract from its utility, it still wants that adaptation to the local usages of each province, which no plan can so readily and efficiently secure, as that of inviting public observation and correction, as adopted by Sir A. Johnston. Such a scheme is, we believe, now in process of execution in the two sister presidencies, and when finished, it cannot be doubted that it will fulfil the most sanguine hopes of its projectors. The aid that all parties must derive from a clear and simple exposition of the law of the land scarcely needs a comment. On suitors in particular, and all other persons, it will confer marked benefits, by giving them a simple manual of all the laws which they are to obey, divested of all technicalities. By deciding and clearly explaining the principle of many rights which are now doubtful, and which are the cause of endless law suits, and thereby diminishing their number, by enabling the English judge to administer the law without the assistance of the moolavie in criminal trials, and by the probable diminution of one class of appeals,



(those in which the law is declared to have been improperly applied,) which would be the consequence of the greater simplicity with which the law is expressed, it may be expected to lead to a reduction of expenditure in the judicial department, or in other words, to that increase of revenue which is required to carry into execution so many necessary improvements.

Of the two great classes of persons subject to these laws, the Mussulmans and Hindoos, little remains to be said; we have already noticed the chief peculiarity attached to them, the possession of a separate civil law. The other two classes, the half-castes and the English, claim greater attention and interest: the former, on account of their increasing intelligence and numbers, and the circumstance of their having petitioned Parliament to extend to them the rights and privileges of British-born subjects: the latter, from the permission lately granted of holding lands and of free access to the interior, a measure the probable effects of which are not yet ascertained. The petition of the former class complained that they were subject to what the bearer of it termed "the lash of the Mahommedan law, the provisions of which are barbarous as applied to a Christian population." And their complaint was, that with regard to marriages and inheritance, they were without any "definite rule of civil law." With regard to the first, we cannot think it so great a hardship, or that the provisions of that law are so barbarous, modified as they have continually been by the Regulations of the British government. It cannot be a hardship, as applying to persons of a different religion, for the Hindoos are also subject to it, and if it touched any portion of their creed, they would be the first to complain. Still less is it to be so considered, if, as is probable, the privilege which the British in India now enjoy—of being tried in serious criminal cases by their own law—be taken away, and the Mahommedan law made use of instead. The barbarous provisions (meaning, we presume, the punishments of mutilation, &c.) have long ago been changed for the milder penalties of English law. The want of a fixed civil law is a far more reasonable subject of complaint. The confusion incident to disputed successions must in consequence perpetually recur, and the dissatisfaction and distress which this alone must occasion, are sufficient reasons for speedily redressing the evil. Brought up, as they have in some degree been, with English ideas, and always endeavouring to assimilate themselves to the English, our laws of inheritance, &c. would be a greater boon to them than any other that can be devised. The want of a civil law is not, however, the only disadvantage under which they labour. They are excluded from many desirable offices in the civil service, and from holding com-

missions in the Indian army, and indeed, in a great measure, from its ranks. Prior to the order which excluded them from future appointments in the army, (1808,) many of their class held commissions, some of whom highly distinguished themselves. Their intermixture in the ranks of the army with Mahomedans and Hindoos may be objected to on account of the dislike in which they are generally held by the latter, and they are probably not numerous enough to compose a single corps; but for the exclusion of the officers it is difficult to give a reason. Their qualifications and respectability as a class, which are daily increasing, entitle them to a share of public offices, and if this bar to their ambition were removed, the depression and disadvantages under which they now lie would be changed to a hearty good-will and loyalty to the government, which now they can hardly feel. They are placed in a painful situation, liked neither by natives nor English; but much of this, on the part of the natives, arises from the manner in which they are treated by the English; for wherever the English have shown respect to a person of this class, the natives have never been backward in imitating their example. The jealousy which the government now shows them should be changed to a more liberal line of policy; and their zealous co-operation and attachment, as a class and individually, would be immediately secured.

The late alterations made in the rules regarding the admission of English settlers in India, have not been in operation a sufficient time to enable us to foresee their full effects. A licence is still necessary, but they are allowed to hold land and to settle in the interior. But it is scarcely probable, that in the present state of knowledge respecting it, any persons, except those already in some way connected with that country, will be adventurous enough to seek it for the purpose of settling. While our other colonies offer so much greater inducements to colonization, in better climates, unoccupied—and therefore cheap land, and a more accurate knowledge of all circumstances important to the welfare of an inexperienced colonist, the settler in India must look forward to the reverse of all these, and perhaps, worst of all, to living among a strange people, of whose language and customs he is ignorant. Whatever increased occupation of land originates from the opening of the interior to the enterprise of Englishmen, and the permission to purchase land, will arise from persons already in the country, or connected with it. This circumstance will prevent a sudden and great influx of settlers, and it becomes a problem which must be solved before their number has greatly increased, to what laws and courts they shall be made amenable. They are at present subject in criminal cases only to the Supreme

Court established at each Presidency under judges appointed from England. But the inconvenience of continuing this privilege to a numerous body of settlers requires some alteration before that increase can take place. We can see but one mode of proceeding on the supposition that such will be the case. The English magistrate alone should have the power of committing an Englishman for trial; for the native judge or head of police to whom such a charge might be intrusted, would either be inclined to tyrannize over one of the ruling caste, or more probably, he would be overawed, and fearful of executing his duty. The form of a grand jury must necessarily be dispensed with in the absence of persons of whom it could be composed: but there is no place where a gaol-delivery is held, at which a mixed jury of Europeans and respectable natives cannot be collected for the purpose of trial, the criminal judge presiding, as is now sometimes the case, without the presence of the Mahomedan law officer.\* The reluctance which has been expressed by the Company's judges in India to try an Englishman for his life, would by this be overcome. Their duty would go no farther than ascertaining the facts of the case; the records of which being forwarded to the Supreme Court, instead of the Sudder Adawlut, would enable that court, as at present, to decide on the question of law, without the trouble, delay, and expense caused by the removal of prisoner and witnesses from perhaps the most remote parts of our dominions. A nearer approach to the privileges which are possessed in his own country by every Englishman is, we fear, impossible; but how many more safeguards against injustice are there in these proceedings than are possessed by English residents in those countries of Europe where the institution of trial by jury does not exist?

The evils which might arise from the divided supremacy which the Supreme Court and the Sudder Adawlut would have over the Criminal Court, may be obviated by the proposed junction of these two courts; a measure desirable both on account of the numerous benefits derivable from it in a judicial point of view, the greater independence of the judges of the latter on government, and the settlement and prevention of the differences that have often existed between the Governments and the Supreme Courts at each Presidency—from their violence sometimes doing little honour to either party, and from the divided power which they argued, and the inability of the government to control per-

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\* A regulation to this effect was passed on the occasion of a fatal duel between two French gentlemen at Chandernagore. On the trial of the survivor, the inconvenience of the presence of a moolavie was strongly felt.

sons apparently its subjects, greatly diminishing the respect of the natives for their British rulers. Two other clauses of the late Indian Bill affect the judicial system still more directly than the permission to hold land,—viz. the appointment of a Legislative Council, and of a Legal Commission. The Council, as its name implies, has the sole power of making laws for all India; it consists of five ordinary members, of whom one is appointed from England. The governors of Presidencies are thereby relieved from the great pressure of business which the internal management of their territories, joined to the task of legislation, imposed upon them; and the greater expedition with which laws may be passed, without the necessity of delay by reference to England, is likely to prove highly beneficial. The member of this council, who is sent out from England, in addition to his duties in that capacity, presides over the Legal Commission, which is appointed for the purpose of suggesting a general judicial and police system, and of framing a general code. With respect to the probable advantages to be derived from the establishment of a general police system, we would say one word; that, composed as India is of many nations, differing from each other in character in as marked a degree as those of Europe,—nations also, in some of which the ancient Hindoo village institutions exist in nearly full perfection, while in others they have been swept away by the tide of Mussulman invasion,—it is not to be expected that a uniform police system can be framed, adapted to the circumstances of every part of the peninsula. Already, at Bombay, the extension of the police of more civilized countries to those less advanced, has retarded the system in its progress to perfection; and a still greater dissimilarity of circumstances, such as exists in other parts of India, will lead to still more marked and disadvantageous results. To the labours of this Commission we look forward with the hope that, being on the spot, and having access to every document and evidence which can affect the subject of their enquiry, their report will lead to the entire removal of those defects which now exist in the Police and Judicial Systems of India. Of the effects of the existing institutions, even in their present imperfect state, but one opinion can be held,—that contrasting the state of anarchy and confusion, and the domination of violence over the weak and defenceless, which prevailed previous to, and even in some parts since, our occupation of India, they have conferred greater benefits on our subjects than any of our other measures, and have conduced to increase their happiness and content more than any regulations affecting their wealth and commerce.

ART. X.—*Ionian Anthology*, &c. No. 1. Corfu. January, 1834. 8vo.

THE establishment of a periodical publication in the Ionian Islands, though no very remarkable circumstance in an age which has witnessed the production of French newspapers at Constantinople, Smyrna, and Alexandria, may, however, be regarded as an event of some importance to the Greeks, and of interest to the rest of Europe. But if its projectors,—persons, we believe, of weight and consequence in the island,—desire to render it useful to the nation for whose instruction it seems to be principally designed, they have but one plain course to pursue: and that, if we mistake not, is rigidly to resist, from the beginning, every temptation to convert it into a mere instrument of amusement, adapted to the taste of a rich, luxurious, and fastidious population; which, by turning it from its natural channel, would quickly paralyze its influence, and put an end to its career. The proper object of such a publication in such a country, is to awaken in the inhabitants the spirit of inquiry, to generate a thirst for knowledge; to show them in how many particulars of vital importance they are now in the rear of every other European people, though once the foremost in the march of social improvement; and, at the same time, to point out, as far as possible, the causes of this inferiority, and the means by which it may be removed. Conducted with any other views, the work can answer no useful purpose. But, by thus identifying itself with the interests of Grecian society, by suggesting or advocating reforms, and chronicling their origin and progress, it may take high ground, be productive of incalculable benefit, and secure to itself an extensive and lasting popularity.

From the tone of several articles in the first number, it would appear that the originators of the "*Ionian Anthology*" are actuated by extremely praiseworthy motives, and have public utility in view. Like all other earnest professors of knowledge, they are hostile to the prevalence of any species of ignorance, which must obstruct and curtail their own influence; it being, in fact, the business of the author to diminish the empire of moral darkness, which, wherever it exists, necessarily conceals from those encircled by it, the splendour and beauty of his own intellectual effigies.

"The time was,"—it is observed in the introduction,—"*and not many years ago*, when, even in some of the largest and most advancing commonwealths of Europe, there was a numerous body of reasoners, if those may be so called that argue so plainly against all reason, who maintained that education and the spread of knowledge are principles which, if too widely carried into practice, might be not without danger to the well-being of mankind,—that the several classes might lose the befitting sense of their different duties and functions, and thus become confounded in the discharge of them,—that those who must live by practical industry in agriculture and manufactures, might be led away to the less profitable pursuits of abstract speculation;—that, in consequence, the earth might be less well tilled, and the loom less actively plied; that the ambitious labourer might tread upon the heel of his lagging master, and the governed rise in a state to an undue level with its governors. This was, in other words, no less than to determine that Providence had finally fixed the quantum of knowledge to be allowed to the people at the precise amount which it had then attained, and that

it meant the distribution of it to be ruled according to the artificial gradations which the wants, the laws, or the changes of society had established;—a conclusion controlling as presumptuously the gifts of the Creator, as it was unjustly invading the prerogative of man. Who shall say when these proper boundaries of intellectual power shall have been reached? No man certainly can say so now, when the advances in abstract knowledge, and in the application of the exact sciences, are daily showing more and more clearly that information and invention are still in their infancy.”—pp. 8—12.

The object of the publication, and the course intended to be pursued in the selection of its materials, are thus explained :

“ The *Ionian Anthology* is open, as was at first announced, to writers in any of the three languages with which the people of these islands are the most acquainted. In the Greek, as being their own; in the English, as that of a nation with which they are by political ties closely bound; in the Italian, as one with which long custom has made them generally familiar, and which moreover comes to them recommended by the wide range and great beauty of its literature. The *Anthology* is open to writers of all classes and in all styles, that it may thus fit itself to all tastes among its readers. It is open to papers on all matters of abstract knowledge and particular usefulness, as well as on lighter subjects of amusement, whether original or translated from originals which have appeared elsewhere.”—pp. 2—4.

But, in selecting from the stores of English literature treatises and passages calculated to rouse and give a beneficial direction to the mental vigour of the Greeks, it will be necessary to steer clear of what are commonly denominated “ cheap publications,” towards which, in the majority of provincial and colonial works, we observe a decided leaning. Every thing is not cheap, however, that is sold for a small sum. It may be worth still less than it costs. It may even be mischievous. Besides, these “ cheap publications” are too commonly nothing but pale reflections of superior original compositions; nothing but jejune, spiritless abridgements, destitute of all that vital energy which kindles in the mind of him who reads an enthusiasm productive of useful imitation. The Greeks,—whatever they themselves may imagine to the contrary,—must be regarded as barbarians, whose mental powers, having lain fallow during many a century, are now to be broken up, and cultivated, like a virgin soil. What their ancestors once were, they must cease to remember. It is not from them that they can derive the seeds and principles of civilization adapted to the age in which their lot is cast; but from the great nations of modern times—from England and France—by following whose example they may create a literature worthy of their splendid physical organization, and the land they inhabit. But the poetry, history, philosophy of England and France—their most finished models of composition—those rays of light, those trains of fire, by which the mind is warmed and illuminated—are not to be found in the eleemosynary literature which seemed recently to threaten the annihilation of all taste and sound knowledge. Mere facts, disunited from their corollaries, from the reflections and applications which recommend them to the keeping of the memory, and render them so many practical lessons, are no better than a caput mortuum. To benefit the Greeks, the best models of the greatest masters in every branch and division of human knowledge



should be proposed to them ; just as we should set up for the imitation of a child the most virtuous and accomplished individuals known to our reading or experience, in preference to characters containing a large alloy of immorality or weakness, though the latter offer themselves much more readily to the eye, and might be imitated with far greater facility.

With respect to the original compositions to be inserted in the Anthology, we offer no suggestions,—the conductors will of course make use of the best they can procure,—but it may be remarked that articles of mere intellectual luxury can scarcely be placed with propriety before a people in a moral condition like that of the Greeks. For some time to come, their first and only inquiry should be, how they may best obtain and secure to themselves and their posterity the requisite degree of political freedom, without which the highest acquirements in science or art are only the accomplishments of a slave. Even among nations infinitely higher in the scale of social improvement, a thorough conviction of this fact can never be too firmly established ; but to the Ionians, and their neighbours of the continent, among whom the germs of civil society are as yet but imperfectly disclosed, it is of paramount importance. Tales, descriptions, poetical legends, Bacchic or erotic songs, with all the lighter and more graceful portions of literature, have, doubtless, their merit, and cannot, perhaps, be wholly dispensed with in a periodical miscellany ; but, if we may judge from a first number, there seems to be a disposition in the conductors of the Anthology, to suffer things of this kind to usurp too large a portion of the work. However, considering the disadvantages of their position, and the difficulty of discovering, among a small population, the proper number of contributors, it would be unfair to expect from the commencement of such an undertaking greater variety or superior articles. The style observable throughout is too ambitious, but not destitute of vigour ; the feeling pervading the whole is liberal ; and the scenes,—where description is introduced,—are of a highly interesting and poetical character. Of this, *The Fragment of a Journal on Delphi*, and *A Journey to Athens*, might furnish more than one example.

The short article entitled “National Education,” though paradoxical and imperfect, is conceived in the proper spirit, and may be regarded as a specimen of the species of compositions from which the Greeks might derive benefit. But the author attributes too much importance to the form in which knowledge is conveyed to the people ; since, if they be properly instructed, it matters not at all by what mode. He is, moreover, wrong in attributing to the dearness of books, and the absence of recitations, and oral communications, the “strong line of separation between the manner of thinking of the rich and poor” observable in modern times. All these things are consequences resulting from the character of our institutions, essentially less popular than those which obtained in the ages and countries to which the writer alludes. His views and arguments, however, are not unworthy of consideration.



**ART. XI.—***Voyage dans la Macedoine, contenant des Recherches sur l'Histoire, la Geographie, et les Antiquités de ce Pays.* Par M. E. M. Cousinéry, ancien Consul-Général à Salonique, Membre de l'Institut, &c. 2 vol. 4to. Paris. 1831.

EUROPEAN Turkey is as yet but very imperfectly known. The north-eastern provinces, between Constantinople and the Danube, have been lately visited by various travellers, as well as by the Russian armies ; but there is still a dense mass of country between the Adriatic, the river Save, the Western Balkan, and the Ægean Sea, and extending from the 40th to the 45th degrees of north latitude, which is yet almost wholly unexplored by foreigners. Bosnia, Turkish Croatia, and Hertze-govina, Northern Albania, Western Roumelia, and Macedonia,—these are provinces equal to kingdoms, intersected by mountains, forests, and rivers, inhabited by numerous and fierce populations, mostly of Sclavonian or Illyrian races. The Sclavonian subjects or tributaries of the Porte, including the Servians, cannot be estimated at less than five millions, the Albanians at another million and a half.

Of these provinces Macedonia is to us the most interesting. An ancient kingdom of the older Greek or Pelasgic origin, its history and geography have been comparatively neglected for those of Southern Hellas. And yet it was from Macedonia that the conquerors issued who changed the destinies of Asia ; it was the hard-fought conquest of Macedonia that established the Roman power in the East ; it was in the plains of the same country that the fate of the Roman republic was sealed. The country is strewn with memorials of its own kings, of Greek and Roman colonies, of the Cæsars of the Byzantine empire, of the early Christian Churches, of the Crusaders, and of the Turkish conquerors. In its natural advantages it is no less favoured. Vast and fertile plains, watered by noble rivers, forming numerous lakes, a long line of coast, with magnificent bays and natural harbours, lofty mountains covered with forests, and abounding in mines of the various metals :—such are the principal features of the country. The work before us comes opportunely to fill up a great void in modern geography. M. Cousinéry is a conscientious, enlightened, sound-headed writer, and we can safely trust his statements as to actual facts and localities, although we may not choose always to follow him in his antiquarian speculations. He was consul-general of France at Saloniki previous to the revolution of 1793, which cost him his place, and France most of her factories in the Levant. After the restoration of 1814, M. Cousinéry was sent again to Saloniki by Louis XVIII., when he revisited the scenes of his former researches. The present work is the result of his observations and inquiries at both periods.

Macedonia is inhabited by many races. The Greeks and the Bulgarians are the most numerous. The Bulgarians came from Scythia, and conquered many provinces of the Byzantine empire, in the 10th century. Both have been subjugated since by the Turks, and yet, although the Bulgarians have adopted the religion of the Greeks, the two races maintain their line of separation. The Greeks still occupy

the same forests and mountains where they took shelter at the time of the Bulgarian invasion, and the Bulgarians live in other mountains, or in the plains where they settled themselves as conquerors, and where the Turks have allowed them to remain as cultivators of the soil. The country east of Saloniki, the province of Chalcidice especially, is entirely inhabited by Greeks, while in the districts to the west of that city, in the plains watered by the Axios, the country population is wholly Bulgarian; again, in the woods and mountains beyond those plains, the Greeks re-appear. In the towns, Greeks and Bulgarians are now mixed together, and more amalgamated by dress, language, and religion, yet they seldom intermarry or associate in common. In the country they live altogether separate, and each race retains its own language and dress. The Bulgarian, as if still proud of the tradition of his conquest, drives his plough dressed in his white cotton shirt, his braided waistcoat, and ample breeches, a costume always very clean and even elegant. The Greek, who is reduced to poorer lands, wears garments less ample, and less clean, and without any ornaments. Both however wear black shoes or boots, the use of yellow and red leather being monopolized by the Turkish conquerors. The Bulgarian peasant girls hire themselves, by whole troops, as harvest women, all over Macedonia, and lead generally a licentious life until they get married. In Roumelia the Greeks in the country speak Bulgarian from their childhood; but in the towns they retain their own language, and call the others barbarians.

Another interesting race, called Vlaki by the Greeks, is very numerous in Macedonia, as well as in other provinces of European Turkey. They are unquestionably the descendants of the numerous colonies planted by the Romans in these countries, and of which there were five in Macedonia, besides Thessalonica, and they are all five ruined, namely, Dium, Cassandra, Pella, Philippi, and Stobi. During the convulsions of the 10th and 11th centuries, the Roman colonists were obliged to leave the towns, and took refuge in the neighbouring mountains of Epirus and Macedonian Illyria, especially in Mount Pindus. In the latter mountain they are still in great numbers; they speak a corrupt Latin, and call themselves Romoony (Romans.) Most of them follow the vocation of shepherds. Others built the town of Voscopolis, which rose at one time to considerable prosperity by its trade, until a pasha of Albania attacked and plundered it; the inhabitants then dispersed themselves, some in Hungary and the Bannat, and the rest in Macedonia, and especially at Serres. The Valachians of Macedonia are quite different from those who inhabit the province of Wallachia, although both speak a corrupt Latin. The former are remarkably fine men, and retain much of the pride as well as the courage of their Roman ancestors; they are always chosen to lead the van of the caravans in dangerous passages; they are all armed alike, and wear a high cap covered with black wool. There are other Valachians also in the Morea, in the mountains of Argos; all the three races profess the Greek faith, but their language, dress, and appearance, are quite distinct from those of the Greeks.

The Albanians form another of the races scattered over Macedonia. Some of them are Christians, others Mussulmans. In winter, they descend from the mountains, with their numerous flocks, which find pasture in the plains of Saloniki. They make their folds of canes, with their long leaves, which the marshy banks of the rivers furnish in abundance. These canes, fixed closely in rows, shelter the flocks and the shepherds against the north winds. In the spring, after selling the disposable part of their lambs or sheep to the Turks, the shepherds return to their mountains. But besides this migratory population; many Albanians fix themselves in Macedonia, either as servants to the landed proprietors, or artizans, or as bath-keepers in the towns; numbers of them also enlist as soldiers in the service of the Porte, or of the local Beys. The Mahommedan Albanians are considered by the Turks as only half Mussulmans. It is the same with their neighbours the Bosniacs, who often, when seriously ill, have masses said before the shrine of the Virgin, and send for the priest to be baptized, and have the extreme unction administered.

The Turks reside chiefly in the towns, or in the farms of which they are proprietors; but there are other Turkish tribes called Yoorooks, come from Asia Minor; they live chiefly in the neighbourhood of Saloniki and of Serres; they are cultivators, shepherds, and carriers; they send their flocks in summer to graze on Mount Rhodope; they have a chief or protector, called Yoorook Bey, appointed by the Porte, and who generally resides at Saloniki.

The Jews are very numerous in the towns of Macedonia; at Saloniki alone they amount to 20,000. Many of them are of Spanish extraction. There is in the same city a class of Jews who turned Mussulmans about a century ago, in consequence of a religious schism between their chief Rabbi and that of Constantinople. They are called *Dunm *, or "false apostates," as they are still believed to follow, in secret, the rites of their former faith. Near the ruins of Stobi, on the banks of Erigonus, there is a race of Mussulmans, who however speak Bulgarian, and are evidently of Bulgarian descent.

But the most curious population is that which inhabits the southernmost ridge of mount H mus, above the plains of Philippi. M. Cousin ry sees in them the descendants of the Satr , an ancient Pelasgic or Thracian race, mentioned by Herodotus. These mountaineers, like the Montenegrins of Dalmatia, have never been totally subjugated, either by the Romans, Greeks, Bulgarians, or Turks. They are spread along the mountains of the Southern H mus and mount Rhodope; they have become Mahommedans, like several other aboriginal races, after the Turkish conquest; their Imams are all foreigners, chiefly from Asia, and they seem to know but little about the Koran. They occasionally infest the roads, especially in times of political commotions. M. C. saw a number of them at the fair of Jenid , on the eastern side of the river Mettus.

"I had never met, in any of the Ottoman provinces, with men so tall, so robust, or so fierce looking. Each carried a long musket, a pair of pistols, a yatagan, a cartridge box, and a large powder flask. The Porte has no control over them, and no one dares to penetrate into their mountains, except the

*Tchinganis* or gipsies, who provide them with iron and tin implements. Every year, in the spring, the young men of each village assemble in arms, and begin their excursions in different directions. They encamp near the villages or farms, whose inhabitants they do not molest, provided they bring them a certain quantity of provisions, especially wine and lambs. They then proceed to the interior of the forests, where they hold their orgies. Each troop is accompanied by a certain number of gipsy girls, either willingly or taken by force."

A Jewish merchant, who was on good terms with one of their chiefs, was invited to one of their feasts, on mount Symbolos, near Cavalla. The entertainment began by a licentious dance, executed by several gipsy girls, during which the men smoked and drank. The repast followed, served on the heath, at which the dancers, however, were not admitted. Afterwards the men fired at a target, and then the dances began again. At the end of each dance, the performer knelt before the chief guests, who rewarded her with pieces of money. They continue this wandering life for about two months, after which the party separates, each man returns to his home, and the gipsy girls repair to their own tents. M. Cousin ry sees in this custom the remains of the worship of Bacchus, which was performed of old in these same mountains.—vol. ii. pp. 77—84.

All these strange, numerous, and many of them warlike, populations, who live in European Turkey, almost in a state of independence, each having its local customs and usages, its elders or chieftains, and with whom the Turks are too proud, too indolent, or too politic to interfere, all acknowledging in some degree the paramount supremacy of the Porte, constitute in fact the only security for the continued existence of that empire. The Asiatic provinces may fall off one after the other, yet European Turkey will continue to hold together. Were even Constantinople taken, and the Sultan deposed, the Albanians, the Bosniacs, the Bulgarians, the Servians, the other Slavonian races, and all the mountaineers of the H mus, the Rhodope, the Scardus, the Pindus, the Olympus, and their thousand ridges, would never submit to any European or other conqueror. They would never submit to any of our regular but grinding systems of administration or financial taxation: a frightful, interminable anarchy would be the consequence.

"The Turkish empire," says a late English traveller, to whose work reference has already been made in this Journal, "was too extended and too diversified in race, language, religion, and interests, to have been held together by the ablest European administration; it has been held together by a weak and profligate administration, which however allowed to opinion, to industry, to commerce, to prejudice, and habit, a freedom and equality which have been very imperfectly felt in Europe . . . . The affections and attachment of the tributary states wait on the Porte whenever that government is reduced to the helplessness of being just. The awe imbibed by the rayas with their first milk, the magic of the name, the habit of command and submission, give the Turkish government advantages which, if properly used, are immense. Would a Servian submit to a Greek? Would a Greek admit the supremacy of a son of the Scythian race? Would either submit themselves to an Albanian or a Bosniac, or either of these recognize any authority in one of their former rayas? But all cheerfully support the Porte, if it gives a field of exercise to those who bear arms, and ensures tranquillity and non-interference to those who cultivate the

soil, or who struggle in the busy arena of industry and commerce. I am convinced that the people feel this practically, though they cannot find words or mouths to express now what, if the Porte were subverted, bloodshed and anarchy and invasion would cause to ring even in our *distant* ears."\*

There is much truth in the view here exhibited of the resources of European Turkey, founded on its warlike and heterogeneous population, and the municipal independence to which they have for ages been accustomed under the Porte.

"There is centralization of power in Turkey, but not of administration. The population administers itself, each community apportioning its own burdens, collects its own taxes, and pays them to the functionaries of the Porte."

Saloniki was formerly called Therm , on account of its mineral springs, which name was changed by Cassander, son of Antipater, into that of Thessalonike, the name of his wife, who was the daughter of Philip. Although this city dates of the age of the Macedonian kings, there are no remains of monuments older than the time of the Romans. It is traversed from west to east by the Via Egnatia, which went from Appollonia on the Adriatic to Amphipolis on the  gean Sea. Two triumphal arches, remains of a circus of the hippodrome, and a pantheon now used as a mosque, are among the Roman monuments. The church of Santa Sophia, now also a mosque, is a fine monument of the Byzantine epoch. The castle of the Seven Towers commands the town, which is built against the base of mount Corthiat or Dysoros, facing the sea. Saloniki is the most commercial town of European Turkey next to Constantinople, and contains a population of between sixty and seventy thousand inhabitants. Manufactures of carpets, of silk gauzes, and of leather, are still in a state of great activity. The *esnap*, or company of tanners, enjoys several privileges. A Pasha of two tails commands the *livas* or province of Saloniki, which extends from Caraveria or Ber ea on the west, to Cavala, near Philippi, on the east. There are also a mollah or judge, and a mufti or head of the church. The Greek metropolitan has under him seven bishops of Macedonia. The country about Saloniki is hilly, and planted with gardens and vineyards.

The second city of Macedonia is Serres, situated in a fine plain, watered by the river Strymon, about fifty miles N. E. of Saloniki. The road to it leads through the mountains of Bisaltia, through a little town called Soho. Serres is the centre of a considerable commerce, especially in cotton, the produce of the country, which is purchased either by Greek and Turkish merchants, and exported into Germany, or by the Europeans of Saloniki; the former import, in exchange, chiefly German and Belgian woollen cloths. The population of Serres is reckoned at between twenty and thirty thousand. Serres is not within the jurisdiction of any Pasha, but is under a sort of feudal government, of which Ismail Bey, and after him his son Jussuf, have long been at the head. The latter being made a Pasha against his will by the present Sultan, was obliged to leave his hereditary government,

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\* Urquhart, *Turkey and its Resources*, London, 1833.

and was sent first to Patras, which he defended against the Greeks, and afterwards to Varna, where he capitulated to the Russians. M. Cousin ry was personally acquainted with both father and son, and dwells at some length on the magnificence of their palace and establishment, which was in the real feudal style, and on the benefits which Ismail conferred upon this district, after he had usurped the supreme authority over the other Beys. The family of Ismail is still possessed of great wealth and property. The fiscal or domanial lands in the province of Serres, as well as those of other districts, are divided between four bodies, 1st, the Mosques or Ulemas ; 2d, the Timars or cavalry corps ; 3d, the Zaimis or military feudatories of the first order ; and 4th, several corporations. As in Europe in the middle ages, the great feudatories have usurped the property, and made it hereditary in their families. One hardly knows which is worse, the Pacha, who purchases of the Porte the right of squeezing a province for a certain number of years, or the hereditary Bey, who enjoys that privilege by inheritance, and for life. It is true that some of these feudal chieftains, like Ismail Bey, of Serres, and Kara Osman Oglou, of Asia Minor, proved the benefactors of their respective districts, and that the transfer of their authority to a mercenary Pacha is an evil ; but the benefit of the administration of the former depended so entirely on the individual character of the chief, that we doubt whether Sultan Mahmoud deserves to be blamed for attempting to abolish this feudal power in his dominions.

The Beys of Albania and the famous Ali Pacha afford glaring instances of its gross abuse. Were Mahmoud to make the governors of provinces and the other servants of the state responsible officers, regularly paid, and having no discretionary powers, and to leave the local municipalities undisturbed, he might consolidate the authority of the Porte for ages to come.

M. Cousin ry's book is full of classical and antiquarian lore, but it does not neglect contemporary history. It makes us familiar with several distinguished Turkish characters of our age, some of whom are found to improve upon acquaintance. In one of his earlier excursions to Cavalla, a seaport near Philippi, where the French then had a factory, M. Cousin ry became acquainted with Toosoon Aga, the mussellim or governor of the place, a man much esteemed for his honourable and kind disposition, but who was afterwards treacherously put to death through the envy and covetousness of a neighbouring Bey, who wished to possess himself of his wealth. Toosoon Aga had a nephew, a promising young man, who used to accompany him in his visits to the French factory, and who, on the death of his uncle and the confiscation of his property, left Cavalla, his native place, to seek his fortune in the army. This nephew is no other than Mehemet Ali, the present Viceroy of Egypt. M. Lion, the French commercial agent at Cavalla, lost, by the death of Toosoon Aga, a considerable sum of money. Many years had passed over when M. Lion, who was then living at Marseilles, was surprised by an invitation from Mehemet, (who had not forgotten his old acquaintance through all the vicissitudes of his proud career), to come and settle in Egypt, with a promise of



his protection. M. Lion accepted the offer, and had made his preparations for departure, when death arrested him. When the Paeba was informed of the event, he expressed his regret, and sent M. Lion's family a present of 10,000 francs.

M. Cousinéry has added to his work several catalogues of curious coins found on mount Pangæus, on mount Bertiscus, and in the island of Thasos; and a series of medals of Alexander the Great, of various epochs. M. Cousinéry's skill and deep research as a medallist are well known. A map of that part of Macedonia which he has personally visited, and several views of particular monuments and scenery, accompany the work.

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**ART. XII.**—*Vergleichendes etymologisches Wörterbuch der Gothisch-Teutonischen Mundarten; Altgothisch, Althochdeutsch, Angelsächsisch, Altsächsisch, Altnordisch (Islandisch), Neuschwedisch, Neudänisch, Neuniederländisch (fläm-holl.), Neuenglisch, Neuhochdeutsch. Nebst mehreren Slavischen, Romanischen und Asiatischen Wurzeln, als Beweis gemeinschaftlicher Abstammung*, von Heinrich Meidinger. (A Comparative Etymological Dictionary of the Gothico-Teutonic Dialects, namely, of the Old Gothic, the Old High-German, the Anglo-Saxon, the Old Saxon, the Old Norse (Icelandic), the Modern Swedish, the Modern Danish, the Modern Dutch (Flemish-Hollandish), the Modern English, and the Modern High German; together with many Slavonic, Roman, and Oriental Roots, in confirmation of their common origin. Frankfurt am Main, 1833.\*

THE common origin of the Scandinavian and Teutonic dialects, and the mutual light which they throw upon each other when placed in juxtaposition, is one of the secrets, unknown or disregarded by former lexicographers and grammarians, which has been advanced and supported by Grimm. The volume which Mr. Meidinger has here produced is an extended and connected illustration of this idea. Following up the path thus opened to him, our author has more than established its importance, and convinced us—if any further proof were necessary after the specimens which have been advanced by Grimm,—that it is indeed a royal road to etymology. Although, therefore, we cannot give the present work the credit of possessing any originality in its plan, we can bestow upon it the merit of exhibiting very considerable merit in its execution; its compiler has plied his word-books with industry, and generally with care; and as far as a dictionary compiled from dictionaries can be satisfactory, we have every reason to believe that the one before us is entitled to considerable respect and approbation. Should the laboured *Althochdeutscher Sprachschatz* by Graff ever appear,†—and we hope most sincerely that the patronage which such a work

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\* Copies also exist of which the title and introductory matter are in French.

† See Foreign Quarterly Review, No. XXIII., p. 267.



should receive from the admirers of sound philological principles, combined with the most unwearied industry, will enable its highly-gifted author to give his labours to the world,—the present publication must be entirely superseded, not so much from its own demerits, as from its inability to exist when weighed against such a rival. We feel, however, that we are perhaps doing injustice to Mr. Meidinger in thus instituting a comparison between works which are not meant to enter into competition, and we therefore pursue the subject no further. Should a second edition ever be demanded, we have a few hints to offer, which we think might be acted upon with a decided improvement to the merits of the publication. Innumerable additional examples might have been added from the stores of the Old High German collected by Schilter and the Glosses published by Docen, Graff, and others; in the Middle High German we have to remark the omission of words which may be seen in such works as those published by Schertz, Hoffman, Lachmann, and the numerous host of German editors; nor should we neglect to direct his notice particularly to the provincial Glossaries of Schmeller (a most excellent work) and others. He will thank us for putting him upon his guard against the grammatical blunders of Lye and his predecessors, who have frequently misled him in his Saxon words, errors which he might almost always have avoided had he attended to the cautions of Rask and Grimm.

The *Etymologisches Wörterbuch* commences with a few observations upon the distinguishing characteristics of the Gothic dialects; after which we have sketches of the literary remains of the chief branches of the Scandinavian and Teutonic stems of the great tree. These sketches are of value, and as they are accompanied by notices of the glossarial works by which the vernacular remains of each dialect may be illustrated, they form a good outline of a philological history of those dialects. We are then made acquainted with the transformation which certain vowels and consonants are able to sustain, and for which we are to be prepared in etymological inquiries. This conducts us to the body of the work, where we find a succession of German words with their parallel forms in the collateral dialects, and frequently with instances of similar formations in the languages of the south of Europe, which are so perfectly defined as to leave no doubt of their accuracy. We then, by way of an appendix, have the names of the days of the week, of the months, of numerals, a comparison of certain verbs throughout the Gothic dialects, a table of the declension of substantives, adjectives, and pronouns; some very curious illustrations of proper names, both of individuals and of nations, in which the principle of their formation is developed; names of places and rivers, &c.; initial and terminal syllables of names of places in Ireland and Wales; illustrations of the proportionate quantity of words of a Saxon origin in the writings of certain of the standard English writers; Icelandic and Modern Swedish proverbs; list of Greek words which correspond in sound and sense with the German; and a table of the contents of the three volumes of Grimm's German Grammar. This very miscellaneous, but still curious, appendix is succeeded by indices of the

German and English words contained in the volume, which the peculiar arrangement of the system adopted renders necessary.

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**ART. XIII.—1.** *Faereyinga Saga, eller Faeröboernes Historie, i den Islandske Grundtext med Faeröisk og Dansk Oversættelse, Udgiven af Carl Christian Rafn.* (Faereyinga Saga, or History of the Inhabitants of the Faroe Islands, in the original Icelandic, with Faroese and Danish Translations. Edited by C. C. Rafn.) Kjöbenhavn. 1832.

**2.** *Faereyinga Saga, oder Geschichte der Bewohner der Färöer, im Islandischen Grundtext, mit Faröischer, Dänischer und Deutscher Übersetzung. Herausgegeben von C. C. Rafn und G. C. F. Mohnike.* (The same, with the addition of a German Translation and Editor.) Kopenhagen. 1833.

THESE remote, little known, and still, we doubt, semi-barbarous islands, situated between the Shetland Islands and Iceland, but geographically more nearly connected with the former, have for the last few centuries attracted little attention from the learned, save in the construction of maps. In earlier times, however, they formed an important part of the Norwegian dominions, and the polished scholars of the cultivated and then flourishing Iceland celebrated them and their heroic inhabitants in prose and rhyme, or rather verse; for the Scandinavian poets made alliteration serve the purpose of rhyme. The Faroe Islands were transferred with their mother country, Norway, to the Danish sceptre, and by the world at large were forgotten until lately, that they have again been brought into notice by the passion for ancient Scandinavian and Icelandic literature, now prevalent at Copenhagen. The zealous and learned Rafn last year published the work now before us, an old Icelandic history or chronicle of the first colonization, and subsequent conversion to Christianity, of the Faroe Islands, with translations into the Faroe dialect and into Danish,—the former having been executed, at the recommendation of the celebrated Rask, by two learned native Faroers;—and the whole has last year been republished, with the addition of a German translation by Mohnike.

Although the historical value of this old *Saga* may not be great, the quaint simplicity of its chronicle-like style, and the curious pictures of manners it affords, tempt us to make a few extracts, which, although we propose not to abstract one *Saga*, it may be as well to preface with a word or two of history. In the ninth century these islands were colonized by Grim Kamban, one of the many who fled from Norway, when Harald *Haarfaager*, or the Fairhaired, reduced all the petty kings of that country to the rank of vassal *Jarls*. In the tenth century, Hakon Jarl usurped the throne, though not the title, of the descendants of Harald Haarfaager, but by the unbridled indulgence of his appetites, whether for beauty or for blood, disgusted and exasperated his subjects to a degree that greatly facilitated the success of the

legitimate heir, Olof, or (as he is commonly called in the Latinised form), Olaus Tryggvason, when he appeared in arms to recover the heritage of his fathers. Olof had become a Christian during his exile, and quickly converted all his subjects to his own faith. Having thus possessed our readers of the general state of affairs, we will select a few detached transactions. Among these, we think the mode in which Thrand, a more able and powerful than amiable Faroer, acquired his immense wealth, curious and characteristic.

“Thrand went with some merchants to Denmark, and in the summer came to Halröre (now Helsingør). A great multitude of men were there collected, and it is said that to this place come, at fair time, the greatest number of people that can any where be met with in the North-land. King Harald Gormson, surnamed Blue-tooth, then reigned over Denmark. King Harald was at Halröre for the summer, with a great following. Of the king's household were two brothers, named Sigurd and Harek. These brothers went about and about the fair, in order to buy the finest and largest gold ring they could find. At length they came to a very well-ordered booth, where was a man who met them civilly, and asked what they wished to buy: they answered, a large and good gold ring; whereupon he said he had many to choose from. They asked his name, and he called himself Holmgeir the Rich. He now brought out his jewels, and showed them a thick gold ring that was very costly; but the price he set upon it was so high, that they saw no means of immediately getting together so much silver, and asked him to give them till the next day, which he promised. In the morning Sigurd went from the tent, but Harek remained in it. Presently, Sigurd stood without the tent, and said thus—‘Brother Harek, reach me quickly the purse with the silver that we resolved to give for the ring, because the bargain is made; but abide thou here, and mind our booth.’ Harek gave him the silver through the tent covering. Soon afterwards came Sigurd into the tent, and said, ‘Come now with the silver, for the bargain is struck.’ Harek answered, ‘I gave it thee a minute ago.’ Sigurd said, ‘No, I have not had it.’ Now wrangled they about this, and afterwards told it to the king. He saw that the money had been stolen from them. The king now forbade any ship to sail away until this business should be cleared up. Many found this a great hardship to remain after the fair was over. The Northmen held a meeting to consult amongst themselves. Thrand was there present, and said, ‘Mighty perplexed people are here!’ They asked him, ‘Knowest thou good counsel?’ ‘Of a surety do I,’ answered he. ‘Out with it,’ rejoined they. He answered, ‘I will not do that for nothing.’ They asked what he demanded. He answered, ‘Each of you shall give me a silver penny.’ They said that was much, but at length agreed that each should straightway give him in hand the half of a silver penny, and promised him the other half if his scheme should have the wished effect.

“The next day the king held a *Ting*, or public meeting, and made known his resolution that no ship should go thence so long as this robbery was not cleared up. Then stepped forward a young man with long red hair, freckled, and of very sour aspect; he took the word, and spoke so: ‘Mighty perplexed people are there here.’ The king's councillors asked what good counsel he had found out. ‘This is my counsel,’ answered he, ‘that each man who has come hither shall lay down as much silver as the king shall demand, and when all this money is put together in one place, then shall amends be made to him who has suffered loss; but the king shall keep the rest as an honorary gift. This I know, that the king will use his share well, and the people need no longer lie here, as though they were walled in, to their great loss—so great a multitude of people as are here come together.’ This proposal presently won general approbation, and the shipmasters said that they would much rather give money, and an

honorary gift to the king, than be kept there longer to their great loss. They took this resolution, the money was collected, and came to a considerable sum. Immediately after this, a great number of the ships sailed away. Then the king held another *Ting*, and the great quantity of money was brought to sight. First the loss of the brothers was made good therefrom; next the king discoursed with his men as to what they should do with such great riches. Then a man lifted up his voice and said, 'What does he deserve, think you, who gave this good counsel?' Then they saw that it was the same young man who now stood before the king, who had given this counsel. Then said king Harald, 'All this wealth shall be divided into two equal parts; the one half-part shall my men have, and the other half-part shall be again divided into two parts, and the one part of this half shall this young man have, but the other part I will care for.' Thrand thanked the king for this with fair and blithe words; and so extraordinary were the riches that fell to Thrand's share, that it could hardly be reckoned out in the market place."

We may probably take it as another proof, as well as a consequence, of the magnitude of the wealth Thrand acquired by his good counsel, that he got the better alike of enemies and kinsmen, and made himself really master of the Faroe Islands, though nominally acknowledging Hakon Jarl's sovereignty, whilst his kinsman, Sigmund Bresterson, the lawful heir of half the islands, was a destitute exile. Sigmund, however, found favour with Hakon Jarl, and was employed by him on many expeditions. One of these shall furnish our last extract.

"When spring came, Hakon Jarl asked Sigmund where he thought to war in summer. Sigmund said that it should rest with the Jarl's pleasure. The Jarl said, 'I will not then urge thee to pass over and play with the Swedes; but I now wish that thou shouldst bear westwards over the sea, round about the Orkney Islands. There I look that thou shalt meet with a man who is called Harald Iron-house or Iron-brow; he is banished by me, and is my greatest enemy, and has occasioned much dissension here in Norway. He is a brave man, and him I wish thee to kill, if thou canst manage it.' Sigmund said that he would fight him if he could find him out.

"Now Sigmund sailed away from Norway, with eight ships, and Thorer (his cousin) steered the Dragon ship taken from Vandil, but Sigmund himself that taken from Randver. They sailed westwards over the sea, and made but little booty that summer; and towards the close of summer came under Anglesey, which lies in England's sea. There they saw ten ships lying, and amongst them a great Dragon ship: Sigmund quickly knew that Harald Iron-house was the leader of these ships; and they agreed to fight next morning. The night passed, and at morning's dawn they seized their weapons, and fought all day, till night came again. Darkness separated them, and they agreed to continue the battle next morning; in the morning Harald called over to Sigmund's ship, and asked if he wished to continue the strife. He answered that he had no other thought. Then said Harald, 'I will now say that which I never said before, that I wish that we should be brothers in arms, and not fight longer.' This the men of both leaders counselled, and said it was highly to be wished that they should be reconciled, and that all should unite, because then few would be able to stand against them. Sigmund said there was one thing in the way of their reconciliation. 'What is that?' asked Harald. Sigmund answered, 'Hakon Jarl sent me for thy head.' 'I might well expect evil from him,' said Harald, 'and you two are unlike each other, because thou art a very brave man, and he is one of the worst men I know.' Sigmund answered, 'On that point we are not of one mind.' The people of both sought nevertheless to mediate a reconciliation betwixt them, and they were so far reconciled that they put all

their booty together, and ravaged far and wide, and few were now able to stand against them. But when autumn came, Sigmund said that he must steer for Norway. 'Then must we separate?' asked Harald. Sigmund said, 'No, that shall not be; I will now have it, that we both go together to Norway; so shall I, in some sort, fulfil the promise I gave Hakon Jarl, if I take you to him.' 'How should I go to my worst enemy?' asked Harald. Sigmund said, 'Let me care for that.' 'So it is,' answered Harald, 'both that I can well trust thee, and that thou art likewise bound to find a remedy for my difficult position, and therefore shalt thou rule in this.' "

On reaching Norway, Sigmund goes first alone to Hakon Jarl, finds him at table, and talks of every thing but Harald. The Jarl waxes impatient, and at last asks whether he had not met Ironhouse.

" 'Yes, of a surety,' said Sigmund; and now he told how it had happened that they were reconciled. Then was the Jarl silent, and became bloodred in the face, and after an hour's time he said, 'Often hast thou done mine errands better than this time, Sigmund.' 'Lord,' answered Sigmund, 'the man is now come here into your power, and I await that you should, for my sake, forgive Harald, so that he may have peace of life and limb, and freedom to dwell here in the land.' 'So can it not be,' said the Jarl, 'I will have him slain so soon as I get hold of him.' 'Lord,' urged Sigmund, 'I will be bail for him, and will moreover give as much treasure as you shall require.' 'Thy offers avail not,' said the Jarl, 'for he has no reconciliation of me.' 'To little gain have I served thee,' answered Sigmund, 'if for one single man I cannot obtain peace and reconciliation. Therefore will I leave this land, and serve thee no longer; and I would it might cost thee something ere he be slain.' Then Sigmund rose up, and went out of the room; but the Jarl remained sitting, and spoke not, and none durst pray for Sigmund. Then the Jarl spoke: 'Sigmund was wroth,' said he, 'and loss it were for my realm should he leave me; but that cannot be his earnest.' 'Surely he is in earnest,' said his men. 'Follow him,' said the Jarl, 'and we will be reconciled on the terms he proffered.' Then went the Jarl's men to Sigmund, and told him this, and Sigmund went back to the Jarl. The Jarl was now the first to greet him, and said they would be reconciled on the conditions he had offered; and he added, 'I will not have thee leave me.' "

ART. XIV.—*Mémoires sur la Révolution d'Italie en 1831*. Par Henri Misley. 8vo. Paris.

ACCIDENTAL circumstances have thrown into our hands the first nine sheets of a work under the above title, which was preparing for publication at Paris, but whose farther progress the French government took effectual measures to stop, by the expulsion of the author from the country. From the minute details which these sheets contain, there is no doubt that it would have excited a good deal of interest in the political world. Mr. Misley was, for several years, at the head of a conspiracy, tending to unite the whole of Italy under one sceptre, that the Duke of Modena, whom he considered as the most advantageously connected, the richest and ablest prince in the peninsula, and whom, it appears, he induced to give a certain countenance to his plans. His views happened to fall in with those of some of the agents, whom Russia at that time, had, amongst her preparations of war against Turkey, sent to agitate Italy, Hungary and Galicia, for the purpose of diverting

the attention of Austria from the East. Yielding to the solicitations of one of these agents, he went to Geneva to confer with Capo d'Istria on the assistance which Russia should furnish; and in the sequel he made no less than seven journies to different parts of Europe, to mature his plans. On his return, he set to work to get the co-operation of the Italian patriots; and as those of the interior refused to come forward from fear of falling into a snare, he exerted himself so much with some of the refugees in England and France, that he at last induced them to try a negociation. Committees were then formed in London and Paris; the conditions on which they should recommend the duke to their countrymen were agreed upon; and a Modenese exile was deputed, with the duke's consent, to carry them to Modena. Whilst the plot was thus fast advancing to its maturity, the treaty of peace, which the Russian successes compelled the Turks to sign at Adrianople, suddenly disconcerted it all. The Duke of Modena hastened to Vienna, to set himself right with Metternich; and Mr. Misley returned to Paris in search of other combinations. The French patriots were then preparing to resist the encroachments which they expected the Polignac ministry would soon attempt upon their liberties. Some were endeavouring to bring about a republic; others, to preserve the monarchical government, raising the Duke of Orleans to the throne. As the object of the latter was so analogous with his own, Mr. Misley formed an alliance with their party. In compliance with his wishes, MM. Félix Lepelletier and De Schonen were about to proceed to Italy in order to have some interviews with the Duke of Modena; but the sudden publication of the ordinances, and the consequent elevation of Louis Philippe, caused them to give up the journey. After some attempts to induce the citizen-king and his ministers to make common cause with Italy, he went back to Modena himself. He found the duke extremely incensed against Louis Philippe and the French cabinet, saying they had basely betrayed the secret to Metternich, and declaring that he would have nothing more to do with the conspiracy. Misley's endeavours to calm the duke and to bring him back to their former engagements were completely unsuccessful. He then resolved to dissemble and to proceed without him; and leaving Cyrus Menotti to watch his movements, as well as to make the last arrangements for the insurrection, he returned to France to inform his friends of the change, and to request their assistance in the blow which he meditated immediately to strike. Having taken every possible precaution, including private and public assurances from Louis Philippe, his ministers, and the leading members of the Chamber of Deputies, the Italian patriots effected the revolution of central Italy. Every one knows how the Austrians advanced to put it down, and how the statesmen of France shrunk from the consequences of the principle of non-intervention, which they had so boastfully proclaimed.

Mr. Misley was now condemned to death and to the confiscation of his property, by the same prince whom he had so assiduously laboured to make king of all Italy; but he was fortunate enough not to fall into his hands. In his exile, he resumed with the pen his warfare against



the oppressors of his country; and aiming the first blow at the most terrible of them all, he published his work on *the Austrian dominion in Italy*, which will be found noticed at page 352, *ante*. He next attempted to bring out the present Memoirs, in which Louis Philippe, and several of his ministers, do not appear in the most favourable light; but the French police, as we said above, defeated his plan, by sending him out of the country.

The following account of the unsuccessful attempt at insurrection made by Menotti and his accomplices at Modena, drawn up by one of the parties, who was fortunate enough to make his escape afterwards, strikes us as one of the most interesting passages of the narrative.

“ The police seemed to have been for some time acquainted with the proceedings of the liberals, with the plans they were forming, and with the fact that public opinion declared an insurrection to be at hand. The correspondence and interviews of suspected persons were watched with the greatest care. It was already reported that a very long list of arrests had passed in succession from the hands of the duke to those of Prince Canosa, and from the latter to the governor. It was added that these arrests would have the effect of paralysing all the schemes of the revolutionists. The duke had just sent the Marquis Taccoli secretly and in great haste to Rome and Naples, only allowing him six days to perform his duty and return. He had also sent Doctor Cimbari, with Grillo, his own valet de chambre, to Milan. Most of the citizens who were engaged in preparing our future destinies no longer slept at home, not considering themselves sufficiently secure. Cyrus Menotti, who knew that a revolution in Italy was on the point of breaking out, was also aware that, if a number of arrests were allowed to take place at Modena, it would deprive that city of any chance of performing its own part, for it was the most influential persons, and those in whom the greatest public confidence was placed, who would have been selected. In consequence of this, he had made up his mind, and had informed his adherents, that if the government did not allow the time to arrive in which Modena was to act in concert with the other cities, the first arrest made or attempted, of any citizen noted for his liberalism, should be the signal of the projected insurrection.

“ On the morning of the 8d of February, Nicholas Fabrisi, a young man, who was known to be in Menotti's confidence, and warmly attached to liberal opinions, was arrested by the duke's orders. Every one saw in his imprisonment the commencement of the repressive measures with which the patriots had been threatened; Menotti immediately made arrangements in order that the rising should take place the same day at midnight. He despatched couriers to Finale, Carpi, Mirandola, Sassuolo, and other places, inviting the liberals to disarm the duke's troops, take possession of the towns, and proclaim their independence. He sent to the neighbouring villages and territory, ordering such citizens as were appointed for that purpose, to assemble all their disposable force, and march upon Modena so as to arrive there at midnight. He requested all the young men, who were to act at Modena, to meet at his house in the course of the evening; and it was settled that at midnight one party should attack the guard in the square, another the ducal palace, and a third the gates of the city, in order to open them to their friends on the outside.

The Duke of Modena, on his part, was not idle. He concentrated in the city the different brigades of his dragoons, which were quartered in the surrounding country; he barricaded the gates of his palace, and took every necessary precaution to repel an attack. But all this was done with the greatest secrecy; and of all these acts, which were known after his departure, the only one that came to the ears of the public, was the order he gave to Generals Fontanelli and Zucchi to quit his territory before nightfall.

“ It was eight o'clock in the evening, and some of us were already assembled at Menotti's, where we expected the rest of our comrades. We employed ourselves in preparing tricoloured flags, and in loading the firearms which we had secretly carried there during the day. There were thirty-five of us; fifteen young men of good family, and the rest workmen and peasants. One of Menotti's servants came and told him



that a squadron of dragoons was drawn up before his door, and seemed disposed to enter the court-yard, and that, as the door was open, there was nothing to prevent their entrance. Menotti ordered that they should be allowed to enter, and that the hall door should be opened to them, intending then to shut them in and make them prisoners, as he did not think they were numerous enough to defend themselves. At this moment another servant came to inform him that the corps of pioneers was forming in order of battle in front of the house, and immediately afterwards word was brought that other troops were marching to the same point. Menotti then changed his plans. He gave orders to open the door to no one, distributed arms among us, and encouraged us to resist, if we were attacked, till midnight, anticipating that at that hour our friends on the outside would, by a diversion, divide the forces of the duke, and enable us to make a sortie.

"The detachment of dragoons, which had entered, now ascended the staircase, and knocked violently at the door of the lodging. Menotti demanded who was there, and what they wanted. The commanding officer summoned him in the duke's name to open the door, saying that he had orders to search the house. Menotti replied that he would not open it. The officer then said he would force the door, and the dragoons immediately broke it open with the butt-ends of their muskets. Menotti then drew the first trigger, and we followed his example by a general discharge of fire-arms. A reinforcement of dragoons and pioneers now arrived. There was a battle in the house between a portion of its defenders and the soldiers who invaded it, while the rest of the young men fired from the windows on the duke's troops, who were now placed all around the house, as well as posted at the opposite windows, from which they returned our fire. After two hours fighting, the death of several of the soldiers who tried to enter the lodging, put their comrades to flight. They retreated in such confusion, that they did not even carry off their wounded. This check, together with the ravages made by our well-directed fire in the ranks which crowded the street, made the officers determine to leave off firing, in order that we should do the same. Not one of us had been wounded.

"The rattling peal of musketry was followed by a deep silence, which was only broken by the groans of some wounded soldiers. The young men in the house congratulated themselves on what they had done, but were not the less convinced that they should hardly be able to stand a second attack, unless they were assisted by their friends from without. In the mean time, after placing sentinels at all the outlets of the house, one part of them were busied in getting fresh arms ready, some took a little refreshment, and the most careless went to sleep. They waited for midnight with the most intense anxiety; it struck twelve, but the wished-for tocsin was not yet heard. No voice broke a silence which began to grow fearful, and at half-past twelve no commotion had taken place. More than a thousand soldiers were drawn up round the house, and a sortie was impossible, because our muskets had no bayonets. In the mean time Menotti had disappeared, for reasons which I shall state presently.

"At one o'clock a. m. a cannon-ball made the house shake, and beat down part of the wall. This shot was followed by a second, and then by a discharge of grape-shot. A part of the front of the house had given way to the cannon, and the young men, being unable to resist this kind of attack, resolved to bury themselves under the ruins of the house. It is impossible for me to describe the state of those persons who inhabited the different floors, and who were strangers to Menotti's family. They were in the greatest consternation: the women and children uttered cries of despair, implored the pity of the besieged, whom they entreated not to expose them to certain death by a defence which was now useless. At this moment, Colonel Stanzani entered the court; and cried out "Surrender, or I will batter down the house." The cries and supplications were then redoubled, and compassion induced us to yield.

"We were ordered to descend, for the soldiers were afraid to enter the house. We obeyed, and they made us assemble in a sort of corridor at the foot of the stairs. The smallness of our number excited the surprise and rage of the soldiers to such a pitch that they wanted to butcher us. The colonel resolutely opposed this, but participating in the general error, asked why the others did not descend, and summoned them to do so with horrible threats. It was not until they were well assured that the house contained no other defenders than those before their eyes, that they had the courage to search it.

"During the time we were kept in this place, waiting for superior orders, great was the curiosity to see us, and the disposition to insult us. The colonel had much difficulty in preventing the soldiers, and especially the officers, who were even more furious, from wreaking their vengeance on prisoners and unarmed men.

"General Guicciardi came to see us, and ordered that we should be taken to the ducal palace. The first person who presented himself to his view was Silvestro Castiglioni, a young man whom he knew, and with whose family he had been long intimate. He loaded him with abuse, tried to pluck out his mustachios, and finished by spitting in his face. Silvestro's countenance only expressed dignity and contempt. The general then addressed some insulting observations to the rest of us, and went away. This was his first campaign and first achievement.

"This conduct was a fresh excitement to the soldiery, and the colonel cried in vain, "Respect them, they are prisoners." We were knocked about, insulted and wounded. The colonel resolved to send us to our place of destination, assigning to each of us a corporal and six soldiers. On our way the soldiers rushed upon us, struck us with the butt-ends of their muskets, tore our clothes, rifled our pockets, robbed us, and in a word, spared us no kind of outrage. The officers, however, surpassed them: they amused themselves by pricking us with their swords, or causing us to be goaded with bayonets. We all received injuries, many were seriously wounded, and one was left dead on the spot. We preserved these recollections with our scars.

"When we reached the palace, we were put into a narrow place where we could barely stand upright, and where the heat was suffocating. Here we found a great number of citizens who had been arrested, and it was then we learnt how our friends had been prevented from coming to our assistance. More than four hundred suspected persons were in prison. An immense number of patrols paraded the city, and would not allow any persons to meet and speak to each other. Every one was obliged to go home, under pain of being arrested. No one had been able to run to the gates, which were guarded by numerous sentinels, and the keys consigned to the hands of the duke. Detachments of cavalry scoured the suburbs of the city to disperse the assembling people. The clappers had been removed from the bells in all the churches.

"The night was spent in registering the names of the persons arrested, and sending them to prison. There we found Menotti, who had been imprisoned before us, and learned from him the result of his attempt after his disappearance, and the particulars of his capture. Seeing the absolute necessity of a diversion, he resolved to produce or secure one, either by putting himself at the head of any of his partisans he might meet with, and attacking the disordered troops, or, if that did not succeed, by setting fire to some part of the city, in order to divide the attention of the authorities. He had endeavoured to leave his house, and reach a back street by getting over the roofs of the adjoining houses. He had already got on the top of a little chapel of no great height, when he was espied by the dragoons who were there on duty. They challenged him to surrender; and, on his refusal to do so, fired at him. Being struck by a ball on the shoulder, he fell from the roof to the ground, and, although half-senseless, was pinioned, taken to the palace, and from thence to prison.

"We were all tried and condemned to death. The priest had already entered the prison, and the executioner had arrived in the city. The sentence was on the point of being carried into execution, when the news of the revolution at Bologna, and the insurrection of the neighbouring country, made the duke afraid of being blockaded and taken prisoner. This apprehension made him resolve to retire with his troops, and he took refuge in Mantua, carrying Menotti along with him, and confining him in an Austrian prison. As for us, the people set us at liberty, and a new government was established."

We have given the details of this notable plan of revolution nearly as they are stated by Mr. Misley himself. We have already, in the fifth article of the present number, expressed our opinion of the folly and utter hopelessness of all such attempts, and shall only here add, that if any thing were required to add tenfold strength to our convictions, Mr. Misley's Memoirs would furnish it.

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# MISCELLANEOUS LITERARY NOTICES.

No. XXV.

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## DENMARK.

PROFESSOR SCHOUW of Copenhagen has a work in the press on the Climate of Italy, being the result of observations made during two journies through that country in 1817—1819 and 1829—1830.

A new *Danish and English* and *English and Danish Dictionary*, by G. Gordon Macdougall, Esq., Keeper of the Classen Library at Copenhagen, assisted by a native Danish scholar, is now in considerable forwardness.

The old Dictionaries of *Wolff* (4to. London, 1779,) and of *Bay* (8vo. Copenhagen, 1798,) were confined to the Danish and English, and were besides exceedingly erroneous and imperfect. Great pains are taking by the compilers of the one now preparing to make it as complete as possible in both languages.

The King of Denmark appears to be anxious, not only in a general way for the education of his subjects, but also for the improvement of the course of education to be provided for them, and of the mode of imparting it. With a view to this last object he, about a year and a half ago, sent Mr. Charles Mariboe, to whose charge the English department at the Royal Military College is committed, to England, that he might make himself acquainted with the best and newest forms of tuition in use here. The Hamiltonian method Mr. Mariboe already knew, and had introduced into Denmark; it was therefore any subsequent improvements upon this and the Jacotot method that he sought to investigate, and from all these he has formed a system of his own, of which, both because it appears to be very successful, and because we are pleased with the novelty of seeing, proverbially slow Denmark take the lead in intellectual matters, we subjoin an outline. According to Mr. Mariboe's plan, a foreign language, say French, is taught by French sentences, pronounced by the master, and repeated by the pupils, at first without using a book; then translated, not word by word, but sentence by sentence, as literally as is compatible with preserving the idiom of both languages. The process is then reversed, the master giving the Danish sentence, and the pupil the French. The teacher next proposes new Danish sentences, to be translated by the pupils from the stock of French words they have thus acquired; and the rules of grammar they are made to deduce for themselves as they go along. We are assured that a very few such lessons enable the pupil to express himself with facility and correctness in the language he is learning, and to read any ordinary book.

Ohlenschläger's new tragedy, *Queen Margaret*, has been produced at the Theatre Royal, Copenhagen, and favourably received. It is a work superior to several, and inferior to few, of its predecessors, and is well calculated, if not to enhance, at least to sustain, the reputation of its celebrated author. Among its best points may be mentioned the scene where Margaret, to whom access to the triple crown of Scandinavia had been opened by the demise of

her son Oluf, receives, in presence of her assembled people, an impostor who, urged by the ambition of his mother, a descendant of the ancient kings of Norway, and availing himself of his resemblance to the deceased prince, (whose illegitimate brother he, in the sequel, proves to be,) has given himself out for him, and in that character laid claim to his kingdoms. The struggle in the breast of Margaret between joy at the prospect of recovering her son, even at the sacrifice of her own power, and suspicion of his identity with the individual who stands before her, so like him in stature, person and voice, that she can scarce withstand the impulse of clasping him to her bosom, is depicted with a master's hand. Scarcely inferior to this in interest, is the interview between Margaret and Ragnild, the mother of the pretender, after the discovery of the imposture, and the execution (not by Margaret's order) of its instrument. The representation of this drama was an occasion of proud and well-merited triumph to its distinguished author. It was brought out upon the twenty-fifth anniversary of his debut as a dramatic writer, and the audience seized the opportunity thus afforded them of paying him (for he was present) the homage of their admiration in a *vivat*, a compliment unprecedented, we believe, in the annals of the Danish stage. During the last summer (of its 1833) Ohlenschläger paid a visit, for the first time, to Norway, the scene of several of his master-pieces, and was enthusiastically welcomed by its inhabitants. Salutes were fired, and fêtes were given in his honour; and men of every rank and station, from the crown-prince Oscar to the artisan and peasant, vied with each other in doing homage to the great poet of the North, the legitimate successor (as he has been hailed by a brother bard, Tegué, of the immortal Goethe. On his return home the poet has given utterance to his gratified and grateful feeling in a cyclus of poetical effusions entitled "Norgesreisen, en Digtekrands," (*The Trip to Norway, a poetical garland*), a production less calculated, however, than the preceding, to do honour to his muse.

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"Dandserinden" (*the Opera-dancer*), recently published anonymously, is the production of a new candidate for poetical fame, Mr. Paludan Müller. It is a poem of some four hundred stanzas, written throughout in the *ottava rima*, and is, perhaps, the happiest imitation of Lord Byron's manner in his *Don Juan*, or his *Beppo*, that has appeared. The story it embodies is exceedingly simple, and has evidently been intended by the author to serve but as a string on which to hang a thousand beautiful episodes. Encouraged by its distinguished success, he has already published another and larger poem, on the *Loves of Cupid and Psyche*, the versification of which is extremely beautiful. It abounds with very striking poetical passages, but the subject has become trite and worn out.

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A reprint has been commenced of the *Works of J. L. Heiberg*, of which three volumes have already appeared, the first containing his juvenile poems of *The Puppet Show* and *Christmas Sports and New Year Frolics*; the second and third, his dramatic works and vaudevilles, a species of entertainment which he was the first to introduce upon the Danish stage. These pieces of Heiberg bear a considerable resemblance to Holberg's racy sketches of Danish national manners, and continue to draw crowded houses. The author's fame, meanwhile, rests less securely upon them (though they display a rich vein of satire, and a rare talent for observation of character,) than on his "Elverhøi" (*Fairy-knoll*), a five-act opera, the plot of which is taken from a passage in the life of Christian IV. (the hero of the Oldenburg dynasty of Danish kings,) in the management of which he has dexterously availed himself of the popular superstitions and legends, and the ballad poetry of his native country. Of

this piece it is not saying too much that the *toute ensemble* of the language, plot, and characters, and the singular beauty and originality of the music, (the composition of the late celebrated Kuhlau), are such as give it a just claim to the highest rank in the department of dramatic literature to which it belongs. Its translation into English, and introduction on the English stage, could scarcely fail, it is conceived, of eminent success.\*

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A dramatic poem, by Mr. T. R. Rumohr, entitled, "*Regnar Lodbrog and his Sons*," has lately appeared; the subject of which is the defeat and murder of the Danish king Regnar Lodbrog by King Ella of Northumberland, and the vengeance inflicted by his sons upon Ella.

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The present flourishing condition of the stage in Denmark is a subject well worthy of notice. Mention has already been made in these and preceding notices, of dramatic novelties—tragedies, comedies, operas, and vaudevilles—succeeding one another with astonishing rapidity, many of them capable of bearing a comparison with, perhaps, the best dramatic productions of any other country whatever. Nor are the performers on the Copenhagen boards less eminent for skill in art: *Ryge*, for example, *Winslow* and *Nielsen* in the line of Tragedy; *Frydendahl*, *Stage*,† *Rosekilde*, *Foersom*, and *Phister* in Comedy; and of female performers, *Mrs. Werschall*, *Miss Jurgenson*, and *Mrs. Heiberg*, (the latter the wife of Professor Heiberg,) an actress of remarkable versatility of talent, being equally distinguished in scenes of humour and of pathos. In the department of the opera, the Danish stage possesses fewer attractions, though its *prima donna*, *Miss Zrxa*, is not without a host of admirers, prepared to vindicate her claim to a high station among the vocalists of the day; and in that of the Ballet, its condition, with a solitary exception, is, as might be expected, deplorable. On the other hand it is distinguished by the excellence of its orchestra, than which, that of the Italian opera excepted, London itself possesses none superior. Attached to the theatre of Copenhagen are a musical *conservatoire*, under the direction of Professor Siboni; and a school of elocution for the education of young aspirants to Thespian fame; none of whom are admitted to figure on the boards until they have served an apprenticeship, which is of longer or shorter duration, according to the talent and proficiency of the individual. From the moment of his admission, however, the actor becomes an *employé* of the crown; his salary is definitely fixed; and on his retirement from the stage from age, or whatever other cause, he receives a pension proportioned to his merit and past services.‡ "Benefits" are things unknown, but *Evening Entertainments* (as they are named) are occasionally permitted, which comes to the same thing. In like manner the emoluments of writers for the stage are determined by a graduated scale, regulating the prices of accepted plays, from a one-act to a five-act piece. One successful production of the latter class, and two or three of the former, entitle an author, moreover, to a free admission for life. Another novel feature in the theatrical concerns of Denmark is the mode

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\* We have been informed, on good authority, that a translation of this opera is in course of preparation by a lady, resident in London, with a view to its re-production on the boards of Drury Lane or Covent Garden.

† This name is a dissyllable, and the *g* in it is pronounced hard.

‡ It is but fair to add that a system of strict discipline is maintained among the actors and actresses of the Copenhagen stage; and that acts of insubordination are punishable with incarceration in a prison called *The Blue Tower*.

adopted of *letting out the boxes*. In place of leaving their occupation to chance and the attractions of the play-bill, the boxes of the Copenhagen theatre are put up to public auction, and families hire and afterwards sub-let them for a certain night in the week throughout the season. A full box-audience at any rate is thus secured, while the chance of filling the rest of the house is at the same time augmented, and the performers are spared the annoyance of playing to empty benches. Another arrangement also, not long since introduced from Germany, has been beneficial in preventing that uproar and confusion which characterize the *storming* of a *pit* by a London audience. A portion of the pit, railed off from the rest, and called the *Parquet*, is provided with comfortable seats, (a sort of arm-chairs,) and numbered; tickets with corresponding numbers are sold at the door, and give the purchaser easy access to his seat, sparing him the necessity and unpleasantness of forcing himself, *vi et armis*, into the part of the house he wishes to go to. The decency and order, finally, of the Copenhagen theatre are not less worthy of imitation. None of those scenes of riot and outrage are witnessed in it, which too frequently disgrace the theatres of London; and the performances are, with very rare exceptions, never interrupted by unreasonable applause, or the reverse, the audience withholding to the end of the act, or of the piece, the expression of their approval or disapprobation. The very *damning* of a play is managed with a degree of decorum, five minutes only being allowed for the strife of conflicting voices, at the expiration of which time silence is instantaneously restored, as if by magic, by three strokes on a gong.

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There are published in Copenhagen at present about a dozen newspapers of various kinds. Two of them, *The Berling Gazette* ("Berlingske-Tidende"), so called from its proprietors, a family of the name of Berling, and *The Day*, are political, and daily papers. *The Copenhagen Post*, published five times a week, is a paper of miscellaneous contents, chiefly, however, literary. Its politics (whenever it displays them, which is not very often,) are of a liberal cast. Professor Schouw's *Danish Weekly paper* ("Dansk Ugeskrift") is devoted to literature and criticism. *The Very newest Picture of Copenhagen* ("Allernyest Skilderie af Kiöbenhown"), so called to distinguish it from a *new* and a *newest* which are newly defunct, is likewise literary, but of subordinate rank to the above. *The Copenhagen Flying Post*, edited by Professor Heiberg, which was decidedly the cleverest paper of its day, although, unfortunately, as much distinguished by its polemical and acrimonious spirit as by its wit and talent, was recently discontinued, but has again been resumed in occasional numbers. *The Literary Gazette* ("Litteratur-Tidende") and *The Danish Bee*, a Sunday paper, set up by a foreigner, Mr. Pollon, and subsequently conducted for a short period by Mr. Mariboe, have recently given up the ghost. Besides these there are *A Friend of the Police* ("Polite-vennen"), which takes cognizance of public nuisances of every sort,—of streets that want repair, shops that lack signs, &c. &c.; as also "*A Rocket*," a "*Thunder-bolt*," and a "*Purgatory*," (names of dire omen!) presenting feeble imitations of our "*John Bull*," "*Satirist*," and "*Age*." Finally, there is a *Daily Advertiser*, the columns of which are exclusively occupied with advertisements of every imaginable description, all regularly classed. There is thus in Copenhagen a separate paper for almost every subject. The result is, that one is never at a loss to know where to find the sort of intelligence one wants,—but, on the other hand, in order to keep pace with the march of "things in general," we should require to take in a number of, or all these papers, instead of one or two as elsewhere. The most curious and most revolting feature of this arrangement is the anxious care taken to prevent poaching on the part of the respective editors, (none, for instance, but the editor of the *Daily Advertiser*



dare meddle with advertisements; none with politics but the *Berling Gazette* and *Day*, and these, God wot, but very tenderly,) and that the whole phalanx of papers (in fact, every thing published short of twenty-four sheets,) is under the *surveillance* of the censor, that night-mare on a people's moral and intellectual energies.

With reference to the *liberty of the press* in Denmark, we have been a good deal amused by a controversy which has been lately provoked by a Mr. Algreen-Ussing, a young lawyer of some eminence, who, in a series of articles inserted in the *Dagen* (Day) newspaper, maintained the bold paradox that, in point of fact, no such thing as a *censorship* existed in Denmark (*with the exception*, it is true, of *political newspapers*, and of *authors already convicted of transgressing the laws regulating the liberty of the press*). Mr. Ussing could not deny that there was such an officer as a *censor*, as well as that he exercised the powers entrusted to him, but he contended that, as an author possessed the right of appeal from his *dictum* to the chancery, and from the chancery to the ordinary courts of law, this afforded such an effectual control over the censor's abuse of his powers, that he was little better than a non-entity. Mr. Ussing's articles were criticised in a pamphlet by Mr. Christensen, and in the *Monthly Review of Literature* by Professor David, to which Mr. Ussing published a rejoinder. The truly ludicrous character of this controversy, in which the Danish public has taken a considerable interest, will be at once seen when we state the nature of the restrictions under which authorship is placed in Denmark. In the first place then, the author or editor of a book, on *any subject whatever, not political*, whether periodical or otherwise, which does not exceed twenty-four printed sheets, is bound to submit it to the censor, either in MS. or in its printed form, before he can venture to send it forth to the world; but if no objection is communicated to him within four days afterwards, he is then at liberty to do so. If the censor, however, puts his finger on what he considers objectionable matter, and insists on its being altered or omitted, the luckless author must either submit to his *fiat*, or appeal to the chancery, and if that should be against him, to appeal a second time to the ordinary courts of law. Be it remarked that all the while this appeal is going on (which may be for months) the MS. or book in question is under sequestration; and what is worse than all, if the final decision of the tribunals should be against him, the author is actually condemned to the same penalties which, by the act of publication, he would have incurred for offending against the laws regulating the liberty of the press, (laws conceived in terms the most ambiguous and vague), the *intention* being here regarded as tantamount to the overt act. If condemned, he is also thenceforward subjected to a *special censorship*, from which he has no appeal. When the trouble, anxiety, and annoyance, as well as the serious pecuniary injury attending all this is considered, it need not be matter of wonder that appeals from the censor's interdict are very rare in Denmark. Secondly, with regard to *political writings of all sorts*, whether in newspapers or otherwise, the law is not only very strict, but the *will of the censor*, as its interpreter, is *law*. The law absolutely prohibits the utterance—1. Of all sentiments depreciatory of monarchical government and institutions. 2. Of all censure of the measures of government which are considered to emanate directly from the king, there being no such thing in Denmark as ministerial responsibility; and in this category may be included all denunciations of public functionaries for incapacity or malversation, however disgraceful or notorious. 3. Of all expressions, inuendos, &c. reflecting on any member of the royal family, from the highest to the lowest. 4. Of all disrespectful mention of any foreign potentate in alliance with the king, &c. &c.; thus narrowing, in no inconsiderable degree, the field of political discussion.



The Danish press, in consequence of these restrictions, is, as might be expected, any thing but the organ of public opinion. When, therefore, Mr. Using would persuade his countrymen that they enjoy a liberty of the press perhaps greater than any other monarchical (meaning *despotic*) state in Europe, *perhaps* he tells the truth; it may *possibly* be greater than that which the Russian Autocrat or the Austrian Kayser allow to their subjects. But to apply seriously the term liberty of the press to such a state of things as we have here described, is so ludicrously absurd and preposterous, at the same time so bitter and cruel a mockery, that one is at a loss whether to laugh at the folly, or pity the intellect, of the man who has so committed himself.

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On the 1st of this month (April, 1834,) the Annual Exhibition of Paintings and Sculpture of the Danish Academy of Arts was opened to the public. It comprises 305 subjects, of which 217 are pictures and drawings; 44 pieces of sculpture; and the rest studies in architecture or *chefs-d'œuvres* of the mechanical arts. Thorvaldsen alone has contributed 37 specimens, statues and bas-reliefs, of which 17 are works in marble, the others in plaster. Of the former the statue of Christ, intended for the metropolitan church, a Mercury, a Mars and Cupid, and an Angel of Baptism, merit special mention; among the latter a statue of Lord Byron is pre-eminent. This eminent artist is shortly expected on a visit to his native country. His arrival is anxiously looked for, and a *studio* has already been prepared for him, where he will complete a number of works which were sent to Copenhagen, it is believed with that intent, in an unfinished state.

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The Second Number of the Translation of Miss Martineau's Illustrations of Political Economy, by Professor David and Mr. Mariboe has just appeared.

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## FRANCE.

A NEW series of the *Annales des Sciences Naturelles* has commenced with this year, edited in the Zoological department by Messrs. Audouin and Milne-Edwards, and in the Botanical, by Messrs. Brongniart and Guillemin. The *Archives de Botanique*, by the last-named editor, are discontinued, being merged in the new journal. Each of these divisions is sold separately.

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M. Labaume, the author of the popular History of Napoleon's Russian Campaign, has commenced the publication of a *History of the French Revolution*, in 21 vols. 8vo., drawn up on a new plan and from printed and edited materials, many of which have been communicated by the actors in the scene.

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A *Political and Military History of the Revolution in Poland* in 1830 and 1831, is now publishing in French, translated from the German of Dr. Spazier of Leipzig, whose attachment to the Polish cause, evinced before the German public by the publication of many works in its defence, gained him so completely the confidence of the expatriated Poles that most of them entrusted him with such documents as they had been able to preserve on the downfall of their country; with such assistance, Dr. S.'s work has been stamped as one of the very highest authority. It has already gone through several editions in German, and been considered eminently worthy of being more widely circulated. The French translation will form four volumes, 8vo. (divided into thirty livraisons) accompanied by an atlas of maps and plans of battles.

An interesting publication in the class of Memoirs is now appearing at Paris,—the *Souvenirs* of the Marchioness de Cr  quy, a distinguished *Grand   Dame* of the *ancien regime*, embracing the extraordinary space of ninety years (from 1710 to 1800) in a life which was prolonged above a century. The book is said to be full of new and curious anecdotes, and striking portraits of the authoress's contemporaries; and she has attached herself in a particular manner to refute and correct the statements of the Duke of St. Simon's Memoirs. Two volumes have appeared, and two more will complete the work.

A new monthly journal has been commenced with this year, entitled *Archives des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, a main object of which is to give greater publicity to the labours of the *fifth class* of the *French Institute*, lately re-constituted, as well as to create a centre of intellectual activity specially devoted to the progress of ideas and social institutions, entirely uninfluenced by sectarian spirit, public caprice, or mercantile speculation.

The termination of that vast undertaking, the *Encyclop  die Methodique*, by the publication of the 102d livraison, which marked the close of 1833, is an event in the annals of French literature which deserves commemoration. It was originally commenced by the bookseller Panckoucke in the year 1782 (the extent was then limited to 42 vols. 4to. and 7 vols. of plates, which were to include all those of the *Encyclop  die* of D'Alembert and Diderot in folio) and at first met with prodigious success, having obtained no less than 6000 subscribers, including the most distinguished persons all over Europe, in consequence of which the plan was gradually enlarged. But the explosion of the Revolution in 1789 destroyed the brilliant prospects of the undertaker, and in less than ten years afterwards ruined his health and fortune, and carried him to the grave before his plan was more than half completed. M. Agasse, his son-in-law, made great sacrifices and struggles to continue it, without making much progress, and finally, at his death, at the period of the Restoration, the arduous task of resuming and finishing it was reserved to his widow, *Madame Agasse*, the daughter of the original proprietor, whose zeal and constancy appear to have been mainly supported by the honourable idea of completing her father's *magnum opus*. The *Encyclop  die Methodique* consists of forty distinct Dictionaries, (each of which is sold separately,) extending to upwards of 200 volumes, and illustrated by upwards of 6000 plates.

The second, third, and fourth parts of the *Encyclop  die des Gens du Monde*, have made their appearance with great regularity at the periods originally fixed in the prospectus. They complete the letter A, and include a few sheets of letter B. The work improves as it proceeds, and many of the articles exhibit great care in the compilation. Among those which have particularly struck us, are the oriental articles by MM. Klaproth and Reinaud, on arch  ology by Champollion-Figeac, on geography by Depping, on classical literature and ancient history by Golbery, &c. In our next number, we hope to find room for a more detailed notice.

*Douville redivivus!* At the sitting of the Academy of Sciences on the 4th of November last, MM. Auguste de Sainte Hilaire and Jussieu made a report on a letter addressed by M. Douville to the Academy from Brazil, communicating his new *projets de voyage*, and accompanying some specimens of natural productions of the country, which he deemed worthy of notice. These specimens turn out to be of objects which had been long perfectly well known. His letter spoke of two species of palms which he considered new, but his descriptions were so vague as to make it impossible to determine what they were; and

it was besides very improbable that they had escaped the notice of Dr. Martins, who had studied them on the spot, and published a monography of the Brazilian Palms.

M. Douville ended by complaining of the government for not supplying him with arms and warlike ammunition for the completion of his travels. On this the commissioners remark that such warlike apparatus is extremely unsuitable to a scientific traveller.

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A MS. on parchment, attributed to Petrarch, has been discovered in the archives of Montpellier. This MS. consists of poems, in which the names of Laura and of Vaucluse often appear; the language is Provençal, and the subjects treated are Rome and the coronation of the poets. It is well known that Petrarch studied the law at Montpellier, and that, being disgusted with the profession, he quitted that city, in order to devote himself wholly to the muses. The MS. in question was found among a heap of rubbish.

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A *Biographical Dictionary of Musicians* is announced by M. Fetis, and cannot fail to prove a valuable acquisition to the musical student and amateur.

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The magnificent establishment of the Museum of Natural History at Paris received the following accessions to its stores during 1833, viz., 480 new specimens of Mammiferous Animals and Birds: 1150 Reptiles and Fishes; 25,000 Insects and Crustaceous Animals; and 5000 Mollusca and Zoophytes. The Botanical collection has been enriched by about 50,000 new plants.

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An interesting statistical publication has recently appeared at Paris, entitled *Resumé Statistique des Recettes et des Dépenses de la Ville de Paris, pendant une période de 34 ans, de 1797 à 1830 inclus*."

These are comprised in sixteen lithographic Tables, of which Table I.—VI. contain the receipts, arranged under twenty-two heads; VII.—X. The expenses, under forty-one heads. Table XI. enumerates the loans; XII. Interest of debt and sinking fund; XIII. Contributions and charges to the treasury; XIV. Purchases of property for the great improvements; XV. Buildings; XVI. Extraordinary claims (subventions). The author has prefixed about ten pages of introductory explanations and remarks on the inferences deducible from these tables. We extract one or two passages that have struck us, as embodying some of the more remarkable general results.

"The rapid and progressive increase of expenses and receipts (Tables I. and II.) and the immense difference between the total of the budget in the first years compared with the latter, cannot fail to draw the reader's attention. He would be wrong in drawing the conclusion that the republic of the Directory, at the end of the 18th century, was preferable to the constitutional monarchy of our time, and especially that it was more economical. True economy does not consist in the privations which the poverty of a community is obliged to impose upon itself, nor in the want of power which then existed, not only to create, but to keep up and superintend. Every one knows that at no time was the public service worse performed, attended with so many abuses, so many dilapidations, as under the elective and temporary magistrates of the constitution of the year III. Tardiness of deliberation and want of responsibility in a collective administration, enormous expense in collecting compared with the small amount of receipts, public education without encouragement, deplorable decay of the communal edifices for want of the most urgent repairs, no new acquisitions, no new buildings, no improvement in the public way, the polices of safety, of health, and of cleanliness neglected and inactive:—such was the cheap government of Paris. The facility with which taxes are paid, the

judicious employment of the produce, the progressive improvement of the general welfare, these are the signs by which we can recognise a good administration. The growing increase of the municipal revenue is without contradiction an infallible proof of the increase of the population, of that of the means of labour, of wealth, and prosperity.

"A mass of 1100 millions of francs (44 millions sterling) expended in 30 years for a single city, may, at first sight, startle certain minds. But it is right to remark that the largest item in the whole, that of the contributions and charges of the city to the Treasury, which amounts to 229,913,186fr. 7c., can only be regarded as a communal expense, and that for these 230 millions (9,200,000*l.*) the city only acts the part of public collector for the public Treasury, without any charge to the state.

"After this service imposed by the law, comes, in the order of largeness of the sums, that of the hospitals, infirmaries, and relief to the poor. This has cost 162,707,731fr. 36c., and if we add the extraordinary *subventions* granted to the same service (chap. 32, Tab. XVI.) which amounted to 4,320,725fr. 36c., we have a total of 167,038,456fr. 72c. (6,681,538*l.* 5*s.* sterling, or yearly, about 196,515*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.*) devoted to the relief of the poor. This is the largest of all the communal expenses; it forms an item in the present budget of 5½ millions (220,000*l.* sterling). This assistance granted to the hospital administration, already endowed with a patrimonial revenue of nearly 5 millions (200,000*l.*) suffices to pay annually the expenses of two millions of days of sickness in the hospitals, and four millions of days of infirm persons in the charitable institutions, to maintain 16,000 foundlings brought up in the country, to educate 8,000 boys and 7,000 girls in the charity schools, and, finally, to administer domiciliary relief to 70,000 necessitous persons. The poor-rate, so burdensome to the inhabitants of London, and to the whole of England, only satisfies a small portion of their wants."

## GERMANY.

A *History of Bookselling* is announced by M. Metz of Darmstadt, who has been employed on the subject for the last ten years. It is not merely addressed to booksellers, but to the literary world in general, and particularly to librarians and men of letters by profession.

A Journal has commenced at Leipzig, under the direction of a committee of the booksellers of that city, to be devoted to all matters connected with the interests of the book-trade of Germany.

Professor Poeppig of Leipzig will publish, in the course of this year, the 1st vol. in 4to. of his *Travels in Chili, Peru, and along the River of the Amazons, during the years 1827—32*. The author is one of the few foreigners, and the only German, who has visited these countries for scientific purposes. The 2nd vol. with an atlas, is intended to appear in 1835.

Dr. Mendelssohn of Bonn is preparing for the press a work on Great Britain, an extract from which appears as a specimen in Ranke's *Journal for History and Politics* of this year; and is of so favourable a character as to entitle us to look for the publication of the complete work with some interest.

Professor Ranke of Berlin will shortly publish a *History of the Popes*, for which he discovered many hitherto unexplored materials during his residence in Italy.

Dr. Gervinus will speedily publish a *History of the Poetical Literature of the Germans*, of which great expectations seem to be entertained.

**NECROLOGY.**—*Schleiermacher*, one of the most celebrated divines and scholars of Germany, died at Berlin on the 12th of February last. His sermons and translation of Plato have established his reputation as one of the most profound scholars and clearest thinkers of modern times. His labours as preacher and writer were incessant. As fellow and secretary of the Berlin Academy of Sciences, he communicated many articles, particularly on philosophical history, to the memoirs of that body. He has left several works prepared for the press.

*Aloys Senefelder*, the inventor of lithography, died at Munich on Feb. 26.

*Baron von Salis*, a poet of the class of Thomson and Haller, and inferior to few in point of original description, feeling, and correct taste, died at Malans on the 28th January last. At the breaking out of the first French revolution, he was a captain in the Swiss Guard. He was the friend of Matthisson, by whom his poems were first edited in 1793, since which they have gone through several editions, and now rank in the first class of German Poetry. His little poem "Das Grab," is well known, and is certainly inferior to nothing of the kind in any language. We believe the late Mr. Sotheby attempted a translation, but we have not seen it. Salis was a man of amiable character, and much esteemed by his countrymen.

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## ITALY.

A COMMITTEE has been appointed by the King of Sardinia to superintend the publication of a Collection of the Historians of that island, and to solicit the communication of MSS. on the subject from all parts of Italy.

The Archæological Society of Rome has established three periodical publications for the promotion of its interesting objects; viz. I. *Monumenti Inediti*; II. *Annali*, containing an explanation of the monuments and criticisms on archæological works, &c.; III. *Bulletino*, or Monthly Reports of the Proceedings of the Society, containing accounts of the most recent excavations and monuments lately discovered, together with the latest intelligence on all interesting novelties in archæological literature.

Monsignor Mai has just published the seventh and eighth volumes of his *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio*, from the Vatican MSS. These will probably be the last which we shall owe to his care, as we are sorry to hear that he has relinquished his office of Prefect of the Vatican Library, being called to other functions of the church. The seventh volume contains chiefly inedited theological treatises of the Greek Fathers, and also an important repertory of old laws of the times of the Eastern Empire. In the eighth volume is a new edition of the famous Chronicle of Eusebius, with the additions by St. Jerome, being an improvement on the former edition of 1818.

The Geographical Institute of Milan has now published twenty-three sheets of its Topographical Map of the Lombardo-Venetian Territories, to be completed in forty-three sheets. Three of the sheets furnish us with some very interesting statistical tables, namely, those of the territorial division, exhibiting

the surface of the country, the number of cities, towns, villages and houses, and the population: the public establishments of instruction and of benevolence are presented with great detail; the course and force of navigable rivers, &c. &c.

The advocate Beratta has published at Genoa a work styled "Constantinople in 1831, or Notices of that Capital and the Manners of its inhabitants." There are some new points of view taken by this writer, and above all, a great impartiality—a quality we have repeatedly remarked in Italian travellers.

M. Janelli, of Naples, has recently completed an important work in four volumes, commenced in 1830, and entitled "Exposition of the System of Cryptic Hieroglyphy of the Nations of Antiquity," in which he attempts to establish an universal theory, explaining the various systems of secret writing in use among the ancients.

The Chevalier Afaro de Rivera has published a book entitled "Considerations of the Means of Improving the Natural Advantages of the Kingdom of the two Sicilies." In speaking of mountain agriculture, he deplures the improvident destruction of the Apennine forests, which has been one of the consequences of the sale of convent and feudal lands, which thus became divided among small purchasers, who cut down or rooted out the old trees, and by so doing left a free passage to the winter torrents, which now come down loaded with earth, gravel and stones, and devastate the fields below. Another point touched upon is the draining and recovering the marshy tracks which abound along 500 of the 900 miles of coast of the kingdom of Naples, and measuring no less than 3000 square miles, almost entirely lost to agriculture. He also urges the necessity of making cross roads, to correspond with the numerous points on the coast where small vessels can load or unload. An interesting chapter is on the ancient method of constructing artificial harbours by means of piers, with open arches instead of solid moles. M. de Fazio had already written on this subject, showing that the old or Roman plan, as it is still seen at Pozzuoli, has the advantage, very valuable especially in a tideless sea, of renewing the water of the harbour, and preventing the accumulation of sand. The Neapolitan government has adopted his views. By a royal ordinance of 1830, M. de Fazio has been entrusted with the construction of a new port at Gallipoli, the most commercial city on the eastern coast of the kingdom, and another at Bari. The ancient port of Nasita, near Naples, where vessels perform quarantine, has also been restored on the same plan.

In the same kingdom a fine suspension-bridge has been thrown across the river Garigliano, on the high road from Naples to Rome, where for a long time a miserable ferry was the only means of conveyance. The young king himself opened the new bridge in person. It is 230 feet in length, and cost 75,000 ducats.

The roads in the kingdom of Naples have also become an object of increased attention on the part of the government. They are divided into three classes: the *royal* roads, which are maintained at the expense of the treasury; the *provincial* roads, which cost 350,000 ducats yearly, defrayed by a rate; and the *communal* roads, for which 1,000,000 of ducats are paid by the communes. Meantime manufactures are spreading very fast over the kingdom. From all this it appears that that beautiful country is not so stationary and indolent as many people are apt to suppose, because they seldom hear any tidings from that quarter. Silent improvement is, perhaps, the safest, and the most lasting.

A new periodical has begun to appear at Naples, entitled *Annali Civili del*



*Regno delle due Sicilie*, compiled and published by authority of the minister for foreign affairs. Its object is to make known every useful work or discovery that is made. A copy of it is sent to every commune in the kingdom. The preliminary discourse is a sort of reply to the question often mooted by foreigners: "What are they doing at Naples?" The writer compares the condition of the kingdom in 1734, when it came under the present dynasty, with its present state. There can be no doubt that the country is completely changed for the better. "The judicial system, the administration, the communications, elementary education, commerce, agriculture, all are greatly improved. The feudal system has been abolished, the lands of the convents have been restored to public industry, taxes more equally distributed, towns increased and embellished, schools of agriculture founded, hospitals and work-houses erected, public credit is firmly established, the finances have recovered from all the burdens imposed by wars and revolutions." Who would endanger again this comfortable state of things by schemes of sudden change? Much remains to be done, no doubt; but much has been already done, and the impulse is given which, if not disturbed by rash attempts, will effect the rest. The kingdom of Naples, far removed from the strife of angry feelings which broods over North Italy, not exposed to foreign collision, and having no other neighbour but the Papal State, seems destined to move in its own independent political orbit.

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A journal devoted entirely to the observation of the volcanic region near Naples is now in course of publication under the care of Messrs. Cassola and Pilla. It is styled *Spettatore del Vesuvio e dei Campi Flegrei*. It forms a continuation to the learned labours of Sir William Hamilton, of Thomson, Breislak Della Torre, Ramondini, Ruggiero, Monticelli and Covelli. The excavations at Pompeii are continued with increased vigour. New buildings have been disinterred, and some beautiful mosaic pieces, representing historical events of the wars of Alexander the Great, have been brought to light.

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A novel called *Avventure di Franco Allegri* has been lately published at Milan. It is a sort of low imitation of *Gil Blas*, and by no means deficient in invention; but it is written in a vulgar style and more vulgar taste.

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The hitherto inedited Letters of Luigi da Porto, of Vicenza, the author of the tale of *Romeo and Juliet*, have been lately published at Venice and reprinted at Lugano. They refer to the events of his time, the epoch of the famous league of Cambray against Venice, and afford some fresh historical illustrations of those transactions.

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Count Pecchio has just published, at Lugano, the first volume of a "Critical History of English Poetry," which is to be followed by five more.

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NECROLOGY.—A. F. Stella, one of the principal booksellers and publishers of Italy, died lately at Milan. He was a man of considerable information, and had been a friend of Bodoni, Albergati, Pepoli, Goldoni, Monti, and other celebrated literary characters of the last and present centuries. Stella was a native of Venice, and was employed by that republic on a mission to Paris in 1797, just before its catastrophe. This mission was of course unavailing, but not through Stella's fault. In 1810 Stella settled at Milan, and became one of the first publishers of that city. He established the journal called *Lo Spettatore*, which still continues under the name of *Il Nuovo Ricoglitore*. He has published many useful works. His last undertaking was an Italian Bible,



translated from that of Vence, and illustrated by several learned Italian clergymen. Stella has not had the satisfaction of seeing this work completed, but the edition is spoken of as very handsome. He has dedicated it by permission to the Emperor Francis. Stella, as a man of honourable feeling, loudly disapproved of the piratical system so shamelessly practised by many of the Italian booksellers.

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## RUSSIA.

THANKS to the German Professors of the University of Dorpat, we may now study the institutions, manners and policy of this remarkable empire, without being obliged at the same time to study its language. We have now before us two numbers of a periodical, in the German language, which is made the vehicle of much curious and interesting information to the rest of Europe respecting the Colossus of the North. The first number commences with a long and rather wordy article by Professor Blum, on the constantly increasing intercourse of nations in matters of science, literature and commerce, and on the beneficial influence of journals in enlightening the public mind, and averting cruel and sanguinary wars. We shall return to this very interesting journal.

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A society has been formed at Riga for Researches into the History and Antiquities of the Baltic Provinces of the Russian Empire. A periodical will appear, embodying the results.

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Dr. Lenz of Dorpat, who studied the oriental languages, and particularly the Sanscrit, under the direction of the celebrated Bopp of Berlin, has been allowed by the Emperor, on the representation of the minister Uwarrow, to reside two years in England, at his Imperial Majesty's expense, for the purpose of the further prosecution of his studies. Dr. L. has lately edited at Berlin, *Urvasia, Fabula Calidasi. Textum Sanscritum edidit, interp. Lat. et notas illust. adjecit, &c.* He also recently published, in a Petersburg journal, a copious account of the Sanscrit MSS. of the late Colonel Stewart, which were purchased by the Russian government in 1832.

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## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

ART. I.—Since this article was printed off, we rejoice to see that our wishes have been in a great measure fulfilled by the publication of Captain Cook's *Sketches of Spain*, in which a full account of the Spanish artists is rendered accessible to the English reader.

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ART. V.—We find we were misinformed respecting the *Giovine Italia*, as we learn that it is still continued, although irregularly, and that the sixth number appeared within the last month.

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ART. VIII.—This article was just printed off, when the number of the *Moniteur*, containing the statement by the French Post-Office authorities of the late negotiation with the English, reached London. We have only time to notice its appearance.

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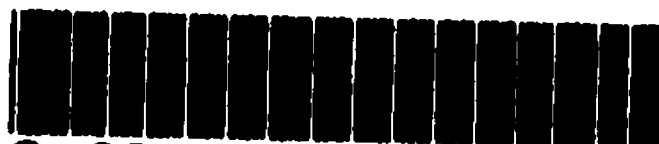
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